FROM “IMAGINARY” TO “REAL”:
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE PEASANTRY IN TURKEY (1945-1960)

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Title: From "Imaginary" to "Real": A Social History of the Peasantry in Turkey (1945-1960)

This study investigates the socio-economic ve political conditions of the peasantry in Turkey during the 1945-1960 period through a social history perspective. In the meantime, this study has been prepared as a result of an attempt of rethinking the 1945-1960 period, at least through the peasants, who are chosen here as the main subject.

With the transformation of the countryside during the 1945-1960 period the theoretical and political perspectives that previously had defined the peasants also changed. Due to that, during this study, the changing political and theoretical perspectives have been investigated in relation to the changing socio-economic conditions of the peasants. The changing political attitudes of the peasants have been presented through some case studies such as the Arslanköy Case. During this study the main characteristics of the rural migration movements have been investigated as the most visible effect of the rural transformation. The transformation of the peasantist perspective in the cultural sphere also has been investigated through the analysis of the making of the Village Literature genre during this period.

In this study, the transformation of the peasantry from "imaginary" to "real" was analyzed through the discussion of the transformation of all the spheres that were related to the peasantry. In this way, not only the ideological developments, but also the developments and the transformation that occurred in relation to the peasantry per se became the focus of this study.

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Başlık: "Tahayyül"den "Gerçek"liğe: Türkiye'de Köylülüğün Sosyal Tarihi (1945-1960)

Bu çalışmada Türkiye'de 1945-1960 döneminde köylülüğün sosyo-ekonomik ve politik gelişimi bir sosyal tarih perspektifi içerisinden incelenmektedir. Aynı zamanda bu çalışma 1945-1960 döneminin köylülük üzerinden yeniden düşünülmesi çabasının bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

Tarımsal yapıların 1945-1960 döneminde geçirdiği dönüşüm aynı zamanda önceki dönemlerde köylülüğü tanımlayan teorik ve politik bakış açılarının da dönüşmesine yol açmıştır. Bu yüzden bu çalışma boyunca değişen politik ve teorik yaklaşımlar köylülüğün değişen sosyo-ekonomik durumuyla doğrudan bağlantılı bir biçimde ele alınmıştır. Köylülerin değişen politik tavır alış biçimleri Arslanköy Davası'nın incelendiği bölümde de görülebileceği gibi çeşitli örnek olaylar üzerinden gösterilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu dönemde yoğun bir biçimde ortaya çıkan kırdan kente göç hareketlerinin temel sebepleri tarımsal yapıların dönüşümünün en görünür hale geldiği bir alan olarak tartışılmıştır. Bununla birlikte kültürel alanda köycü bakış açısının dönüşümü Köy Edebiyatı akımının oluşum sürecinin analizi üzerinden ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Köylülüğün "tahayyül" olandan "gerçek" olana doğru gerçekleşen dönüşümü bu çalışma içerisinde köylülük ile ilişkili hemen hemen bütün alanlarda yaşanan dönüşümün tartışılması yoluyla analiz edilmiştir. Böylelikle, yalnızca ideolojik olarak köylülük söyleminin nasıl değiştiği değil, bununla birlikte doğrudan köylülerle ilgili gelişmeler ve köylülüğün dönüşümü bu çalışmanın ana konusunu oluşturmuştur.

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CONTENTS

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION……1

II. PEASANTS IN THEORY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY IN TURKEY……...19

Modernization Theory and the Peasantry……...…....28
The Development of "Rural Sociology" in Turkey……..……..40

III. PEASANTS MOVING TOWARDS CITIES: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE RURAL STRUCTURE, RURAL MIGRATION AND THE *GECEKONDU*……..66

The Change in Economic Policies in the Post-War Period……...…..…68
Capitalism, Modernization and Urbanization…….78
The Land Reform Law, the Marshall Plan, the Smallholder Peasantry and Migration……..…….…….83
The Reasons for the Rural Migration, or Is It Possible to Create a Stereotype in the Analysis of the Rural Migration?……..…….....91
The Peasants in the Cities and the Invention of the "*Gecekondu*"…….....128

IV. PEASANTRY AS AN ACTIVE COMPONENT OF POLITICS……..151

The Arslanköy Case and the Development of the Rule of Law……174
The Peasants and Politics during the DP Government…….……196
The Village Coffeehouse as a Political Space……...213
The Peasants and Anti-Communism…….231

V. THE MAKING OF THE "VILLAGE LITERATURE"…….....254

Defining the Village Literature……257
History in the Village Literature…….....262
The Making of the Village Literature Canon……290
From the "Reality" of the Literature to the "Reality" of the Country…....322

VI. CONCLUSION……...324

BIBLIOGRAPHY…….335

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table Page

1. The Transformation of the Rural Structure 1948-1970 99
2. The Size of the Area Cultivated by Draft Animals and Tractors 1944-1960 102
3. Overall Population / City and Village Population 1927-1960 117
4. Average Field Size and Proportions According to Operational Types 118
5. The Temporal Change in Transportation (in hours) 121

Figure

1. Caricature from *Kara Dayı* 240
2. Caricature from *Köroğlu* 240
3. Caricature from *Karagöz* 245
4. A caricature that criticizes the inspection of the governor of Niğde in Mahmut Makal's village 298

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The post-Second World War period is mostly defined through a social and economic transformation. During the post-war period, the social and economic transformation of Turkey happened in direct interaction with the restructuring process of the world economic and social order. The material foundations of this transformation can be found mostly in the developments of the previous period. The majority of the social science studies that analyze this period focus on this interaction.[1]

A broad social science literature exists on the analysis of the macro political and economic developments of the period from various perspectives. However, little has been done on how the period in question was experienced by the social classes and groups of the period or on how the transformation of the country affected these groups. This study mainly focuses on the analysis of how the transformation was experienced by the peasants, who made up the vast majority of the population during the 1945-1960 period.

The 1945-1960 period is commonly described as a "transition period." Although this term is meaningful in describing the main developments of the period, it is also meaning that it shows "betweenness" of the period. This "transition"

[1] The following studies can be given as example: Feroz Ahmad, *Demokrasi Sürecinde Türkiye 1945-1980*, trans. Ahmet Fethi, 2. ed. (İstanbul: Hil Yayınları, 1996); Nihal Kara İncioğlu, "Türkiye'de Çok Partili Sisteme Geçiş ve Demokrasi Sorunları," in *Tarih ve Demokrasi: Tarık Zafer Tunaya'ya Armağan*, ed. Üniversite Öğretim Üyeleri Derneği (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1992); Asım Karaömerlioğlu, "Turkey's 'Return' to Multi-Party Politics: A Social Interpretation," *East European Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (2006); Kemal H. Karpat, *Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System*, trans. Turkey's Politics (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1959); Çağlar Keyder, "Türkiye Demokrasisinin Ekonomi Politiği," in *Geçiş Sürecinde Türkiye*, ed. Irvin Cemil Schick and Ertuğrul Ahmet Tonak (İstanbul Belge Yayınları, 1990); Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar*, trans. Sabri Tekay, 5. ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999).

concept has a dual meaning. The most common use of this concept is as the "transition to multi-party system."

The definition of transition from the single-party regime to the multi-party competitive system designates the major political development of this period. It is also meaningful that this definition highlights the importance of the period, during which a new political system was created with the existence of plural political structures that were different from those of the previous period's structure in terms of aims and organization mentality. During the single-party regime, similar kinds of political movements were called "attempts at multi-party politics."

Defining this period with the concept of "transition" also shows that a certain development in political mentality occurred. The "transition" concept also refers to a process that is not wholly completed. Due to that, it mostly highlights not the real characteristics of the period in question, but the characteristics of the "transition" itself. The discussions on the meaning and the process of the "transition" make up the majority of the literature that is produced on this period. The discussion of whether the transition to the multi-party system occurred as a result of the effects of the inner factors or outer factors refers not only to a differentiation among the academic perceptions, but also to a political differentiation.[2]

The second meaning of the transition characteristics of this period is somewhat implicit; however, it presents clearly the "betweenness" of the period more than the other. Basically, this period occurred in between two "great" periods, which make up the main research areas of the Turkish social scientists. For this reason, this period is mostly described as a transition period between these two "important" periods. In this meaning of the transition concept, this period is

[2] Nihal Kara's study on the factors that affected the decision to the transition to the multi-party system defines various approaches on this discussion. See Nihal Kara, "Türkiye'de Çok Partili Hayata Geçiş Kararının Nedenleri," *Yapıt*, no. 8 (December-January 1984-1985).

evaluated *only* with its teleological transitory role between the two periods, which are the single-party period, what consisted of the state-founding mentality, and the administrations, and the 1960s which was more dynamic both for economic and social developments. In most of the social science studies on Turkey, if it is not the main subject of the study, this period is treated only as a "bridge" to the following period.

Many writers believe that the existing information on the period is more than enough to understand it properly. This is the main reason for this approach to the period in question. As will be seen in the following chapters, especially the section in which the relation of the peasants to politics is examined, the most referenced sources on this period make the continuation of the "perception rupture" that mainly obstructs the introduction of new information on the period. The effect of the political perception that was dominant during the publication of these sources mostly created this perception rupture. Consequently, this meaning of transition in defining the period in question, in a way, prevents the making of new and adequate numbers of studies on this period. Except for some historical turning points, such as the Democrat Party's coming to power or the coup of 27 May 1960, few comprehensive studies have been conducted on this period in general.

This period also has been judged as a whole by some particular groups, because, for the first time in Turkish history, this period ended with a coup and in the following period a relatively more "free" social administration was established. The pretexts of the 27 May 1960 coup as the most important factor that created the "perception rupture" regarding the 1945-1960 period almost generally were accepted in defining or evaluating the DP period by the social science studies published during the 1960s and 1970s. In order to evaluate the period with a new perspective in depth,

an overall historical narrative of the period, in which this effect of the coup and the other factors that have affected the understanding the period are eliminated, is still needed.

In addition, another obstacle that prevents the proper evaluation of the period in question is the center-right political approach, which considers itself the continuation of the DP's political tradition. This perspective mostly defines the period through the iconographic discourse of its political movement. Any kind of study that focuses on the 1945-1960 period has to overcome these two obstacles.

This study has been prepared as a result of an attempt of *rethinking* the 1945-1960 period, at least through the peasants, who are chosen here as the main subject. In order to understand the *real* characteristics of the transformation during this period, its social history needs to be understood. Writing the social history of the peasants, who were the most directly affected by the transformation of the social structures during this period, in fact, is an attempt at rethinking the 1945-1960 period from a new perspective.

The social history of the peasantry during the 1945-1960 period requires an analysis of more than one area related to the peasantry as the transformation of society during that period affected many areas at the same time. The most important aspect of the social history studies is that they take a "total history" approach to the problems.[3] "Total history" is defined by Peter Burke as "not an account of the past including every detail, but one which emphasizes the connection between different fields of human endeavor."[4] Although not every subject that is related to the peasantry of the period in question will be treated, the effects of various fields on the peasantry will be questioned in this study. These fields mostly have a direct relation

[3] Zafer Toprak, "Sosyal Tarihin Alanı ve Türkiye Gerçeği," *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 54-55 (Summer-Autumn 1991), p. 77.
[4] Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. viii.

with each other and all of them will be analyzed in order to answer the primary question of this study: How the political, economic and social developments in the post-war years transformed the peasantry in the 1945-1960 period.

It is hard to make an absolute definition of the peasantry especially in the Turkish case. It is impossible to construct a stable and historically rooted peasant image in this geography because the peasants differed both on inter-regional and regional base.[5] Due to that, in this study, instead of making a definition of a peasantry which has a certain historical and economic characteristic, the definition of the peasants in the texts and the fields which are going to be analyzed will be accepted in general. In most of these texts, the peasants are defined as a group of rural residents who earn their living with agricultural production. The differentiation of the peasants under this description, such as *ağa*, farmer, sharecropper, will be set forth accordingly in the context of the subjects that will be treated in this study. Discussion of all types of peasant groups present in various regions of Turkey the period under discussion is impossible due to the limitation in sources and tools. The regional differences among the peasants will be mentioned as much as possible while making a general evaluation of the period in question.

The differences between all peasantry types are not depicted clearly in the sources written during the 1945-1960 period. The peasantry is mostly identified as a single definitive category, due to the effect of the peasantist ideology of the single-party period that hesitated to stress the differences among the classes and sought a unified definition. As a result, in most of these sources instead of using the term "peasantry" they mostly prefer to use the term "villager." The term "villager" will

[5] John Waterbury, "Peasants Defy Categorization (as Well as Landlords and the State)," in *Peasants & Politics in the Modern Middle East*, ed. Ferhad Kazemi and John Waterbury (Miami: Florida International University Press, 1991).

not be used during this study. Instead, "peasantry," which covers all of the peasants and also gives the chance to mention the differences between them will be used.

The sources that are used during this dissertation are limited mostly to the works that were published during the 1945-1960 period. Works on the village and the peasantry which were published both during the single-party period and during the 1960s were excluded consciously because these works require an evaluation from a different perspective than the works that were published during the period in question. This limitation in the use of the sources is preferred in order to understand the general perception of the peasantry during this period. By limiting the sources, the *zeitgeist* of the period in question can be isolated from that of the other periods and be presented more easily and accurately. Especially in the village literature and rural sociology works this limitation was very helpful for understanding the general perception of the peasantry in these fields. In addition to that, the great number of works in both of these fields necessitated this limitation in terms of feasibility.

A brief mention of how the peasants were perceived during the previous periods is warranted here, although in every chapter it will again be highlighted according to its relation to the subject of the chapter. It is also, in a way, necessary to show how the peasants were *seen* during the previous period in order to present how the peasants transformed during the 1945-1960 period. It is difficult to find "concrete" information on the peasants during the single-party period. The most important reason for that is the lack of any kind of work produced through direct contact with actual peasants. Although the peasants were an important aspect of the ideological construct of the single-party period, works that show what the *real* peasants are like are limited. If the short reports of the village trips and the village stories that were prepared by the peasantism branches of the People's Houses and

after that by the Village Institutes are excluded, it is impossible to find studies that include the economic, political and social analysis of the villages and the peasants during the single-party period.[6]

The main reason for this lack of research on the social, economic and political conditions of the peasantry during the single party period is that the intellectuals treated them not as they truly were *reality*, but perceived them on an ideological level. Although the peasants had an important place in the ideological discourse during the single-party period, they were mostly defined with glorified *sui generis* characteristics. The populism of the single-party ideology described the peasants as the "back-bone of the nation." Instead of calling attention to the differentiations among the classes, the peasants were viewed as a unified group and as the main component of the essentialist definition of the "nation." As İlhan Tekeli says, "to defend the nonexistence of the conflict of interests between the economic classes as a result of a Durkheimian solidarism approach coincides with ameliorating the differentiations between the village and the city by glorifying the peasantist approach and the peasants."[7]

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[6] The works of some sociologists, such as Mediha Berkes, Niyazi Berkes and Behice Boran, which were published nearly at the end of the single-party period, can actually be accepted works with the perception of the following period. See Mediha Berkes, "Elvan Köyü Üzerine Sosyolojik Bir Araştırma," *Ankara Üniversitesi DTCF Dergisi* 2, no. 1 (1943); Niyazi Berkes, *Bazı Ankara Köyleri Üzerinde Bir Araştırma* (Ankara: DTCF Yayınları, 1942); Behice Boran, *Toplumsal Yapı Araştırmaları: İki Köy Çeşidinin Mukayeseli Tetkiki* (Ankara: DTCF Yayınları, 1945). These studies have to be considered separately from the single-party village studies both for their ideological approach to the problem and for their methodological differences. These differences will be discussed in the following chapter in detail. The primary village works that were published during the single-party period with the effect of the peasantist approach can be listed as follows: Sadri Aran, *Evedik Köyü: Bir Köy Monoğrafisi* (Ankara: Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü, 1938); Salâhattin Demirkan, *Küçükçekmece Köyü Monoğrafisi* (İstanbul: 1941); Selâhattin Demirkan, *Celaliye Köyü Monografisi* (İstanbul: 1941); Nedim Göknil, "Garbî Anadolu Köy Monografileri," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 2 (1943); İsmail Hüsrev Tökin, *Türkiye Köy İktisadiyatı* (İstanbul: Kadro Mecmuası, 1934). In addition to those there were several short stories and field notes that were published in the journals of the People's Houses and Village Institutes.

[7] İlhan Tekeli, "Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye'de Kent Planlaması," in *Türkiye'de Modernleşme Ve Ulusal Kimlik*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), p. 147. "*Durkheim'cı bir dayanışmacılık anlayışıyla ekonomik sınıflar arasında çıkar çatışmasının olmadığını savunmak, kent ve köy arasındaki farklılıkları da köycülük akımını ve köylüyü yücelterek aşmaya çalışmak sayılabilir*."

The most visible practice of the populist discourse of the single-party period, which was constructed through the non-existence of the class differentiations in Turkish society, was the peasantist ideology of the period. Asım Karaömerlioğlu describes the four main aspects of the peasantist ideology as follows: "the prejudice towards urbanization and industrialization; the glorification of the peasants and the village; its relation with Westernization; and at last, defining education as the key for the transformation of the villages."[8] Peasantism was developed as an ideological obstacle to prevent the "corruptive" forces that could be effective during the process of the establishment of the new nation and the new nation-state. The main goal was to prevent the transformation of the so-called classless social structure into a society in which differentiation among the classes existed. Due to that, as can be seen in Karaömerlioğlu's definition above, efforts were made to delay the new social order, which could occur as a result of the transformation of the countryside with the development of capitalism by education or by some ideological constructions.

Peasantism, which was developed in relation to populism, mainly based its approach on the fear of possible outcomes that could occur due to some social upheavals. As for the development of capitalism would cause the disintegration of the countryside and the creation of rural migration movements, peasantism sought to maintain its ideological directives from within the framework of a development plan based on the principle "to keep the peasants in their villages." Due to that, as Zafer Toprak says, "the self-sufficient smallholder peasantry [was chosen] as the basic

[8] Asım Karaömerlioğlu, *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta-Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köycü Söylem* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006), p. 66. "*şehirleşme ve sanayileşmeye karşı önyargısı; köyü ve köylüyü yüceltmesi; Batılılaşma ile ilişkisi ve son olarak, eğitimi köylerin dönüşümü için kilit güç olarak algılaması*."

principle of the peasantism."[9] The self-sufficient paradigm, based on family production and economically not differentiated peasants, was the main element that the single-party regime looked after in its economic and political policies. Especially after the Great Depression of 1929, the single-party governments, which struggled to overcome the crisis with the help of limited resources and capital accumulation, tried to control the peasants, who were the main elements of the economic structure, with the help of this peasantist discourse.[10]

The development of the cities and urbanization were not encouraged during the single-party period for not creating an increase in the differentiation among the classes. The Village Institute experience, which needs to be evaluated in relation to this undesired urbanization, was another practice of the peasantist ideology.[11] By keeping the peasants in their villages with the help of the education, the single-party administrators aimed to keep them in their "natural" places. As a result, it was planned that the Village Institutes would create a buffer mechanism that would prevent the peasants from moving to the cities.

As for the adaptation of these policies, the peasantist ideology was developed through a glorified essentialist definition of peasantry. The peasants were defined by the importance of their labor in the production and as the main component of the army. The place of the peasants in the definition of the "nation" was created with these two essential aspects. Examples of such definition of the peasants will be presented during this dissertation.[12]

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[9] Zafer Toprak, "Popülizm ve Türkiye'deki Boyutları," in *Tarih ve Demokrasi Tarık Zafer Tunaya'ya Armağan* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1992), p. 59. "*kendi kendine yeterli küçük üreticilik köycülüğün temel ilkesi*"

[10] Zafer Toprak, "Türkiye Tarımı ve Yapısal Gelişmeler 1900-1950," in *Türkiye'de Tarımsal Yapılar*, ed. Şevket Pamuk and Zafer Toprak (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1988), p. 30.

[11] Mete Tunçay et al., "Cumhuriyet İstanbul'u," in *İstanbul'un Dört Çağı-İstanbul Panelleri* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996), p. 73.

[12] Such examples can be found especially in Chapter Four and Chapter Five.

In addition to the effect of the peasantist ideology, the abstract and ideological definition of the peasants during the single-party period was another factor that obstructed gathering the knowledge on the condition of the peasants. Works published during the single-party period mostly deal with the question of "how the peasants should be" instead of looking for the answer to "what is the condition of the peasants." Due to that, efforts are made to construct the peasants during the single-party period as an *imagined* entity. Tanıl Bora and Necmi Erdoğan assert that the conservatism and the peasantism of the single-party period employed similar imaginary definition of the peasants as follows: "Aside from discussing which one of them is closer to the 'historical reality,' for both of them, it can be said that the nation and the peasants are equally *imaginary communities*."[13]

In this way, throughout the single-party period an imaginary definition of the peasantry created by various tools in the economic, political and cultural realms was used according to the ideological requirements of the system. During the 1945-1960 period, both the requirements of the system and the economic and social structures would be redetermined. Within this framework the peasantry, which made up the vast majority of the population, would be redefined accordingly.

In order to give a proper answer to the main question of this study, stated above, the analysis of the main areas in which the transformation of the peasantry during the 1945-1960 period have been investigated. Firstly, how the peasants were described and defined in theoretical perspectives during the post-war period will be analyzed in Chapter Two. In that chapter, how the new economic and social order which arose after the Second World War redefined the peasantry and as a result

[13] Emphasis is mine. Tanıl Bora and Necmi Erdoğan, "'Biz Anadolu'nun Bağrı Yanık Çocukları' Muhafazakâr Popülizm," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Vol. 5, Muhafazakârlık*, ed. Ahmet Çiğdem (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), p. 637. "*Hangisinin 'tarihsel gerçekliğe' daha yakın olduğu tartışması bir yana, her ikisi için de, halk ve köylünün eşit ölçüde muhayyel cemaatler olduğunu söyleyebiliriz.*"

replaced the definition of the peasants with one from an instrumentalist perspective will be analyzed. Especially with the Chinese and the Cuban revolutions, both of which occurred during the period in question, the conditions of the peasantry in the regions where the rural population made up the majority became important. During the restructuring process of the world after the Second World War, on a global scale the peasants were seen both as a threat to the existing order and as an element that could be used in protecting the existing order, especially in Third World countries. All of these developments maintained the necessity to redefine the peasantry. In order to make this redefinition, the "real" knowledge of the peasants was needed. For this reason, experimental approaches became dominant in the theoretical perspectives on the peasantry.

With the effect of the socio-economic development in the post-war period, the "peasant question" would be redefined along with the development in theoretical perspective. Within this framework, in this chapter, the depeasantization process during the post-war period, which was the basis for these theoretical changes, and the place of Turkey in this process, will be presented.

Mainly, there are three basic approaches to the peasantry, the Marxist, populist and modernizationist perspectives. Especially in the non-Soviet countries, the modernizationist perspective became dominant during the post-war years, which developed through the populist approach of the previous period.

The rising of the modernizationist approach and the application of this approach with an instrumentalist method can best be investigated through the "rural sociology" studies of the period in question. Within this framework, the problem of how the peasants were perceived in theory during the post-war period in Turkey will be analyzed with reference to the general characteristics of the rural sociology

studies in Turkey. As an academic genre, through the examples of the rural sociology studies that were conducted in and on Turkey during this period, how the peasants were defined and what kind of information on the peasants was gathered by the sociological studies during this period will be shown.

The theoretical approaches that were developed and the works that were conducted accordingly during this period directly affected the transformation of the peasants. The main problematic in these works was to gain as much knowledge on the condition of the peasants as possible and to maintain the applicability of this information by political and economic projects. The methodologies and the policies that were developed for gathering the knowledge of the peasants during this period also resulted in the increase in the real knowledge on the conditions of the peasants, which was an approach totally different from that of the previous period. When the political motives of these projects are left aside, as a result of these studies, the peasants became a tangible and real entity in the theoretical sphere. The peasantry, who had been defined as imaginary in the previous period, became a "real" entity through these studies in theoretical perspective.

Following that chapter, the transformation of the rural structure in the 1945-1960 period is investigated through an analysis of the rural migration movements, which was an important development the peasantist approach sought to obstruct. The preferences in the economic policies differed from the previous policies during the post-war period. This change in the economic policies occurred mostly due to the adaptation process of Turkey to the restructuring practices of the world politics and economy, under the leadership of the new hegemonic world power the United States, during what later would be called the Cold War period. During this process, Turkey replaced the self-sufficient and inward-oriented statist economic policies with more

liberal policies that were outward-oriented and based on the international division of labor and more in tune with the requirements of the commercial world market. As a result, Turkey transformed its development model from an industry-based to agriculture-based model.

The fact of rural to urban migrant peasants, which was the most feared fact for the single-party peasantist ideology, occurred during this period as a result of the transformation of the rural structures with the changing economic preferences. The increase in the international terms of trade to the benefit of agriculture during the period in question allowed the peasants gain wealth from agricultural production, which had never happened before. However, with this increase in the prices of the agricultural production the class differentiations among the peasants, which the state ideology sought to obstruct in the previous periods, also increased. The transformation of the rural structure, which occurred due to some interrelated factors which will be told in the Chapter Three in detail, brought about a series of developments that changed the social structure of the country as a whole. The rural migration also brought the culture of the countryside to the cities. Urban culture was redefined with the transformation of the rural structure during this period.

The changing economic policies led to the development of the transportation substructure, which was needed to connect the villages to the market. The railroads investments, which had been considered in relation to industrial production in the previous period, were replaced with highway networks as a result of the change from industrial to agriculture-based development. Along with connecting the villages to the market, the railroads connected the villages to the cities. In this way, the development in the transportation systems eased the development of the rural migration movements during this period.

In Chapter Three, the development of a new urban settlement type that occurred due to the rural migration, namely the *gecekondu* (squatter) settlements, will be analyzed. The *gecekondu* settlements represented not only a new type of urban settlement created by the migrant peasants, but also a new city culture.

With the arrival of the peasants to the cities, the peasants became a more tangible and real group of people especially to the city residents. The peasants, who had been ideologically constructed in the previous periods, for the first time became visible for many city-dwellers. As a result, with the rural migration not only the peasants became visible, but also the effects of the rural transformation were recognized in the cities accordingly. In this way, especially during the 1960s, these effects of the rural transformation brought about the development of new and broad economic and sociological academic disciplines, which considered these problems.

The transformation of the rural structures gave birth to the rural migration movements, which transformed the imaginary existence of the peasants into something more tangible and real. Within this framework, the changing economic preferences at the beginning of the period in question affected the lives of the peasants directly and these effects increased their visibility in general.

Another sphere in which the peasant increased again their visibility was politics. With the elections of 14 May 1950, the government was changed by elections for the first time in Turkish history. The most important share in this change needs to be given to the peasants, who supported the DP opposition with their votes. In Chapter Four, in which the relations of the peasants to politics are treated, the changes in the political perception and consciousness of the peasants after the transition to the multi-party politics are shown. For making a comparison and to

observe the change, the political attitudes of the peasants during the DP's oppositional years and after it gained power will be analyzed separately.

The peasantry intervened from time to time into the political process as an active component of politics throughout the period in question. The most important aspect of the peasants' relation to politics was that they began to define politics as a "right" for themselves as a result of their active participation in the political process. The peasants struggled for the defence and the protection of this right with various tools during the period. The law became the most important one among them. The superiority of law and the rule of law as the primary concepts that helped the peasants to intervene into the political process for their own sakes, had an important place in the making of the political consciousness of the peasants during this period. Within this framework, the Arslanköy Case will be investigated as an example of how the peasants used the law for political purposes.

Politics changed not only the peasants, but also the villages. The frequently repeated fact following the 27 May 1960 coup, that *even* the coffeehouses had been separated in the villages due to the affect of politics in the village will be analyzed in this chapter through the spatial organization of the political opposition in the countryside. Within this framework, the development of the village coffeehouses as alternative free spaces which helped the peasants' participation to politics will be set forth.

The peasantist ideology underwent change during this period, especially in the high politics, when the peasants who became the main, active component of politics. In this way, the participation of the peasants in the political process also had an ideological effect on the discursive level. The decline in the effect of peasantism in this new period necessitated the creation of new ideological tools to control the

peasants. Within this framework, efforts were made to take the peasants under the control of the state with the dominant ideological manipulation tool of the Cold War period, which was the anti-communist discourse. The effect of the anti-communist practices will be shown through the news sources of the peasants that they mostly read during this period.

The relation of peasants to politics did not remain only on the discursive level. The peasants began to use any kind of tool that would help them to demand their rights from the governments. In this way, they discovered new ways to affect the political process directly. The transition to the multi-party competitive system directly changed the development of the political consciousness of the peasants. They learned how to demand their political rights and how to struggle to protect these rights. In this sense, the peasants gained a meaning different from that of the previous period as being active component of politics during this period. Instead of constructing an ideological discourse through the peasants, the peasants themselves took part in politics. As a consequence, the peasants as a group increased their visibility as a "real" entity both on the discursive level and as an active component of politics during the period in question.

In the last chapter, the peasants' representation in the cultural sphere will be analyzed through the developments in the literature of the period. The making of the "village literature" genre was the most important cultural development. Especially with the publication of Mahmut Makal's *Bizim Köy* (Our Village) the knowledge about the peasantry until that time began to be questioned.

Although Makal cannot be accepted as the sole founder of the village literature genre, he is its best-known representative. The peasantist discourse was re-presented in his works, which were a kind of popular-sociology studies written in

literary forms, through the adaptation of the discourse to the requirements of the new period. Village literature works, and mostly *Bizim Köy* of Mahmut Makal, were accepted as a call to deal with the realities and the neglect of the villages by the intellectuals and the political opposition in the country.

As a result of the development of village literature, which is defined in this study as the "Makal Effect", the peasants became the most treated and read subject in the literature field. Along with the developments in other fields, the peasants became a noticeable fact in literature works, too.

Village literature, at the same time, became an alternative space for the social opposition against the anti-communist obstructions of the Cold War period, according to which any kind of social criticism was banned. In this relatively free space, social subjects such as poverty, underdevelopment and exploitation could be treated through the components of the rural structure. In this way, the peasants were saved from the imaginary constructed language of the peasantist ideology and began to be the "real" actors of the oppositional discourse.

The village literature genre developed during the period in question and continued it dominancy in the literature field until the 1970s in Turkey. Besides its importance as a literary happening, the works also present knowledge of the experiences and the living conditions of the peasants due to the "realism" employed in the literature works. As a result, the village literature texts are presented in this study according to the knowledge that can be gathered from them. The village literature texts, by paying attention to the validity of the knowledge that can be gathered from these texts, hold many clues from the daily living conditions to the political attitudes of the peasants. These clues also give us the knowledge to evaluate the peasants as a tangible and living group of people. Within this framework, the

village literature texts are utilized in this study as a source of knowledge on the peasants of the period in question.

During the 1945-1960 period the structural transformation throughout the country directly affected the living conditions of the peasants. This transformation had a mutual characteristic in itself. When the political, economic and cultural spheres that transformed the peasants was affected by that, and the transformation of the peasants' conditions affected all of these spheres. In order to comprehend the main characteristics of this transformation, the interaction between all of these components of the transformation will be analyzed in relation to the peasants of the period in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

PEASANTS IN THEORY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY IN TURKEY

"*Savoir pour prevoir et prevoir pour pouvoir"*
[knowledge for prediction, prediction for power]
A. Comte

Eric Hobsbawm says the following on the condition of the peasantry in the world and Turkey after the Second World War:

> For 80 per cent of the humanity the Middle Ages ended suddenly in the 1950s; or perhaps still, they were *felt* to end in the 1960s. … The most dramatic and far-reaching social change of the second half of this century, and the one which cuts off for ever from the world of the past, is the death of the peasantry. … Only one peasant stronghold remained in or around the neighbourhood of Europe and the Middle-East –Turkey, where the peasantry declined, but, in the mid-1980s, still remained an absolute majority.[14]

One of the most important developments of the post-war period was the "depeasantization" process, which is called "the death of the peasantry" by Hobsbawm above. The peasantry was an important component of the reconstruction process of the world's economic and political order during the post-War period. As seen again in Hobsbawm's words, the importance of Turkey during this period must be emphasized. Although Turkey followed the depeasantization process later than its European counterparts, it began to be affected from this development during this period. The depeasantization process occurred differently in Turkey both due to the changing preferences in socio-economic policies and the transformation of the rural structure after the Second World War.

[14] Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes-the Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991* (London: Abacus, 1995), pp. 288, 289, 291.

Depeasantization can be defined, in short, as the process of a gradual decrease in the rural population as opposed to an increase in the urban population. Farshad A. Araghi says that the peasantization process occurs as a result of a dual relation. According to him, the process of depeasantization includes, on the one hand, "deruralization," which means "the depopulation and decline of the rural areas" and, on the other hand, "overurbanization," which means "massive concentration of peoples and activities in growing urban centers."[15] This development process, together with the economic development models that were created after the Second World War, brought about rural transformation, especially in Third World countries, where capitalism was less developed. Again, Araghi defines the main factors that affected the depeasantization process during the 1945-1973 period as follows: "1945 to ca. 1973, the period of the construction of the world market and the establishment and institutionalization of the new global political and economic order under the hegemony of the American state."[16]

How the peasants were changed in economic and political terms during this period will be analyzed in the following chapters. In this chapter, how the peasants were defined in theory will be shown in relation to the existence of the overall transformation of the world system during the post-war period. Within this framework, the different kinds of peasantry definitions in relation to the capitalist development and the depeasantization process will be presented first. After that, the development of a peasant-related theoretical field in Turkey, namely the rural sociology field, which was affected profoundly by the dominant theoretical developments in the world of the post-war period, will be analyzed.

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[15] Farshad A. Araghi, "Global Depeasantization: 1945-1990," *Sociological Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (Spring, 1995), p. 338.
[16] Ibid., p. 344.

The rural sociology field became one of the most important theoretical areas in the world in problematizing the peasantry during this period. With the development of the world market and the international economic division of labor after the war, the peasants became one of the most important components of this new world order. The necessity to improve the relatively underdeveloped structures at least up to a level that would prevent the creation of problems, that might obstruct the progress of the system, brought the necessity to gain the knowledge of these structures. The knowledge of these structures would be used in the creation of policies that would help the integration of these structures into the new world system in an unproblematic way.

It is difficult to create either political or economic projects for the components of a society about which and real knowledge has not been gathered. For this reason, the theorization process of the peasantry during this period was directly related to the requirement of achieving a "real" knowledge of the peasants. This relation, as will be told in detail below, developed the production of knowledge through experimental sociology. This methodological approach in the sociology field was used widely and became dominant in most of the sociological studies during the period in question, as an applied social science discipline. In this way, while the peasants of the period were undergoing economic and politic transformation, the knowledge of the peasant groups was redefined in these studies. This situation, as will be asserted in every chapter of this study, made out the peasants as a "real" entity on a theoretical basis. The idealized and glorified ideological imaginary of the peasants that had been dominant in the previous period transformed them into the "real" components of society as a result of the theoretical concerns that were dominant during this period.

The various types of peasantry definitions bear political meaning, no matter with which perspective it is defined, because the attempt to gather a group of people with broad and differentiated characteristics under a unified definition is a political effort in itself. Tom Brass says that these kinds of definition attempts create a politically instrumental "agrarian myth." According to Brass, "the agrarian myth is an essentialist ideology which in most contexts is defended with reference to a mutually reinforcing set of arguments to do with the innate aspects of 'peasant-ness', national identity and culture."[17] Even though Brass develops this concept for defining the approach of the populist and post-modernist views on the peasantry, it is possible to assert that every kind of unified definition of the peasantry has a mythological side in this sense.

This mythicizing of the peasants indicates a kind of pragmatist/instrumentalist approach which constructs actually non-existent characteristics as the origins of the structures in order to legitimatize the definition with a historical origin. This mythicizing process has three images or discourses. First, this perspective can be observed in "the peasants-as-the-backbone-of-the-nation" discourse. In this discourse the peasants are defined both as the labor force that help to achieve the self-sufficiency of the nation and as the military human source that will protect the country against all evils. In this way, the peasants are defined both as the founders of the nation and the protectors of the country.[18]

Second, the peasants are defined as the main component of a political structure in which the peasant household is the basis as a self-sufficient economic unit. The existing political and economic forms are not questioned in this structure

[17] Tom Brass, *Peasants, Populism, and Postmodernism : The Return of the Agrarian Myth* (London; Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000), p. 11.
[18] Examples of this kind definition of the peasantry can be seen in Chapter Four, especially in the section in which the relation of the peasants to the anti-communist practices is discussed.

because this structure is mainly organized on the basis of the rural family, in which the individualist perspective is dominant. Due to that, this structure has a role of protecting the existing social hierarchy and political stabilization. If this structural organization is held in a sustainable position, it also will guard against the spread of class-based political thoughts, such as socialist thoughts.[19]

Third, the agricultural structures are considered in this perspective as the origins of the "traditional" and "natural" value system, which bears the cultural function of eliminating the "evil" effects of industrialization.[20] These three discourses, in fact, developed in order to find a solution to a problem that occurred with the development of capitalism, "the peasant question." All of these discourses try to prevent the creation and the development of some facts. With the development of capitalism and the disappearance of the peasantry, consequently some problems may occur, which can lead to the class struggle and end with the disappearance of the existing structures. In order to eliminate this development, basically, the older structures need to be redefined according to their new roles in the changing structures and to be transformed into politically functional foundations in the new order. The theoretical developments during this period followed this path and the peasants were redefined in theory according to the requirements of the new order.

The importance of the types of defining the peasants is actually related to the process of peasants' gaining political importance. As Eric R. Wolf says, peasants "are important historically, because industrial society is built upon the ruins of peasant society."[21] As Wolf clearly states above, the definition of the peasants or the definition of the peasant question is mostly related to the transformation of society

[19] In Chapter Three, in which the transformation of the rural structure and the rural migration movements are told, typical examples of this kind of mythicizing discourse can be seen, especially in the section in which the continuation of the smallholder peasantry in Turkey is analyzed.
[20] Brass, *Peasants, Populism*, p. 11.
[21] Eric R. Wolf, *Peasants* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. vii.

itself more than to the actual peasants. The most analyzed or problematized aspect is not the living conditions of the peasants, but their transformation, and how to maintain the main characteristics of the society that would occur following this. During the current age and especially during the period that is questioned in this study, the peasants became important due to the effects of industrialization on rural structures.

There are three main approaches on theorizing the peasants and the peasant question in general. These are the Marxist "dissolution of the peasantry" thesis, A. V. Chayanov's populist "the peasant mode of production" thesis and the definition of the peasants according to modernization theory and development economics. Modernization theory, because of its greatest effect on the definition of the peasantry during the period in question, will be discussed separately from the other theses.

In Marxist theory, the peasantry is mostly evaluated in relation to the capitalist development process. According to the Marxist "dissolution of the peasantry" thesis, the labor force that is needed for the urban industrial production will be provided from the dispossessed peasants with the development of capitalism in the countryside. When the capitalist relations of production develop, the older agricultural forms of production will be eliminated and new capitalist forms of agricultural production will emerge. Korkut Boratav describes this thesis in general as follows:

> As a starting point this thesis emphasizes the diffusionist dynamic of capitalism and in relation to that its force of eliminating all kinds of older modes of production. The peasantry makes up the first free labor depots of capitalism through dispossession during the primary accumulation of capital, and in this way the pre-conditions of the capitalist industrialization occur. The matured type of this process is the English-type capitalist agriculture.[22]

[22] Korkut Boratav, *Tarımsal Yapılar ve Kapitalizm*, 3 ed. (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2004), p. 113. "*Bu tez hareket noktası olarak, kapitalizmin yayılma dinamiğini ve buna bağlı olarak tüm eski üretim ilişkilerini tasfiye edici gücünü vurgular. Köylülük, ilkel sermaye birikimi süreci içinde*

The Marxist "dissolution of the peasantry" thesis was developed after Marx through the discussions of Lenin and Kautsky on the forms of the continual existence of the peasants even in capitalist society. Lenin, as opposed to the singular definition of peasantry in classical Marxism, emphasized the differentiation among the peasants according to their relation to the mode of production. Henry Bernstein says that "Lenin provided a model of three basic peasant classes – rich, middle and poor peasants – which anticipated their (eventual) transformation into classes of agrarian capital (rich peasants) and proletarian labour (poor peasants), with a minority of middle peasants joining the ranks of the former and the majority joining the ranks of the latter."[23] According to Lenin, the differentiation among the peasants also coincides with a political meaning. The poor peasantry, which was defined as "rural proletariat," was accepted by Lenin as among the forces that could realize a socialist revolution together with the working class, especially for the countries in which the working classes were not well developed, such as Russia.

Kautsky, on the other hand, while accepting the Marxist thesis in great proportions, mostly highlighted the continuation of the peasantry forms under the capitalist mode of production. As Deborah Fahy Bryceson writes, "Kautsky stressed that the dissolution of peasant production is a slow process whereby peasant petty commodity producers co-exist with agrarian and urban industrial capitalism, gradually shrinking over time under the force of urban migration."[24] During the discussion with Lenin, Kautsky asserted that especially the smallholder peasantry

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mülksüzleşerek, kapitalizmin ilk özgür emek depolarını oluşturur ve kapitalist sanayileşmenin ön-koşulları böylece meydana gelmiş olur. Bu sürecin en olgunlaşmış biçimi İngiliz-tipi bir kapitalist tarımdır."

[23] Henry Bernstein, "V. I. Lenin and A. V. Chayanov: Looking Back, Looking Forward," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 36, no. 1 (2009), p. 58.

[24] Deborah Fahy Bryceson, "Peasant Theories and Smallholder Policies: Past and Present," in *Disappearing Peasantries? Rural Labour in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, ed. Deborah Bryceson, Cristobal Kay, and Jos Mooij (London: Intermediate Technology Publications, 2000), p. 11.

could be continual in the capitalist mode of production and this did not create a totally awkward situation for capitalist development.

This development, which Kautsky asserted in his arguments against Lenin, can be observed in many Latin American countries and it is also valid for the depeasantization process in Turkey. In Chapter Three, in which the transformation of the rural structure and the rural migration movements will be discussed, despite the development of capitalist relations in the countryside, the increase in the number of smallholder peasant production in Turkey will be analyzed in detail. In the Turkish example, as opposed to the classical Marxist approach's expectations, the peasantry was not totally eliminated; instead, a new rural structure was created in which many intermediary forms existed simultaneously. However, this development did not create a contradiction with the capitalist way of development. Shapker Thapa describes such developments in agriculture as follows:

> Because capitalism needs, a free and landless worker who must sell his labor does not provide the additional alternative of capitalist development proceeding without an increase in depeasantization. The advance of capitalist relations of production does not necessarily imply a reduction in the number of smallholdings or proletarianization of the peasant household. The process of proletarianization is not as rigid as the Marxists suggest. It is relatively slow in most underdeveloped countries compared to industrialized nations.[25]

Within this framework, Kautsky's thesis seems to be more valid for explaining the rural developments especially in the late capitalist societies, such as Turkey.

Another thesis that explains the development of the peasantry in the capitalist mode of production, which was developed as an alternative to the Marxist thesis and became popular again especially during the 1960s, is A. V. Chayanov's "the peasant mode of production" thesis. The Russian populist approach, which was influenced by

[25] Shanker Thapa, "Conceptual Framework to Study Peasant Society and Economy," *Voice of History* 17, no. (20)1 (2005), p. 48.

Nicolai Chernyshevskii and Aleksandr Herzen, agreed to the Marx's thesis in a way. Although it was not "progressive" as defined in Marx's thought, the destructive effects of capitalist development on rural structures were accepted by the populists, too. However, consequently they supported policies that sought to prevent the development of capitalism in Russia in order to get rid of the destructive effects of capitalist development.[26]

This perspective of the populists is best represented in A. V. Chayanov's theory. Chayanov's perspective differs from the others in that it defines a kind of mode of production and behavior which are peculiar to the peasantry. According to Chayanov, the peasant mode of production works differently from the capitalist mentality of production and for this reason before the capitalist profit-making motive, the peasants produce to meet the requirements of their families first. As a result, even in the countries in which the capitalist relations of productions have not developed, this mode of production survives.[27]

The perception of Chayanov and the populists in general was based on the prevention of the structural destructions that could occur due to the transformation of the rural structures after capitalist development. If it cannot be maintained that they tried to manage these destructive effects in order to protect the existing socio-cultural structures from getting more damages. Tom Brass, makes the following comment on this neo-populist definition of the peasantry:

> …neo-populism in general and Chayanovian theory in particular reconstitutes the peasantry as an undifferentiated category that resists socio-economic change, a politically conservative position which does not involve a transition to socialism, entails no expropriation/ redistribution of existing property, and hence presents no threat to the continued rule of capital.[28]

[26] Araghi, "Global," p. 342.
[27] Ibid., p. 343; Thapa, "Conceptual," p. 44.
[28] Brass, *Peasants, Populism*, p. 19.

This comment also coincides with the economic and political perceptions of the peasantist ideology in Turkey. The idealized definition of the peasantry was created in accordance with this theorization. Also, the thoughts of peasantism in the efforts to create a "classless society" can be related to such a definition of the peasantry.

This theorization of Chayanov came forward again during the 1960s as an alternative to Marxist peasant studies, which were dominant at that time. Especially the anti-Marxist social scientists during the 1960s sought to develop the classification and theorization of Chayanov in their analysis on village and peasants.[29]

During the post-war period, modernization theory had a greater influence on the perception and definition of the peasantry than these two approaches. For this reason modernization theory and both its definition of the peasantry and its effects on Turkey require a detailed analysis in a separate section.

Modernization Theory and the Peasantry

Douglas D. Crary, who is the author of the section on the peasantry in *Social Forces in the Middle East*, defined the Near Eastern peasants as follows:

> The villager is the substance of the Near East. He is the embodiment of maps showing the distribution of population or cultivated land. He supports the worker and the Merchant in the town. He pays rent and taxes, supporting his landlord and the government. He is blindly led by the politician and the army officer. Yet he is the man still to be better fed and housed, still to be educated and cured of his diseases. He is the deciding factor in the struggle between communism and the West. He is the personification of humanity in all its aspects, the raw material of race, language, religion, economy, sociology, politics –in short, he is Near Eastern civilization itself.[30]

[29] For a detailed analysis of this development, see ibid., pp. 143-188.
[30] Douglas D. Crary, "The Villager," in *Social Forces in the Middle East*, ed. Sydney Nettleton Fisher (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1955), p. 43.

This definition of Crary mostly coincides with that of Brass' "agrarian myth." According to this definition the peasants are in need of "modernization" due to their economic and social "underdevelopment," they have the capacity to stand against the threat of "communism," which will make them prefer the West in this fight, and last, they bear the characteristics of "the backbone-of-the-nation" with their "essential" and "natural" characteristics which represent "humanity" as a whole. This highly political definition of the peasantry is basically related to the roles that were provided for the peasants of "Third World countries," which were defined as "underdeveloped" during the period in question. The making of this definition occurred due to both the peasants' becoming important after the Second World War and the development of the theoretical and political research on the peasantry during that period.

Modernization theory is a method or the systematized form of a social perception the philosophical origins of which can be found in enlightenment thought, displaying the most systematic form of the idea of progress. This theory also includes a proposal for the countries which will be applied programmatically. In a way, modernization theory can be defined as a theoretically composed political program. As Wolfgang Knöbl writes,

> As a non-Marxist, macro-sociological and often interdisciplinary theory of social change, modernization theory tried to conceptualize either historically or typologically the development of societies, focusing in the beginning mostly on the relationship between culture and economic progress, but increasingly also on that between culture and political development and between economic growth and democracy.[31]

As can be understood from this definition, modernization theory is based mainly on the classification of societies. While making this classification, this theory

[31] Wolfgang Knöbl, "Theories That Won't Pass Away: The Never-Ending Story of Modernization Theory," in *Handbook of Historical Sociology*, ed. Gerard Delanty and Engin F. Isin (London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE, 2003), p. 96.

uses the methods and the concepts of evolutionist developmentalism and structural-functionalism.[32] According to these, modernization theory "asserts that the societies can only develop as they become objected to a universal process that is lived through tradition to modernity. … It bases on the belief that for the reach of the societies to the modern economic development phase it is required to pass through a cultural and social transformation process."[33]

All of these definitions indicate that modernization theory was constructed as a complete "grand theory" based on comparative method in the classification of societies on a macro scale that sought to give meaning to all kinds of social changes in the societies that were thought of as operating according to certain rules. Köker writes that the perception of totality in this theory originated from its concern in defining "the changing processes of all of the societies in the world, with a perception that matches to the 'universal legality' approach in natural sciences."[34]

This theoretical attempt, which was developed gradually during the post-World War II era, became the main method of analysis during the 1950s and became dominant during the 1960s in the social science disciplines, works through binary oppositional definitions. These dichotomies, similarly, were created through the adjustment of the definitions of the "good" and the "evil" of Enlightenment thought. The binary oppositions of modernization theory, roughly, were based on definition sets such as culture-nature, West-East, realism-idealism and at the end as a political preference between democracy and communism. Actually, in this way, as Harry

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[32] Dean C. Tipps, "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15, no. 2 (Mar., 1973), p. 201.
[33] Fahrettin Altun, *Modernleşme Kuramı: Eleştirel Bir Giriş* (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2005), p. 13. "*toplumların gelenekten modernliğe doğru yaşanan evrensel bir sürece muhatap oldukları takdirde gelişebileceklerini söyler. … [T]oplumların modern ekonomik gelişme aşamasına ulaşmaları için kültürel ve toplumsal bir değişim sürecine ihtiyaç duydukları inancına dayanır.*"
[34] Levent Köker, *Modernleşme, Kemalizm ve Demokrasi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990), p. 19. "*dünya üzerindeki tüm toplumların değişim süreçleri[ni], doğa bilimlerindekine uygun bir 'evrensel yasallık' anlayışına uygun olarak*"

Harootunian says, "the old polarization between civilization and barbarism, the self and the other is presented by recoding them differently."[35]

The main problem was to define and control the transition from the *Gemeinschaft* to the *Gesellschaft*, as Ferdinand Tönnies defined. *Gemeinschaft* (community) indicates irrational, agricultural production-based, pre-modern social organizations in which the relations between the people are determined emotionally. *Gesellschaft* (society), on the other hand, is a city-centered, dynamic, modern social organization maintained by the rational and objective human behaviors.[36] In this way, the organizational types of societies are also classified through binary oppositions.

This social analysis of Tönnies became the most favorable type of analysis in the social sciences during the post-World War II period. The separation of social structures as "traditional" and "modern" also is related directly to the political project that was thought be applied consequently. As for Tönnies, "the triumph of *Gesellschaft* over *Gemeinschaft* must sooner or later destroy modern civilization in the same way as the civilization of Rome was destroyed in the early centuries of the Christian era."[37] These thoughts, especially the need for the protection of the structures that are peculiar to *Gemeinschaft*, also inspired the anti-enlightenment approaches of the late nineteenth century. Especially during the Nazi Germany period, many people made the call for returning to *Gemeinschaft*.[38] Even though Tönnies backed down from his anti-enlightenment thoughts during his last years, his

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[35] Harry Harootunian, *İmparatorluğun Yeni Kılığı: Kaybedilen ve Tekrar Ele Geçirilen Paradigma*, trans. Erkal Ünal (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), p. 30. "*medeniyet ile barbarlık, benlik ile öteki arasındaki o eski kutupluluğu farklı şekilde yeniden kodlayarak önümüze koymuştur.*"
[36] Ahmet Özkiraz, *Modernleşme Teorileri ve Postmodern Durum* (Konya: Çizgi Kitabevi, 2003), p. 45.
[37] Svend Ranulf, "Scholarly Forerunners of Fascism," *Ethics* 50, no. 1 (Oct., 1939), p. 16.
[38] Ibid., p. 17.

classification of the social structures became one of the main sources on which anti-modernist conservatism based its thought.

This classification of Tönnies was replaced by the conceptualization, according to which the industrialized and the underdeveloped countries were defined on differing levels following the Second World War period. This hierarchical definition of societies, which was created by modernization theory, also coincided with the main goals of the field of rural sociology in the post-World War II period. In this way, the rural structures in the countries which were defined as showing *Gemeinschaft* characteristics were analyzed through rural sociology studies in order to acquire the basic knowledge for the social projects that were needed to be prepared after these studies. These projects mostly were prepared for the control of social groups during the capitalist transformation of society.

Modernization theory was not just a theory. It was more like a political project through which the development processes of the non-Western, "pre-modern" societies were maintained politically and economically. There were two contesting development models during the post-World War II period. One of them was the Western-type capitalist development model, and the other was the Soviet-type socialist-statist development model. The political goal behind modernization theory was to prevent the inclusion of the underdeveloped countries in the Soviet-type development model. As Harootunian says, during the post-war period these two states "got into an enormous competition for gaining the new nation-states to their modernity and development models."[39] This competition was not only a struggle between the proposed development theories, but also and mainly an ideological struggle, which shaped mostly the content of both of these models. In this way,

[39] Harootunian, *İmparatorluğun*, p. 3.

modernization theory, together with the development plans as its practical side, included policies which would prevent political factors that could obstruct the practice of the development plans, such as anti-communist policies.[40]

The post-World War II developments created the background for the dominance of modernization theory after the war. Modernization theory was perceived as the only "recipe" for the development of the underdeveloped countries. One of the most important developments of the post-war period was the independence movements in countries which previously had been colonies of the Western countries. Most of these countries became independent after the war; however, many of them remained underdeveloped. Their economies mostly were based on agricultural production and due to that their development levels remained very low.

There was also an increasing hatred in most of these countries towards the Western world, which stemmed from their colonial past. Consequently, when these new independent nation-states set about choosing one of the development models, their hatred of the Western world made some of them approach the Soviet model. Accordingly the previously founded hegemonic relations of the Western colonizer states in those regions faced with this "Soviet threat." During this intense decolonization process nationalist tendencies arose in these countries. In the end, the development plan that was going to be adopted in those regions had to both cover of all of these sensibilities of these countries and to recreate the control of the regions by the previously dominant Western countries. Especially after the Chinese

[40] For anti-communism and its relation to the peasants during this period, see Chapter Four.

Revolution in 1949, which split from the Western world after the socialist revolution, the importance of this post-war development became more serious than ever.[41]

All of these new nation-states attracted great interest in academic and political studies during the Cold War period as a result of the increasing "communism threat." Due to that, these regions became the main areas in which modernization theorists applied their theoretical perspective. With this increasing interest, modernization theory became the most important tool for gathering "real" knowledge of these countries in order to create and apply new economical and political development plans in these regions.[42]

In order to apply these development plans two important aspects had to be practiced at the same time. While these plans were being applied, the problems that could occur during this development and modernization process needed to be solved without causing any other problems. The most important problems that could occur and was expected after a modernization project was the dissolution of the rural structures and consequently an increase in the rural migration movements. This change also could lead to an increase in the class differentiation in society. Actually, this consequence or problem, as Harootunian states, was both an expected and desired result of the modernization process. The rural migration movements, which were kept under control, lead to the dissolution of the rural structures, which were seen as the most problematic regions in the "underdeveloped" countries. These migration movements also prevented, according to the modernization theorists, "the

[41] The countries that moved away from the hegemony of the Western world and defined themselves with a non-western development model after the Second World War can be listed as follows: Albania, Angola, Algeria, Bangladesh, Benin, Burma, Bulgaria, Cambodia, China, Congo, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Democratic German Republic, Hungary, Northern Korea, Laos, Libya, Madagascar, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, Romania, Somali, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Southern Yemen and Yugoslavia. Altun, *Modernleşme*, p. 26.
[42] Colin Leys, *The Rise & Fall of Development Theory* (Nairobi; Bloomington: EAEP; Indiana University Press, 1996), p. 200.

rural revolutions that were inspired by Maoism."[43] In this way, together with a controlled development project, the most problematic areas which could not be taken under control due to the lack of knowledge in these areas would be eliminated gradually. However, in order to achieve that, first of all, the knowledge of these needed to be gathered and the capacity of the state to intervene in such areas by using this newly gathered knowledge needed to be developed.

For all of these reasons, the main research subject of modernization theory during the post-World War II period was the social structures of these new independent nation-states. The main goal was to transform the social structures of these states, whose economies mainly had been based on agricultural production, into strong structures through development projects created as a result of the knowledge that was gathered from the sociology or economic research. Within this framework, in order to create stronger structures that could resist the pressures of the social groups during the transformation process, "growth" was selected as the main goal of economic development. In addition to that, according to this development plan, the "state" would be the agent of this modernization process.[44] The economic growth that would be created after the application of the development plan would be distributed to society through state administration. In this way, this plan was mainly an adaptation of the "welfare state" model of the Western world to the underdeveloped societies. This was the main political assertion, which was shaped by the economic growth and welfare, of the modernization theory during this period.[45]

[43] Harootunian, *İmparatorluğun*, p. 39. "*Maoculuktan ilham alan bir kır devrimini*"
[44] Leys, *The Rise & Fall*, p. 7.
[45] Frans J. Schuurman, "Paradigms Lost, Paradigms Regained? Development Studies in the Twenty-First Century," *Third World Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (2000), p. 8.

The "mobilizing tool" for the application of the modernizationist development projects in these new independent nation-states was "nationalism."[46] Nationalism was used in two different ways as a legitimizing tool. First, it was used in defining for what or for whom the development plan would be put into practice. Any kind of political opposition, which could occur in those states against the development project as a result of the hatred that the people felt toward the Western world due to their colonial past, was stabilized by using the nationalist discourse. According to this discourse, the modernization plan was primarily required in order to the "reach the level of modern civilizations," for increasing the development and the wealth of the people as a whole. A. Marion and J. Levy define nationalism as a tool for the control of the modernization process. They say that through nationalism, "the masses can be mobilized for some particular goal and also the same concept can be used in maintaining a sentimental connection with the modernization process."[47]

The second way of using the nationalist conceptualization was through its role against the communist tendencies in society. Nationalism was used as an antidote to communism and the nationalist concepts were used to control and keeping the people away from developing communist tendencies. Due to that the dominant development discourse, in which the nation-states and the nationalism were glorified, would both protect the "national pride" of these new nation-states and create new control mechanisms that would prevent these states from breaking away from the hegemonic relations of the system during their modernization process.

The academic reflections of modernization theory were very effective. Although it began to lose its power in the late 1960s with the criticism coming from

[46] Philip McMichael, *Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective*, 2nd ed., Sociology for a New Century (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Pine Forge Press, 2000), p. xxii.
[47] Özkiraz, *Modernleşme Teorileri*, p. 73. "*kitleler belli amaçlara yönlendirilebileceği gibi, modernleşme yönünde de duygusal bağlantıları sağlamak için de aynı kavram kullanılabilir*"

the Marxists, it continued to dominate the academic world until the late 1970s. Most of the research in the social sciences was undertaken through using the perspective of modernization theory. Although most of the researchers that conducted their studies in the US foundations, which were defined as the center of this approach, were aware of the political consequences of these studies, the majority of them did not feel like they were leading a political mission. Most of them were carrying the torch of the developmentalism and modernization and this was why they had begun to study on their subjects. As Colin Leys says, few of them gave titles to their studies such as "A Non-Communist Manifesto" like W. W. Rostow did.[48]

The interest in these kinds of studies attracted the attention of many researchers in the beginning, especially in the US. Most of the young scholars were interested in this field because there had been a strong tradition in the American social sciences of studying macro-social subjects even before the Second World War.[49] Being involved with the comparative macro-theoretical issues opened the inward-oriented American academy to the outer world and in this way interdisciplinary works developed and spread throughout the world after the war.

The main goal in these studies was to collect "instrumental knowledge," which is one of the three different ways of gaining knowledge as Habermas writes. "Instrumental knowledge" is defined in general as "[a kind of knowledge] which could presumably help in predicting and controlling the process of social change along pre-determined trajectories." [50] The societies on which these studies were conducted were mostly untouched fields for researchers, and proper knowledge on

[48] Leys, *The Rise & Fall*, p. 6.
[49] Knöbl, "Theories That Won't," p. 98.
[50] Zaheer Baber, "Modernization Theory and the Cold War," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 31, no. 1 (2001), p. 74. The other categories are "historical-hermeneutic knowledge" and "critical-emancipatory knowledge." See Jurgen Habermas, "Knowledge and Human Interests: A General Perspective," in *Continental Philosophy of Science*, ed. Gary Gutting (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), p. 74.

the social structures of these societies was nonexistent. Although there was some primary information on the administrative structures of these countries, there were no detailed economic or sociological studies or even no statistical or observatory knowledge on the social groups that maintained these societies. Consequently, with studies that were based on the basic assumptions of modernization theory, the practice of gathering the knowledge of every social group in these countries began with urgency.

These developments created research groups, which were sent by the US government or the academies to conduct field works. These groups were supported by some elite academic groups from the researched country, who were volunteered to work with these groups for the same goals. The research mostly concentrated on the analysis of the cultural, economic, sociological and political attitudes of the peasants in the countries in which rural structures were dominant. The main question in these studies was to find the factors that could obstruct the development of modernization in these countries. After the determination of the condition of these structures, these studies set forth the measurements that needed to be taken in order to eliminate these obstructing factors. In general, these studies focus on the social positioning of the rural elites and the construction processes of the hegemonic relations in the rural structures. The researchers mostly believed that modern values could be transferred to these traditional structures only through the modernizing elites.[51] Due to that, these studies mostly questioned the motivating factors and how these factors could be taken under control more than the general attitudes of the peasants or their political approach and thoughts. As Colin Leys says,

> This situation also led to a 'symptomatic silence' about the social character of development, a silence cloaked, perhaps, by the doctrine of

[51] Leys, *The Rise & Fall*, p. 10.

> 'value-freedom'. It was implicit that the development under discussion was not socialist, but its capitalist character was not acknowledged either; it was just 'development', and was not seen as prone to generate class formation and conflict, or as inherently uneven or crisis-ridden.[52]

Within this framework, the main goal was to gather proper knowledge of the social structures of the underdeveloped societies. This can be described as a process of retrieving instrumental knowledge on the subject in question. Not all of these studies were supported by the US government directly. However, government-supported foundations, such as the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation or the Carnegie Foundation, were used in this process. These foundations guided the researchers they supported "to pay attention to the subjects that are sensitive for American benefits."[53] During the 1950s and 1960s the US researchers who were conducting field surveys and research on the Third World countries were regularly debriefed by the Department of State, which always sought their advice on the regions in which they conducted their studies.[54] These efforts paved the way for the creation of a new social science discipline called international relations.

The knowledge that was gathered during this period had an important place in studying the rural structure of Turkey and in comprehending the socio-economic condition of the peasants. This knowledge was instrumental, as told above, and efforts were made to mobilize it in the making of many social policies that involved the peasants. Rural sociology discipline also developed during this period in Turkey and during the 1950s and the 1960s this discipline maintained the dominant research methods and approaches on the peasants and rural structures in general. The increasing number of studies in this social science discipline created a massive literature on the "development problem" of Turkey. More important than that, the

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[52] Ibid., p. 11.
[53] Altun, *Modernleşme*, p. 31. "*Amerikan çıkarları uyarınca, hassas konulara ilgi göstermeleri*"
[54] Leys, *The Rise & Fall*, p. 11.

"reality" of the rural structures was defined through these studies in the academic realm of Turkey during this period. The components of the rural structure, with the effect of these studies and with the theorization of modernization theory, passed through a redefinition process with the knowledge gathered from these studies. In this way the process of gathering knowledge about rural structures, which had been a defined imaginary during the previous period, acquired the tools that enabled the researchers to define the peasants on the basis of "reality."

The Development of "Rural Sociology" in Turkey

Rural sociology developed relatively recently as a sub-discipline of general sociology. As Gene F. Summers and Frederich H. Buttle write,

> Rural sociology is the study of social organization and social processes that are characteristic of geographical localities where population size is relatively small and density is low. Thus, rural sociology can be defined as the sociology of rural society. Since rural societies do not exist in isolation, rural sociology also addresses the relation of rural society to the larger society. Therefore, it deals also with spatial organization and the processes that produce spatial allocations of population and human activities.[55]

Although sociology, in general, aims to analyze urban-based problems and social structures, the development of rural sociology was related to the transformation in the countryside. Rural sociology did not emerge in the homeland of the sociology, Europe, but in the United States of America for finding solution to the

[55] Gene F. Summers and Frederich H. Buttle, "Rural Sociology," in *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, ed. Edgar F. Borgatta and Rhonda J. V. Montgomery (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2000), p. 2425.

problems that occurred in the countryside at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.[56]

During the post-World War II period, the relations between the state, capital and rural structures were mainly maintained through the researchers in the field of rural sociology in the US. In the making of the investments and the social reform projects in the countryside the rural studies departments of the universities in the US took direct responsibility. The institutionalization process of these university departments began at the beginning of the century and their roles in the policy making developed according to the changing needs of the US government. Related to the dominant hegemony of the US in the post-World War II period, rural sociology studies directed their attention to the underdeveloped rural structures in the world. Consequently, these studies focused on the making of rural reform projects, which was the main aspect in the institutionalization process of these departments in the US, especially in Third World countries. In Europe these studies would develop especially after the Second World War for reorganizing the relations between the cities and the countryside, which had been corrupted due to the war.[57]

According to a survey on the studies that were conducted in the rural sociology field, 43 of 144 articles published between 1952-1959 were on the origins of the social change in the underdeveloped countries, 29 of them were on the adaptation level of the peasants to the new agricultural practices and 28 of them were on small agricultural groups. Sixteen of the rest were on social classes and social mobility, fifteen were on the rural migration and thirteen addressed methodological

[56] For the historical development of the rural sociology in the US, see Linda Lobao, "Rural Sociology," in *21st Century Sociology: A Reference Handbook*, ed. Clifton D. Bryant and Dennis L. Peck (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2007); Summers and Buttle, "Rural."
[57] Asım Süreyya İloğlu, "Ziraî Sosyolojiye Bir Giriş," in *1962-1963 Ders Yılı Sosyoloji Konferansları* (İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası, 1964), pp. 31-32.

issues.[58] This survey shows that rural sociology studies were concentrated mostly on the rural transformation of the underdeveloped societies during this period. This increase was mainly the result of the funds given for these studies. The greatest amount of funds for rural sociology studies were given to studies that were conducted in Third World countries.

These academic practices, which can also be defined as the reflection of modernization theory and developmentalist ideology, along with gathering sociological knowledge on the "unknown territories," were evaluated as the basis of the social reform projects that would be applied in those countries. This missionary approach to sociological studies is formulated by Paul A. Miller and Arthur F. Raper as follows:

> …the real contributions that rural sociologists have to make in foreign assignments are of two types: First is that of collecting, compiling, and analyzing field data from representative localities. This is something of a virgin field, particularly in the Far East, Middle East, and Africa. …Locality studies have been a distinctive contribution of rural sociology abroad. Of especial meaning have been recent studies carried out in cooperation with native scholars. The second basic contribution which can be made by the rural sociologists to action programs is that of providing a working knowledge of rural organization, particularly with emphasis on village structures and functions.[59]

The most important names that became effective in the spread of the rural sociology studies throughout the world were Carle C. Zimmerman and Pitirim Sorokin.[60] Zimmerman, who also lectured in Turkey, directly affected the development of rural sociology studies in Turkey. Zimmerman was invited to Turkey by Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu and gave a series of lessons at the Economy Faculty

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[58] Orhan Türkdoğan, *Türkiye'de Köy Sosyolojisinin Temel Sorunları* (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1970), p. 7.
[59] Paul A. Miller and Arthur F. Raper, "Rural Sociologists and Foreign Assignments," *Rural Sociology* 18, no. 3 (1953), p. 266.
[60] For the prominent book on rural sociology field that was written by these two scholars, see Carle C. Zimmerman and Pitirim Sorokin, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York: H. Holt, 1929).

of the Istanbul University during the 1963-1964 academic year.[61] His works had been followed and known by the Turkish sociologist before his visit. Zimmerman was also effective in Turkey in his efforts to combine the Le Play sociological school and American rural sociology discipline.[62]

There were two main intellectual backgrounds of the rural sociology discipline. First, the practitioners of rural sociology defined rural structures as the entities which would be eliminated inevitably with the development of capitalism and technology. They asserted that was not possible to defend these "archaic" structures against the destructive effects of capitalism and that these structures themselves were not strong enough to resist capitalism. The typical representatives of this though in sociology field were Karl Marx and Émile Durkheim.[63]

Second intellectual background goes back Ancient Greece and was shaped through the creation of an "agrarian myth" through the glorification of the peasantry. According to this thought, the rise of urban settlements with the development of capitalism is also the manifestation of the fall of the civilization. The traditional culture is being destroyed by this capitalist development. In order to prevent this destructive force, the traditional forms of rural relations, which were defined as the centers of pastoral virtue, need to be recreated. The main representatives of this thought in the sociology field were Ferdinand Tönnies, as said above, and Zimmerman and Sorokin, as his followers.[64]

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[61] Burhan Baloğlu, "Carle Clark Zimmerman (1897-1983)," in *Türkiye'de Sosyoloji (İsimler-Eserler) I*, ed. M. Çağatay Özdemir (Ankara: Phoneix Yayınevi, 2008), pp. 555-579.
[62] The relation of the Le Play School to Zimmerman's sociological views was clearly stated in the conference that was prepared in Turkey for the hundredth anniversary of the Le Play sociology school. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Dünyada Science Sociale," in *Le Play Sosyolojisinin 100. Yılı-Dünyada ve Türkiyede Tesirleri*, ed. Türk Sosyoloji Cemiyeti (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi ve Basımevi, 1958), p. 19.
[63] The Marxist "dissolution of the peasantry" thesis is told in Chapter One in detail.
[64] Summers and Buttle, "Rural," p. 2426.

Zimmerman's studies, or in general rural sociology studies in the US, were based mainly on the application of Le Play's sociological method through the social classifications of Tönnies. Le Play's monographic technique, which was based on the household/family as the unit of analysis, was developed for creating an informative substructure for social reform projects. This goal of Le Play's methodology also coincided with the goals of modernization theory. As a result, it can be asserted that the rural sociology approach, which developed in the US and spread throughout the world during the 1950s, was created with the reinterpretation of the nineteenth century social reform motivated sociological thoughts through the perspective of modernization theory.

The most important aim of the Le Play sociology school was to achieve the "social peace" in society. In order to achieve that "social reality" needed to be observed and the results were put into practice with social projects. Tahsin Demiray, who was a prominent follower of the Le Play School in Turkey, said that, "according to Le Play, the politics was an ART which tries to satisfy the basic requirements of the people. It needs to work for 'peace at home and world'."[65] Social peace was the main motive in Le Play's and his followers' sociological studies. This was mostly due to their fear of the destructive effects of capitalist development.

Within this framework, the Le Play sociology can be defined as one of the representatives of the conservative counter-revolutionist tradition that was uneasy with the developments that had occurred after the French Revolution and which wanted "not to overdo the revolution." Le Play was described by the Action Française, which was the most important movement of French conservatism, as "one

[65] Tahsin Demiray, "Modern Cemiyet İlmi'nin Kurucusu Le Play'in Hayatı," in *Le Play Sosyolojisinin 100. Yılı-Dünyada ve Türkiyede Tesirleri*, ed. Türk Sosyoloji Cemiyeti (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi ve Basımevi, 1958), p. 6. "*Le Play'e göre siyaset, halkların esas ihtiyaçlarını tatmin etmek için çalışan bir SANAT'tı. "Yurtta ve cihanda sulh" için çalışmalı idi.*"

of the leaders of the nineteenth century counter-revolutionary movement."[66] Aykut Kansu explains the meaning of the social classifications of Le Play sociology as follows:

> In the background of this fake classification, which seems to be like a sociological analysis, with which Le Play and his followers became actually uneasy, was the rise of the idle working class, which were in the service of the industrialists, had only a simple relation of contract in between and out of the reach of the traditional controlling mechanisms, against the peasant class, which was once in the service of the aristocracy and the church and subservient to both. Le Play and the other catholic thinkers found the solution to the this situation, which they called the "social problem," in the protection of the workers with fulfilling their needs, including their religious education, by the industrialists similar to the old time aristocrats who "protected" their own peasants.[67]

These practices, which were developed to overcome the "social problem" as Kansu says, were the main elements that maintained most of the intellectuals' thoughts during the nineteenth century. Sociology as a social science discipline was developed as a way to solve this problem during that time. Le Play had an important place in this process. He brought out the preparation of social projects to save this social problem from being only a political attitude and asserted that only with the gathering of real and direct knowledge of society or the problematical group could social projects be effective and successful. The Le Play School, which can be defined as a social engineering attempt, differentiated itself from the other sociological methods or perspectives through the assertion that they had a more direct relation

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[66] Sanford Elwitt, "Social Science, Social Reform and Sociology," *Past and Present*, no. 121 (Nov., 1988), p. 212.

[67] Aykut Kansu, "Prens Sabahaddin'in Düşünsel Kaynakları ve Aşırı-Muhafazakâr Düşüncenin İthali," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Vol. 1, Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirası Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi*, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 160. "*Sosyolojik bir çözümlemeymiş gibi gözüken bu sahte sınıflandırmanın arkasında, Le Play ve takipçilerinin aslında rahatsız oldukları şey, eskiden aristokrasinin emrinde ona –ve kiliseye- itaat eden bir köylü sınıfı yerine artık geleneksel kontrol mekanizmaları dışında, fabrikatörlere hizmet eden ve onlarla aralarında yalnızca basit bir kontrat ilişkisi olan başıboş işçi sınıfının türemesiydi. Le Play ve Katolik düşünürler, 'sosyal sorun' olarak adlandırdıkları bu duruma çareyi fabrikatörlerin tıpkı köylüsüne 'sahip çıkan' aristokratlar gibi işçilerine sahip çıkmalarında ve oların dinî eğitimleri dahil tüm ihtiyaçlarını karşılamalarında bulmaktaydı.*"

with social "reality." The main difference of the Le Play School was the use of monographic research techniques for gathering real knowledge of society, which would maintain the basis for the social projects that would solve the social problem. This difference made this technique preferable for the rural sociology field and during its development this technique was reinvented by rural sociology as a practical tool in the observation of the problematic societies in the world.

The nineteenth century sociology schools played important roles in the development of political movements in Turkey. As Bernard Lewis writes, "one of the common characteristics of all of these schools was that they treated the sociology as a kind of philosophy and even as a religion and they had the tendency to perceive them as apocalyptical sources over moral, social, political and even religious problems."[68] Similar to that, Nurettin Şazi Kösemihal, who was a follower of the Le Play School in Turkey, said that the sociologists developed their thoughts during the hard times of their society almost as "prophetic leaders," during the making of the sociology discipline.[69]

Niyazi Berkes, in his early studies, defined the general characteristics of the development of sociology in Turkey as follows:

> To summarize the characteristics of Turkish sociology: (1) It has been under the influence of political movements for a long time. This

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[68] Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, trans. Metin Kıratlı, 7. ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998), pp. 230-231. "*bütün bu ekollerin bir ortak özelliği, sosyolojiyi bir tür felsefe ve hattâ din olarak ele almak, ve ahlâki, toplumsal, siyasal ve hattâ dinî sorunlar üzerinde sanki vahiy kudretinde bir kaynak olarak görmek eğilimleridir.*"

[69] Kösemihal expressed his thoughts as follows: "As a matter of fact, when we look at the history of the humanity, time to time every society confronts with great depressions and troubles and every time some figures, such as prophet, judge, philosopher, statesman, appear for partially preventing these troubles. However, for the appearance of a sociologist type, who tries to find the cures of these troubles in science and due to that analyzes the social events with the scientific perspective, it became a necessity to wait for the nineteenth century." *"Nitekim insanlık tarihine bir göz atarsak toplulukların devir devir büyük buhranlara, sıkıntılara uğradıklarını, her devirde de bu buhranları sıkıntıları kısmen olsun önleyecek peygamber, hakîm, filozof, devlet adamı gibi çeşitli tiplerin belirdiklerini görürüz. Ama bu türlü buhranların devasını ilimde arayan, bu maksatla da cemiyet hâdiselerini ilim görüşüyle tahlil eden bir sosyolog tipinin belirmesi için XIX uncu yüzyılı beklemek lâzımdı."* Nureddin Şazi Kösemihal, "Memleketimizde Tecrübi Sosyolojinin Doğuşu ve Gelişmesi," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 6 (1950), p. 117-118.

> situation resulted in a very short life for each school, caused them to change very rapidly with the changes of politics, and did not permit them to produce fruitful researches. (2) The French school of sociology became more influential in shaping the scientific outlook of Turkish sociologists. (3) Its chief concern after the World War became endless methodological discussions; and for that reason it did not contribute anything to scientific research worthy of mention, while more interesting research studies have been made rather in other social sciences, such as anthropology, history, economics, and folklore, with which we are not here concerned. (4) The lack of financial support is one of the factors which prevent the development of a research program, the carrying-out of a plan the translations of foreign literature, the publication of journals, and the continuation of sociological associations.[70]

This general evaluation of Berkes, actually, was made also by followers of the Le Play School and Prince Sabahaddin in Turkey, who were criticizing that there was no such development in the sociology field due to the dominance of the Durkheim School on the Turkish sociological thought. This similarity also can show that Berkes, too, who was studying sociology in the US during that period, was affected by the Le Play School, which became dominant in the US sociology studies.

Prince Sabahaddin[71] became a member and the direct supporter of the Le Play School through Demolins, whom he met in Paris. The main aim of Prince Sabahaddin in getting involved with the Le Play School was not his search for some sociological "scientific approach" to analyze social structures, but his search for a

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[70] Niyazi Berkes, "Sociology in Turkey," *The American Journal of Sociology* 42, no. 2 (Sep., 1936), p. 246.

[71] The life of Prince Sabahaddin will not be told in detail here. More emphasis is going to be given to the sociological approach of Prince Sabahaddin and his effects on the development of the rural sociology in Turkey. For some prominent sources that focus on the life of Prince Sabahaddin, see Aslıhan Öğün Boyacıoğlu and Levent Boyacıoğlu, "Prens/Sultanzâde Mehmed Sabahaddin Bey (1879-1948)," in *Türkiye'de Sosyoloji (İsimler-Eserler) I*, ed. M. Çağatay Özdemir (Ankara: Phoneix Yayınevi, 2008); Kaan Durukan, "Prens Sabahaddin ve İlm-i İçtima-Türk Liberalizminin Kökenleri," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Vol. 1, Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirası Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi*, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001); Nezahet Nurettin Ege, *Prens Sabahaddin-Hayatı ve İlmî Müdafaaları* (İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası, 1977); Ali Erkul, "Prens Sabahattin," in *Türk Toplumbilimcileri I*, ed. Emre Kongar (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1982); Z. Fahri Fındıkoğlu, *Le Play Mektebi ve Prens Sabahaddin* (İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası, 1962); Kansu, "Prens Sabahaddin."; Cenk Reyhan, "Prens Sabahaddin," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Vol. 1, Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirası Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi*, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001); Cavit Orhan Tütengil, *Prens Sabahattin* (İstanbul: İstanbul Matbaası, 1954); M. Cavid Tütengil, "Prens Sabahaddin," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 4-5 (1949). For collected works of Prince Sabahaddin, see Ege, *Prens Sabahaddin*; Prens Sabahaddin, *Gönüllü Sürgünden Zorunlu Sürgüne-Bütün Eserleri*, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007).

proper approach to the modernization project in his mind. Sabahaddin was both affected by Demolins' thoughts on development and his way of putting these thoughts into practice. Sabahaddin believed that instead of an overall revolutionary practice, some regulating reformist practices were required in order to modernize society as a whole. This approach would be supported in various academic and intellectual circles. For example, Tahsin Demiray said the following on Sabahaddin's reformist perspective: "Sabahaddin Bey tried to make the ones, who had been wandering around Europe with thoughts of REVOLUTION up until that time to think about the 'Constitution' and tried to introduce the idea of 'uniting for doing' instead of 'uniting for destruction' to them."[72]

The importance and the meaning of Sabahaddin during his period will not be discussed here due to limitations of space; instead, how he was perceived during the period in question bears discussion, mainly due to the importance of his thoughts on the development of rural sociology in Turkey. Within this framework, it will be meaningful to quote from one of his leading followers, Nezahet Nurettin Ege, on the political/sociological perception of Prince Sabahaddin:

> It was the great patriot and at the same time the great sociologist Prince Sabahaddin Bey, who for the first time defended that the preparation of the reform program, in other words a curing system, would be possible only after the diagnosis of the illness of the structure through the analysis of that social structure with scientific techniques and who diagnosed on this way with reference to the "*La Science Sociale*," which had a long past history, and determined its remedies with a great scientific power.[73]

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[72] Tahsin Demiray, "Science Sociale'in Türkiye'ye Gelişi ve Bizdeki Tesirleri," in *Le Play Sosyolojisinin 100. Yılı-Dünyada ve Türkiyede Tesirleri*, ed. Türk Sosyoloji Cemiyeti (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi ve Basımevi, 1958), p. 22. "*O zamana kadar, Avrupa'da bir İHTİLÂL fikri ile dolaşıp duranları Sabahattin Bey (Anayasa) üzerinde düşündürmeğe çalışarak onlarda (yıkmak için birleşmek) yerine (yapmak için birleşmek) fikrini uyandırmak istemişti.*"

[73] Ege, *Prens Sabahaddin*, p. 33. "*Herhangi içtimaî bir bünyeyi ilmî usullerle tedkik ederek o bünyenin hastalığını teşhis ettikten sonra ona göre bir tedavi sistemi yani islâhat programı hazırlamak imkânı olduğu ilk defa müdafaa eden, uzun bir mâziye mâlik bir ilme (La Science Sociale)'e istinaden bu teşhisi koyan ve tedavi çarelerini de büyük bir ilmî kudretle tesbit eden büyük vatanperver, aynı zamanda büyük bir sosyolog Prens Sabahaddin Bey'dir.*"

The most important aspect that is seen in Ege's words is the thought of social reform through the "scientific" analysis of the social reality of society. The relation of Sabahaddin to the Le Play School was based mainly on this thought. The "experimental sociology" field, which was developed by Paul Descamps who was the follower of the Le Play School either, includes the practice of this "scientific" approach. The works of Descamps were translated into Turkish first by Nurettin Şazi Kösemihal.[74] His approaches corresponded to the most developed version of Le Play's monographic technique during the making of rural sociology in Turkey. According to this approach, the way to reach the knowledge of the "reality" of society passes through the use of the tools of experimental sociology.

In Turkey the Le Play School became institutionalized during the post-World War II period. In the post-war period, Sabahaddin's thoughts became the most important sociological understanding in Turkey. Both national and international developments were effective in the making of the dominance of this approach. Especially after the transition to the multi-party system and with the rise of the DP opposition, not only were the practices of the RPP criticized but also the dominant sociological approach of the single-party regime, which was the Durkheim-Gökalp School. As opposed to the statist approach of the RPP, the "liberal" and "individualistic" approach of Prince Sabahaddin was highlighted widely among the DP circles.[75]

On the international scale, the developmentalist modernization theory, which was put into practice for the development of underdeveloped countries, also corresponded with the approach of the Le Play-Sabahaddin School. Even during the

[74] See Paul Descamps, *Deneysel Sosyoloji*, trans. Nurettin Şazi Kösemihal, 2. ed. (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1965).
[75] H. Bayram Kaçmazoğlu, "Türkiye'de Sosyoloji Çalışmaları 1950-1960 Dönemi," *Sosyoloji Dergisi* 3. series 1993-1995, no. 4 (1997), p. 139.

period in question the relation of Prince Sabahaddin's thoughts to modernization theory was known and praised. For example, Cavit Orhan Tütengil said that the book of Max W. Thornburg, which was translated to Turkish as *Türkiye Nasıl Yükselir?* (How Will Turkey Rise?), and which includes the development projects for Turkey, had a great resemblance to the book of Prince Sabahaddin, *Türkiye Nasıl Kurtarılabilir?* (How Can Turkey Be Saved?).[76]

The rise of developmentalism and the rural studies field during the post-war period increased the importance of the thoughts of Prince Sabahaddin and his followers. The village monographs and village surveys were important during this period in the making of the projects, which were prepared to solve the "peasant question." The "real" knowledge of the rural structures, which would be used in these projects, was gathered through the method developed by the Le Play School.

Hilmi Ziya Ülken, in an open letter published in *Sosyoloji Dergisi* (Journal of Sociology) in 1954, expressed the need for village monographies for the preparation of social reform, as follows:

> If the social monograph of a country is done, then it will be possible to make social diagnosis of that country. In this way, the path of every kind of medical, pedagogical and moral reform that will be practiced in that country becomes illuminated. … The first important result that will be gathered from the village monographs will be to reveal the interaction and interrelation between various social facts or various social foundations. In this way, the facts which were previously studied only through their general and statistical characteristics and which we used to study separately, such as the accumulation of the population from the village to the cities, the abandoning lands by some peasants and their tendency to become civil servant, their tendency towards the industrial and commercial business life, the increasing and the decreasing ratios in crime according to their types, the preferences of profession, will be possible to be studied according to the results of the monographic research and with regard to their interdependency.[77]

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[76] Tütengil, *Prens*, p. 4.

[77] Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yüksek Makamına," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 9 (1954), pp. 61, 64-65. "*Eğer bir memleketin içtimaî monografisi yapılmış ise, o memleket hakkında içtimaî bir teşhis koymak mümkün olur. Bu suretle o memlekette yapılacak sıhhi, pedagojik veya ahlâki her hangi bir reformun yolu aydınlanmış demektir. … Köy monografisine ait araştırmaların vereceği ilk mühim*

In this open letter, Ülken stated that there was an increasing tendency of rural migration in Turkey and before it reached a dangerous level it needed to be taken under control. He added that in order to achieve that, the state had to support research projects, and according to this research, new social reforms needed to be prepared. Ülken tried to take the theoretical and material support that he had given to rural sociology studies from the very beginning to a higher level by trying to gain the support of the state administrations.

In the following parts of this open letter, Ülken drew the main framework of the organizations that needed to be founded for the practice of these projects. He also wrote the suggested regulations of this organization in this letter. Ülken had to wait for the foundation of such an organization until the 27 Mays 1960 coup. With the foundation of the *Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı* (State Planning Organization) and the *Köyişleri Bakanlığı* (The Ministry of Village Affairs) after the coup these studies were conducted with the support of the state. Rural sociology studies were not supported completely by the state administration during the 1945-1960 period. However, these studies maintained the creation of the accumulation of the knowledge of the theoretical and practical perspective on the rural structures, which would be transferred to the following period.

Rural sociology studies had been conducted since the very first years of the Turkish Republic. Especially, as being the reflection of the populist ideology of the single-party regime, not the relations in the rural structures but the rural culture had

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netice muhtelif içtimaî olgular veya türlü içtimaî müesseseler arasındaki karşılıklı tesir ve münasebetleri meydana çıkarmaktır. Bu suretle nüfusun köylerden şehirlere doğru birikmesi, bazı köylülerin tarlasını bırakması ve memurlaşmaya temayülü, ticarî ve sınaî iş hayatına doğru temayül, suçların nevilerine göre artma ve eksilme nisbetleri, meslek seçimi işleri gibi yalnız umumî ve statistik vasıflarile ve birbirinden müstakil olarak incelemiye alışmış olduğumuz olguları monografik araştırmaların neticelerine göre ve birbirine karşılıklı bağlılıkları bakımından incelemiye hasıl olacaktır."

been observed by the peasantism branches of the People's Houses in some monographs. The main aim of the village studies in the pre-1945 period was to show how the villages and the peasants had been ignored and neglected during the Ottoman period and how they had developed since the Republican administration. The peasants, who had an important place in the ideological construct of the "nation," were defined with reference to Ottoman times during the single-party period and the primary aspects of the peasants were glorified in these definitions.[78] Many village studies of this kind can be found in the publications of the People's Houses and later in the Village Institutes' journals.

Before the domination of the Le Play-Sabahaddin approach to sociological studies during the period in question, Selahaddin Demirkan was one of the sociologists that adopted this sociological tradition, and he produced some monographs during the single-party period. He was the head of the Eminönü People's House Peasantism Branch and conducted both theoretical and practical studies on the peasants and the villages. His dominant influence in village studies continued during the 1950s. He also published the *Köye Doğru* (Towards the Village) journal, in which he insistently developed the approach of the Le Play-Sabahaddin sociological tradition.[79]

The main events that affected the development of rural sociology studies in Turkey began actually during the Second World War. It can be asserted that since the mid-1940s two different approaches on sociology had been in great competition. The first side of this competition was made up of the followers of the Le Play-Sabahaddin School and they were mostly gathered around the *Sosyoloji Dergisi* (Sociology Journal), which was directed by Hilmi Ziya Ülken. In the first issue of the journal,

[78] Recep Ertürk, *Türk Sosyolojisinde ve Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köy Tartışmaları* (Ankara: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1997), p. 6, 53.
[79] Demiray, "Science Sociale," p. 33.

Hilmi Ziya Ülken published a nomenclature for the use of sociology researchers and defined the main parameters in sociological research in this form.[80] Through this article, Ülken, in a way, gave the starting signal for rural sociology studies with a perspective that had not been dominant during the single-party period. This nomenclature was used in many studies in the following period and the rural sociology studies were mainly framed with the perspective given in this article. In the second issue of *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, the village studies that were conducted according to this nomenclature began to be published. After these first initiatives the village studies that were conducted according to this nomenclature increased in number during the 1950s and, as a result, rural sociology studies gained pace and became dominant in the sociology discipline with the participation of new sociology students with time.[81]

The most typical characteristics of these studies were that they resembled to social anthropological studies more than sociology studies. This was due to their intention to present only the "reality" of the villages and the peasants of the regions on which the studies were focused. Generally, there was no "conclusion" section in most of these studies. The main intention of these studies was effective in this form

[80] Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "İçtimaî Araştırmalar," *Sosyoloji Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (1942).
[81] The first monographic study on the Turkish villages that published in the *Sociology Journal* was Nedim Göknil's study. Göknil, "Garbî Anadolu." The following studies can be listed as follows: Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Nurettin Şazi Kösemihal, and Cahit Tanyol, "Karataş Köyü Monografisi," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 6 (1950); Salâhattin Demirkan, "Bağlum Köyünde Köylü İşletmesi Anketi," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 7 (1952); Cahit Tanyol, "Baraklarda Örf ve Âdet Araştırmaları," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 7 (1952); Cahit Tanyol, "Baraklarda Örf ve Âdet Araştırmaları," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 8 (1953); Cahit Tanyol, "Baraklarda Örf ve Âdet Araştırmaları," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 9 (1954); Cavit Orhan Tütengil, "İhsaniye Köyü İncelemesi," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 9 (1954); Turhan Yörükân and Turgut Cebe, "Çatak Köyü Araştırması," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 10-11 (1956); Rahmi Taşçıoğlu, "Manisa İli Mütevelli Köyü Monografisi," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 10-11 (1956); Cavit Orhan Tütengil, "Keçiller Köyü İncelemesi," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 10-11 (1956); Yusuf Kurhan, "Eskitaşlı Köyü Monografisi," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 10-11 (1956); Yusuf Kurhan, "Yenibedir Köyü Monografisi," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 10-11 (1956); Hilmi Ziya Ülken and Ayda N. Tanyeli, "Gönen Bölge Monografisi," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 10-11 (1956); Mehmet Yurduseven, "Antalya İhsaniye Köyü İncelemesi," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 15 (1960); Cahit Tanyol, "Peşke Binamlısı Köyü," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 16 (1961); Cahit Tanyol, "Elifoğlu Köyü," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 17-18 (1962-1963). Although the last two articles were published during the 1960s, they were actually conducted in the early 1950s and also the follower of the same approach to sociological studies.

of writing. They were not conducted to reach a conclusion, but to gather information on the subject in question. According to this method, the concluding remarks and generalizations on the research subject could only be done after reaching an adequate accumulation of knowledge on the research subject.

The second side of the competition between the sociological approaches was made up of mostly the scholars from Ankara University, who mostly had studied sociology abroad and conducted some rural research with the monographic technique when they returned to the country. A study of Niyazi Berkes, titled *Ankara Köyleri Üzerinde Bir Araştırma* (A Study on the Villages of Ankara), bears the typical characteristics of American rural sociology studies.[82] As another example of this approach, Behice Boran analyzes the rural structures through their economic and material conditions with the comparison of two different types of village settlements in her book *Toplumsal Yapı Araştırmaları* (Research on Social Structure).[83] The main difference of these studies from the other approach was their emphasis on economic factors. In these studies, the rural structures and the problems of the peasants are analyzed through the economic development and the economic foundation of the relations in the countryside.

Another scholar, who can be accepted in this group even though his approach differs in some points, was İbrahim Yasa. Yasa obtained his rural sociology education at Missouri University in 1934 and became one of the most important figures in rural studies with his study on Hasanoğlan Village, which he conducted during 1944-1945.[84] Berkes and Boran were expelled from the university in 1948 on

[82] Niyazi Berkes, *Bazı Ankara Köyleri Üzerinde Bir Araştırma* (Ankara: DTCF Yayınları, 1942).
[83] Behice Boran, *Toplumsal Yapı Araştırmaları: İki Köy Çeşidinin Mukayeseli Tetkiki* (Ankara: DTCF Yayınları, 1945).
[84] Suna Başak, "İbrahim Yasa (1911-1993)," in *Türkiye'de Sosyoloji (İsimler-Eserler) I*, ed. M. Çağatay Özdemir (Ankara: Phoneix Yayınevi, 2008), p. 918; İbrahim Yasa, *Hasanoğlan Köyü'nün İçtimaî-İktisadî Yapısı* (Ankara: TODAİE Yayınları, 1955).

the accusation of being communists, and afterwards they did not make any other rural sociology studies. Their efforts continued in academic and political spheres different from these first attempts in the rural sociology field.

Hilmi Ziya Ülken, in an article published in *Sosyoloji Dünyası* (Sociology World), placed İbrahim Yasa between these two approaches and defined three different approaches in the rural sociology field in Turkey.[85] Although the perspective in the studies of Yasa was closer to that of Berkes and Boran approach, with expulsion of Berkes and Boran from the university, Yasa moved closer to the first group. Along with using his previous sociological method, his thoughts became closer to that of the Le Play-Sabahaddin School with time. Yasa tried to develop Ülken's nomenclature for rural studies monographs through some changes, which he emphasized in both of his studies on the Villages of Hasanoğlan and Sindel.[86] This study became very influential especially in the following period and it became one of the main methodological texts of the rural studies field in Turkey.

The importance of this study appears in the changes that Yasa made to Ülken's nomenclature. Yasa gave more space to the changes in the social structure of the villages in his revision. As it will be told below, the static research techniques which had been dominant at the beginning of this period were changed with a perspective that emphasized the transformation of the rural structures more than before. The most important representative of this method and perspective was Yasa himself. Yasa, with this contribution to the rural sociology field, on the one hand sustained the dominance of the Le Play-Sabahaddin perspective, and on the other, brought closer rural sociology studies in Turkey to the general perspective of American rural sociology studies.

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[85] Hilmi Ziya Ülken, "Türkiye'de Köy Sosyolojisi," *Sosyoloji Dünyası* 1, no. 1 (1951), p. 25.
[86] İbrahim Yasa, "Köylerin Sosyolojik Bakımdan İncelenmesinde Bazı Esaslar," *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 14, no. 1 (Mart 1959).

This development also brought about the emergence of a methodological discussion on the second group rural sociology approach. The emphasis on the economic factors that the Boran-Berkes approach made was criticized and condemned by the followers of the first group. The followers of the Le Play-Sabahaddin School asserted that it was required both to decrease the affect of value judgments on rural sociology studies and to conduct the overall "observation" of social structures. According to this perspective, the analysis and the explication of the subjected social structures should be done after the observation was completed and within the framework of the social reform projects. The followers of this approach founded an organization called the *Türk Sosyoloji Cemiyet* (Turkish Sociological Association), and published a journal called *Sosyoloji Dünyası*. In the first issue of this journal, the first article, titled "*Maksad*" (Intention), listed the basic principles that would be sought in the research that would be published in the journal as follows:

> Whether the Turkish Sociological Association or this journal as its official organ takes into consideration especially these three principles in their scientific practices: 1) Not to mix science with politics; which means, desiring not to interfere in science with politics, and in reverse, not to interfere in politics with science; 2) being protected from every kind of prejudgments in their studies; the prejudgments that come from religion, tradition and ideologies need to be considered. (It is our duty to obey these points to acquire the objectivity, neutrality and independency of science); 3) While conducting research both in theoretical and practical fields, paying as much attention to being practical and related to social reality.[87]

The perception of "not to interfere in science with politics" needs to be understood as a direct criticism of the Marxist perception of sociology. Especially

[87] "Maksad," *Sosyoloji Dünyası* 1, no. 1 (1951). "*Gerek Türk Sosyoloji Cemiyeti, gerekse onun organı olan bu dergi ilmî faaliyetlerinde bilhassa üç noktayı göz önünde bulundurmaktadırlar: 1) İlimle siyaseti karıştırmamak; yani ilmin siyasete karışmaması nisbetinde siyasetin de ilme karışmamasını temenni etmek; 2) Tetkiklerinde her türlü prejüjelerden korunmak; bu arada dinî, ananevî prejüjelerle ideolojilerden ileri gelen prejüjeleri saymalıyız. (İlmin objektifliğini, bitaraflığını ve istiklâlini temin için dergimiz bu noktalara riayeti vazife bilir); 3) Araştırmalarını gerek nazarî, gerek tecrübî sahada yapmakla beraber mümkün olduğu kadar içtimaî gerçekle alâkalı ve amelî olmıya dikkat etmek*."

after the accusation of the Boran-Berkes approach with communism, the other group increased their criticism against the so-called "based on a single account" approaches, which directly referred to approaches that gave priority to economic or material factors. Due to that, the followers of the first group emphasized the appropriation of a "complete" perception as a method in the preparation of their village monographs.

Two main approaches made up the basis for these criticisms. The first one of them was presented in Mümtaz Turhan's book, *Kültür Değişmeleri* (The Changes of Culture).[88] In this book, Turhan showed that the cultural changes can occur independently from material conditions. This perception was immediately accepted by the followers of the Le Play-Sabahaddin approach. They asserted that the cultural changes in the countryside did not occur according to the relations between base and superstructure as Boran and Berkes asserted and, according to them, Turhan proved this approach wrong with a more "scientific" perspective.[89] In addition to that, Turhan blended the old single-party period sociological perspective with the new dominant one of the 1945-1960 period. Turhan, who became an important figure in academic thought during the period, with the adaptation of the culture and civilization approach of Ziya Gökalp to the intellectual perspective of the 1950s, maintained the nationalism perspective of the Le Play-Sabahaddin School in Turkey.[90]

The second intellectual who was cited in criticisms of the Boran-Berkes approach was Georges Gurvitch. The first translations of his books into Turkish were done by a prominent representative of the Le Play-Sabahaddin School, Nurettin Şazi

[88] Mümtaz Turhan, *Kültür Değişmeleri: Sosyal Psikoloji Bakımından Bir Tetkik* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1951).
[89] Ülken, "Türkiye'de Köy Sosyolojisi," p. 25.
[90] Kaçmazoğlu, "Türkiye'de Sosyoloji," p. 132.

Kösemihal, in the *Sosyoloji Dergisi*.[91] Gurvitch also visited Turkey and gave a series of conferences. Gurvitch actively participated in the Soviet Revolution and later had troubles with the Soviet administration and immigrated first to Czechoslovakia and then to France.[92] He challenged the Durkheimian sociology and, in order to develop a complete perception of sociological thought, he developed a peculiar sociological philosophy. According to this approach, which Gurvitch called "in depth sociology," social reality is composed of various bases and superstructures and all of these structures affect each other reciprocally.[93]

Kösemihal, who studied with Gurvitch at Sorbonne University during 1950-1951,[94] comprehended this multi-dimensional social perception approach with its most basic meaning and used that perspective in his theoretical opposition to the approaches which were defined as defending "single-causality." However, as Vahap Sağ says, Kösemihal made the most important mistake by confusing the concepts of "method" and "technique," and using each of them interchangeably and ambiguously.[95] Actually this situation was related to defining the monographic technique, as being the greatest sociological method of the Le Play-Sabahaddin School. In fact, this perception, which accepted the monographic technique as the only method that would help them to find real knowledge, defined the core of its method with a research technique.

Along with the rural sociologists who became dominant during this period in Turkey, there were several rural sociology studies conducted in Turkey by foreign scholars. Especially, the social anthropological studies of Paul Stirling, who

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[91] Georges Gurvitch, "Sosyolojinin Bugünkü Temayülü (I)," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 4-5 (1949).
[92] William Paul Simmons, "Gurvitch, Georges," in *Encyclopedia of Modern French Thought*, ed. Christopher John Murray (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2004), p. 282.
[93] Doğan Ergun, *100 Soruda Sosyoloji El Kitabı* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1990), p. 93.
[94] Hayati Beşirli, "Nurettin Şazi Kösemihal (1909-1972)," in *Türkiye'de Sosyoloji (İsimler-Eserler) I*, ed. M. Çağatay Özdemir (Ankara: Phoneix Yayınevi, 2008), p. 755.
[95] Vahap Sağ, "Nurettin Şazi Kösemihal," in *Türk Toplumbilimcileri I*, ed. Emre Kongar (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1982), pp. 307-308.

conducted his research on the villages and the peasants of Turkey from the early 1950s,[96] attracted the attention of foreign academics to Turkey. Along with the research conducted by the development institutes, which were supported by the US centers, many researchers came to Turkey and made extensive contributions to the development of the field of rural sociology. For example, George and Barbara Helling's statistical analysis of the rural structures made an important contribution to the Turkish academic perspective.[97] The sociological studies of Daniel Lerner,[98] who was also an important representative of modernization theory, and Richard D. Robinson's various studies on Turkey were accepted as the most important rural sociology studies in the world at that time.[99]

In addition to all of these studies, rural sociology began to appear in the course schedules of the universities and the institutionalization of this social science field began accordingly. Orhan Türkdoğan, who worked as a research assistant in rural sociology in the newly founded Erzurum University during the period in question, wrote a letter to Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu on the development of rural sociology in Turkey. Fındıkoğlu quoted from that letter and described the institutionalization process of the field of rural sociology in Turkish universities as follows:

> …the teaching schedule of the University, which was founded three years ago in Erzurum and has only two faculties for now, bears an innovation that originates from American Le Play'ism: Village sociology and village monographism have an important place in the education of agricultural economy. The following matters are told in a

[96] See Paul Stirling, *Turkish Village* (London: Weindenfeld and Nicolson, 1965).
[97] Barbara Helling and George Helling, *Rural Turkey - a New Socio-Statistical Appraisal* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi, 1958).
[98] Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958).
[99] For the list of various studies on Turkey during this period, see Cevat Geray, "Toplum Kalkınması ve Köy Araştırmaları," *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi* 5, no. 1 (1972), pp. 8-15; Haim Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987), pp. 104-111; John F. Kolars, "Community Studies in Rural Turkey," *Annals of the Associations of American Geographers* 52, no. 4 (1962).

> report that was written for our work: "…Village sociology exists in the program of the Faculty of Agriculture of the University and I think that it is taught in our University for the first time in Turkey, as our University took the University of Nebraska as a model for itself."[100]

As can be seen in this quotation, the development of the discipline of rural sociology in Turkey was directly related to the developments in the US and the world. The dominance of modernization theory and its relation to the Le Play School also affected the development of the field in Turkey. There was already a tendency to adopt the perspective of Le Play before and during that time in Turkey. Along with the dominance of modernization theory in the Western world these two approaches were combined in the sociological research, which was mostly conducted on underdeveloped societies. Consequently, the previously existing tendency of the Le Play School eased the development of rural sociology, and the acceptance of modernization theory was not difficult in Turkey. As can be seen again in the quotation given above, the sociologists in Turkey defined modernization theory and the developments in the sociology discipline in the world as "American Le Play'ism." Due to that, it is proper to say that the development and the dominance of modernization theory in the world were understood as the development and the dominance of the Le Play School by the Turkish scholars. As has been shown from the beginning of this chapter, these two approaches and theorizations were not that much different from each other.

The common characteristic that can be observed in most of the rural sociology studies is the goal to gather as much information as possible on the reality

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[100] Fındıkoğlu, *Le Play*, p. 93. "*…üç yıl önce Erzurum'da kurulan ve şimdilik iki Fakülteli olan Üniversitenin öğretim programı, Amerikan Le Play'ciliğinden mülhem bir yenilik taşıyor: Köy sosyolojisinin ve köy monograficiliğinin ziraî ekonomi tedrisatı içinde ehemmiyetli bir yer işgal etmesi. Eserimiz için kaleme alınmış bir raporda şu husus belirtiliyor: '…Köy sosyolojisi, Üniversitenin Ziraat Fakültesi programında mevcuttur ve Türkiyede öyle zannediyorum ki ilk defa olarak Üniversitemizde okutulmaktadır. Çünkü, bizim Üniversite, Nebraska Üniversitesini model olarak almıştır.*"

of the villages and the peasants by using survey techniques. When the rural sociology studies are analyzed it can be seen that these studies were mostly conducted for learning how people lived in the villages and how they culturally behaved. In these studies, in addition to the sections in which the material conditions of the peasants and the villages were told, the cultural habits that were peculiar to those regions were told in great detail. The peasants' marital attitudes, the existence of blood vendettas, and historical and geographical characteristics were common issues that are discussed in these studies. In general, the everyday habits of the residents of the villages were discussed with a straightforward phrasing. The phrasing of Cavit Orhan Tütengil in his "*İhsaniye Köyü İncelemesi*" (The Survey of İhsaniye Village) can be given as a typical example of this style:

> A moderate villager passes one day in winter as such: He goes to the forest in the morning to gather the wood that he needs. He grinds flour, goes to the city to buy the needs of his home. Or he goes hunting, he joins those who gather in the village room and talks to them. … At noon he comes home, eats his lunch, rests for a while. After that he goes to the field and continues his work. He collects the stones from the field for some time, shapes the water channels, piles up the bushes in one place for burning them. He returns home as the sun sets.[101]

Another common characteristic can be seen in the unit of analysis that was chosen in almost all of these studies, the peasant family or household. The most important aspect of Le Play sociology, which is to conduct monographic studies through household types, was practiced in these studies. According to Le Play's sociological approach families are the smallest observable group in society, which is why the family was chosen as the unit of analysis in most of the village monographs. The rural families are observed through their income and expenditure budgets. As

[101] Tütengil, "İhsaniye," p. 54. "*Orta halli bir köylü kışın bir gününü şöyle geçirir: Sabahleyin evinin ihtiyacı olan odunu getirmek üzere ormana gider. Un öğütür, şehre giderek evinin ihtiyaçlarını satın alır. Yahut ava gider, köy odasının yerinde birikenlere katılarak sohbet eder. … Öğle vakti eve gelir, yemeğini yer, biraz dinlenir. Sonra tekrar tarlaya giderek işine devam eder. Bir aralık tarlanın taşlarını toplar, su yolarını düzeltir çalıları yakmak üzere bir yere yığar. Gün batarken evine döner.*"

Aslıhan Öğün Boyacıoğlu said, "according to Le Play the budgets acquire the gathering of the definite knowledge of the structure and the functions of the family and at the same time present a reliable base in the creation of the family types and in comparing the differing family types."[102] Le Play tried to understand the general attitudes and working conditions of the working class families through the analysis of their incomes and expenditures. In this way, he thought that he could also obtain the knowledge of the "basic moral codes of the society,"[103] which provide the basic knowledge for the preparation of his social reform project.

Not only did he accept the family organization as the basic unit of the society, but he also gave an important role to the family in his proposed social model. According to him "social peace" could only be achieved through understanding "social reality," and his reality was based on the protection of the existing social hierarchy without causing any impact.[104] The traditional family organizations were considered by Le Play as the main social tools that held the existing social hierarchy together. For this reason, the social reform projects were needed to be prepared according to the moral codes and the "realities" of the existing family structures.

The Turkish village monographs followed the same path during this period. In these studies various family types were chosen from the village according to their incomes and they were evaluated through their budgets, which were prepared by calculating their incomes and expenditures. These income-expenditure budgets were typical in the rural sociology studies conducted during this period. Although there are

[102] Boyacıoğlu and Boyacıoğlu, "Prens/Sultanzâde," p. 301. "*Le Play'ye göre, bütçe, ailenin yapısı ve fonksiyonlarına ilişkin kesin bilgi elde edilmesini sağlamaktadır ve aynı zamanda aile tipleri oluşturmada ve farklı aile tiplerin karşılaştırmada güvenilir bir altyapı oluşturmaktadır*."
[103] James Coleman, "Sosyolojik Çözümleme ve Sosyal Politika," in *Sosyolojik Çözümlemenin Tarihi*, ed. Tom Bottomore and Robert Nisbet (Ankara: Ayraç Yayınevi, 1997), p. 673.
[104] Elwitt, "Social Science," p. 212.

some differences among their levels of analysis, these budget lists were prepared with great attention according to the Le Play's sociological approach.

Towards the end of the period, both with the effect of American rural sociology and with the directions of the developmentalist perspective in general, the tendency to make comparisons with the studies that had been conducted earlier began. In his way they tried to see the changing factors in the same research area. While the level of analysis in most of the studies during the early 1950s was static, the definition of the changing factors in the social structures became the most important emphasis in many sociological studies towards the end of the period. Especially with the increase in the discussions of the "rural development problem" in the late 1950s, the comparisons between the rural structures increased and in this way efforts were made to observe the change or development process in the rural structures.

Two important studies are meaningful in showing how the change/ development processes became an important aspect in rural sociology studies during this period. The first one is a study of İbrahim Yasa that was conducted on Hasanoğlan village twenty-five years after his first survey. He compares the changing conditions in the same village with this new study and shows a dynamic and changing social structure.[105] Similarly, Cahit Tanyol during the publication of his study on Elifoğlu village, which he conducted in 1951, visited the village in 1964 for the second time and compared the changing conditions of the village.[106] In the previous studies these kinds of attempts had not been seen in the rural sociology studies. Most of the research had been conducted as if the villages and the peasants were static, observable objects. Towards the end of the period the rural sociology

[105] İbrahim Yasa, *Yirmibeş Yıl Sonra Hasanoğlan Köyü-Karşılaştırmalı Bir Toplumbilimsel Araştırma* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1969).
[106] Tanyol, "Elifoğlu."

studies in Turkey began to analyze the rural structures as more dynamic factors in society and in many of these studies the emphasis was given not only to the "existing" conditions but to the "changing" factors in the villages.

In this way the proponents of the Le Play-Sabahaddin approach departed from their previous perspective and moved closer to the Berkes-Boran approach in their level of analysis. Without abandoning their previous intentions and methodological apprehensions, they developed their sociological studies not only to reach "real" knowledge of the peasantry, but also to present the "change" and make conclusions from their studies. The greatest transformation among the followers of the Le Play-Sabahaddin School occurred in Cahit Tanyol and Cavit Orhan Tütengil. These two drew closer to a more socialist perspective during the 1960s and 1970s. Especially Cahit Tanyol left the rural sociology field with the pretext of "looking at Turkey's problems from a comprehensive perspective."[107]

"The real knowledge of the peasantry," which was presented in the rural sociology studies during this period, revealed their underdeveloped living conditions. As will be shown in the following chapters in the economic, political and cultural spheres, the peasants became visible and "real" also with the theoretical developments of the period. The social science researchers came across "real" peasants during their sociological studies and efforts were made to overcome the underdeveloped conditions of the peasants in more "scientific" ways. The rural development problem would be discussed in the following periods through the realities that were gathered by the rural sociology studies in this period.

The Le Play-Sabahaddin sociological perspective and American rural sociology discipline converged into a similar developmentalist perspective during

[107] Cahit Gelekçi, "Cahit Tanyol (1914-)," in *Türkiye'de Sosyoloji (İsimler-Eserler) I*, ed. M. Çağatay Özdemir (Ankara: Phoneix Yayınevi, 2008), p. 995. "*Türkiye'nin meselelerine bir bütün olarak bakmak istediği için*"

this period. As a result of these developments, in the academic and theoretical sphere the peasantry in Turkey was redefined through academic interaction and struggles. In the end, the peasantry was defined not only on an ideological/theoretical level, but mostly as a "real" entity as a result of the sociological studies that were conducted during this period. As will be shown in the next chapter, with the transformation of the rural structure the peasants became an undeniable "reality," and they were recognized by everyone with the rural migration movements, too. The peasants became real factors from the theoretical perspective as well. During this period, the peasants were transformed into another form, which could not be taken under control only with the ideological mechanisms by isolating them from the market relations.

With the transformation of the rural structure the peasants began to be shaped by the capitalist market relations. New, great and broader projects were needed in order to take this new form of peasantry under control. To apply such broad social projects, the existing "real" knowledge of the peasantry was needed, which had not been previously required or existed. The task of gathering this knowledge of the peasantry was undertaken by the representatives of the Le Play-Sabahaddin sociological approach, who were silenced and waited under the domination of the Durkheimian approach in Turkey. By revealing the reality of the peasants through sociological studies, the social reform projects were reshaped. As a result of the theoretical developments and their practical consequences in the sociology discipline during this period, the peasantry became a "real" entity recognized and considered more than ever.

CHAPTER III

PEASANTS MOVING TOWARDS CITIES: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE RURAL STRUCTURE, RURAL MIGRATION AND THE *GECEKONDU*

> My uncle always would warn me. He would say: Beware not to live in the cities, do not settle. Because the tribe and clan of the ones that settle in the city cannot be distinguished. Greatness and dignity are only in nomadism and turkmenism.
>
> *Selçukname*[108]

Migration, regardless of its main reason, is one of the indicators of a great social transformation. While trying to analyze the economic structures of societies, to maintain the reasons and consequences of migration would also mean showing the main components of the economic structures. For this reason, in this chapter, in which the transformation of rural structures in Turkey in the 1945-1960 period will be analyzed, migration will be the starting point, followed by the social effects of the transformation in the economic sphere.

Mehmet C. Ecevit said the following on the dual structure of internal migration conceptualizations: "The analysis of the rural relations is a must in understanding the internal migration; but at the same time the conceptualization of the internal migration effects on the analysis of the rural relations. Due to that, a certain migration theory, approach or interpretation becomes useful in the analysis of rural relations in reverse."[109] This situation is valid for the most part in the analysis

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[108] Quoted by Cavit Orhan Tütengil, "Köyden Şehre Göçün Sebepleri ve Neticeleri," in *1961-1962 Ders Yılı Sosyoloji Konferansları* (İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası, 1962), p. 96. "*Dayım daima bana nasihat ederdi. Derdi ki: Sakın olmaya ki şehirlerde oturasınız, yerleşesiniz. Zira Şehirde oturanların "eli" ve boyu malûm olmaz. Büyüklük ve asalet ancak göçebelikte ve türkmenliktedir*."

[109] Mehmet C. Ecevit, "İç Göçün Unutulan Kaynakları: Tarımsal Farklılaşma ve Dönüşüm Dinamikleri," in *II. Ulusal Sosyoloji Kongresi: Toplum ve Göç (20-22 Kasım 1996, Mersin)* (Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1997), p. 494. "*İç göçün anlaşılmasında kırsal ilişkilerin analizi bir zorunluluktur; ama, aynı zamanda, iç göçün kavramlaştırılma biçimi de, kırsal ilişkilerin analizini*

of the rural migration, which occurred intensely especially in the 1950-1960 period in Turkey. Actually, the transformation of rural structures and internal migration are intertwined problems, so it is not possible to discuss one without the other when you begin to analyze. However, more important than that, the main problem that is stated also by Ecevit above, the conceptualization or problematization of the problem can also define the other side or can affect profoundly the results of the analysis. This problem in conceptualizing migration or rural relations mostly is missing or forgotten in the analysis of rural structures. In this chapter, this transitive character of the subject in question will be kept in mind, and by mentioning some settled problems in the definition of the relation of rural transformation and migration, the epistemological roots of this problematic will be analyzed.

As in the other chapters of this study, the main purpose will be to determine the characteristics of the peasants, which were accepted and defined in terms of a "realist" perspective that was different from the previous period's definitions. The "new" peasantry, which was constituted as a result of the transformation of the rural structures, acquired a different reality from the peasantry of the previous period, which had been defined on an abstract, imaginary level. In addition to the new ideological definitions of the peasantry, the new rural economic relations, which were created as a result of economic transformation, created a "tangible" peasantry. As a result of the transformation of the rural structures the peasants moved towards the cities, becoming more "visible" in every way. This new perception of the definition of peasants was created as a result of the rural transformation. This may be accepted as the most important development in terms of the peasantry during this

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etkiler. Bu nedenle, belirli bir göç kuramı, anlayışı veya yorumu tersine dönüp kırsal ilişkilerin analizi için de kullanılır hale gelir."

period. As the most observable fact of the economic transformation during this period, rural migration is the subject of analysis in this chapter.

Before examining rural migration and the new urbanization process, a discussion of the economic developments of the period, which were the main reasons of the transformation of the rural structures, is necessary. The transformation of the rural structures occurred not only due to the economic policies that were inherited from the previous period, but also as a result of the newly preferred changing economic policies during the post-war period.

The Change in Economic Policies in the Post-War Period

The period in question began with discussions on the economic condition of the peasantry. The *Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu* (LRL, Land Reform Law), the discussions on which had been postponed in the previous period, began to be discussed in the Assembly just after the war.[110] The discussions on this law were brought to an end with the foundation of the opposition parties and the passage to the multi-party system. The effects of this law on the rural migration will be discussed in detail below. However, it can be asserted that, with this law, a new era began with a problem that occurred in maintaining the restructuring process of the rural structures and the peasants' lives.

During this period rural life changed dramatically. The main reason for this change can be found in the economic policies that were preferred in the post-war period. After the war the European economy was in need of reconstruction so as not to affect negatively on world economy. As the war ended, there were two different

[110] For a general review of this Law and the other Land Reform tries of the 1960s and 1970s, see Reşat Aktan, "Analysis and Assessment of Land Reform Activities in Turkey," *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 26, no. 3 (1971).

economic policy preferences between the victorious countries of the war: On the one side, there was the Soviet Union and socialist planned development and on the other, the capitalist development, which was organized according to the international division of labor in economic activities. Turkey chose to join the capitalist development camp, and this alliance with the capitalist Western Bloc necessitated some fundamental changes in the economic structure.

Turkey entered into direct economic and political relations with the Western Bloc and the US, as the rising hegemonic power in the world, around the economic reconstruction process of Europe during the post-war period. In this period, as Tolga Tören writes, "the main dynamic that would maintain the developments was the internationalization of the productive capital."[111] During the pre-war years and especially after the world economic crisis of 1929, the world economy had become introverted. However, after the war, the direction of the world economic developments followed a new path and realized itself through the international circulation of capital. In order to secure this new economic direction the creation of new economically applicable tools became necessary. In this way, in order to maintain the international currency with a stable exchange value, the Bretton Woods System was accepted in 1944.

According to the Bretton Woods system, the US dollar was accepted as an international exchange tool. In order to control and secure the operation of this system, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was established as a financial tool. Another foundation was the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), which would control the international investments according to this new economic system. As the third leg of the Bretton Woods System, the General

[111] Tolga Tören, *Yeniden Yapılanan Dünya Ekonomisinde Marshall Planı ve Türkiye Uygulaması* (İstanbul: Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı, 2007), p. 31. "*yaşanan gelişmeleri belirleyen temel dinamik üretici sermayenin uluslararasılaşmasıdır.*"

Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), which would organize and control the international trade, was accepted.[112]

Another important aspect of this system was the maintenance of the international division of labor in economic activities. In order to make this system work, an international division of labor was established in between the developed countries, the economies of which were based on industrial production and could sell industrial commodity to all of the world, and underdeveloped countries, whose economy were based on agricultural production and could sell agricultural commodities and raw materials to the developed countries for the continuation of their industrial production. According to this international division of labor, Turkey was given the role of supplying food and raw materials to European countries during their reconstruction process.

It is often said that if the DP had not come to power in the 1950 elections, it would not have changed the economic political preferences during the 1950–1960 period in general. The traces of this assertion can be found in the RPP's economic practices in the post-war period. The RPP mostly tried to accommodate the country's economic policies according to this newly structured world economic system. The first signs of this economic adjustment practices were seen in the rejection of the industrial plan which had been prepared by the etatist hardliners within the RPP. The preparation of this plan had begun in 1944, while the war continued. The commission had submitted the report to the government on 7 May 1945, and after the final reports, the plan, which was called *İvedili Sanayi Planı* (Urgent Industrial Plan), had been completed on 8 March 1946.[113] However, this plan was not put into practice. Based on industrial development and prepared through the notions of

[112] Ibid., pp. 31-32.
[113] L. Hilal Akgül, "The Transition from Industrial Plans to Development Planning in Turkey after the Second World War," *International Journal of Turcologia* II, no. 4 (Autumn 2007), p. 76.

import-substitutionist "self-sufficiency,"[114] the general characteristics of this plan did not fit into the new economic system created in the post-war period. As a part of the Western Bloc, Turkey had to accommodate itself to this new situation. For this reason, instead of adopting a plan shaped by the pre-war economic mentality, a new plan was prepared, which reshaped the economic approach of the state afterwards.

The new plan was called the *1947 Türkiye İktisadi Kalkınma Planı* (1947 Economic Development Plan of Turkey), commonly known as the *Vaner Planı* (Vaner Plan), after the head of the preparing commission Kemal Süleyman Vaner. This plan was prepared by the bureaucrats in the RPP who supported the priority of private capital over the etatist mentality. The main logic of this plan was totally different from that of the previous one, as evidenced in the financing mentality of the investments that were proposed in both plans. In the first plan the investments were to be financed with the domestic sources, but according to the other plan, forty-nine percent of domestic investments needed to be provided by foreign-based aid and credits.[115] While accelerating the integration of Turkey into the newly structured world market, this plan sought to pave the way for the cooperation of the Turkish industrial and commercial bourgeoisie with international capitalism.

The second adjustment practices in the economic system were held in order for Turkey to become a member of the IMF. On 7 September 1946, the RPP government announced the devaluation of the lira. This intervention into the currency of the country was done to improve the import-export regime, which was allowed to be more liberal than it had been before. The changing post-war economic conditions required this adjustment. This devaluation was undertaken in

[114] Ibid., p. 77.
[115] Yakup Kepenek and Nurhan Yentürk, *Türkiye Ekonomisi*, 15. ed. (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2004), pp. 91-92.

order to increase the foreign exchange flow into the country. In fact, there was no need to do this, as in 1946, the foreign currency reserves equaled a hundred million dollars. Turkey's treasury had 250 million dollars in foreign exchange reserves at the end of the war.[116] Two main reasons were behind this devaluation decision. First, the currency reserves were to obtain money from the US through the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan. The second was Turkey's desire to use a right which would be limited after it had become a member of the IMF.[117] Soon after that time, Turkey became a member of the IMF on 19 February 1947. Together with the acceptance of Turkey in the Marshall Plan on July 1948, Turkey became officially a member of the new economic order of the post-war period.

The new development program in which Turkey also took part during the reconstruction of the new world order was officially called the European Recovery Plan, but widely known as the Marshall Plan. This plan was first announced by US Secretary of State George Marshall on 5 June 1947 during a speech at the opening ceremony of Harvard University. The plan mainly was based on the necessity for a new and widespread development program for the reconstruction of Europe, which had been mostly ruined during the war. The Marshall Plan also was prepared in order to weaken the alternative paths of economic and social development, such as the socialist-statist development plans of the Soviet Union. Due to that, from the very beginning, the economic content of the Marshall Plan was also framed with a solid anti-communist discourse.[118] The Marshall Plan and its practices will not be analyzed here in all of its aspects, but while defining the rural migration below, the effects of the Marshall Plan on the change of the rural structure will be

[116] Korkut Boratav, "İktisat Tarihi (1908-1980)," in *Türkiye Tarihi, Vol. 4, Çağdaş Türkiye 1908-1980* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1995), p. 315.
[117] Kepenek and Yentürk, *Türkiye Ekonomisi*, p. 118.
[118] Tören, *Yeniden Yapılanan*, p. 48.

underlined.[119] However, it can be asserted that with the Marshall Plan, Turkey's economic preferences were reshaped and Turkey preferred a much more agriculture-based economic development strategy. According to the Plan, the role of Turkey during the reconstruction process of Europe was that of granary of Europe. Russell Dorr, the head of the Marshall Plan Turkey Mission, defined the role of Turkey as follows:

> The wheat production, which increased after the Turkey's economic plan, would help feeding the armies of the free world and the workers of the defence industry factories. The empowerment of the free world can only be obtained by the export of the requirements such as food products, coal and tools to her friends as a result of the increase in the agricultural production in Turkey.[120]

As can be seen clearly in this statement, the role of Turkey was to feed the European workers in their production for the "triumph of the capitalist world." In order to feed them, Turkey changed its economic mentality from industry to agriculture based production.

In relation to these economic adjustment policies some of the prominent members of the above-mentioned newly founded international financial associations prepared some reports that gave advice to the Turkish administration on economic policies. Two of them was very influential and need to be mentioned in here. The first was prepared by a committee headed by Max Weston Thornburg in 1949. Thornburg was the head of the California Standard Oil Company Engineers Committee and also an advisor on oil for the US government. He later became the personal economic advisor to Menderes in 1959.[121] The Thornburg

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[119] For a detailed analysis of the Marshall Plan and its effect on Turkish economy, see Ibid.
[120] Ecehan Balta, "1945 Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu: Reform Mu Karşı Reform Mu?," Praksis, no. 5 (Winter 2002), p. 283. "*Türkiye'nin iktisadi plan sonucunda çoğalan buğday mahsulü, hür dünyanın ordularını ve savunma fabrikalarında çalışan işçilerini beslemeye yardım edecektir. Hür dünyanın güçlenmesi, Türkiye'de tarımsal üretimin artmasıyla dostlarına hayatı ihtiyaçları olan gıda maddeleri, kömür ve malzeme ihracatıyla elde edilebilir.*"
[121] Ahmad, *Demokrasi Sürecinde*, p. 125.

Report was published as *Turkey: An Economic Appraisal*,[122] and mainly stressed the abolition of the etatist regime. This was the most significant characteristic of this report. The recommendations mentioned in the report, in fact, put forward the stipulations for the continuation of American aid.[123] With reference to the coming elections, Thornburg said, "no matter how the voting may result, seems probable that the period of one-party dictatorship has come to an end. The tide is running against the extremists of Etatism".[124]

The second report might be accepted as being complementary to the Thornburg Report. This report was prepared by a mission charged by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development with the personal consent of President Celal Bayar.[125] This report, in short, repeated the recommendations of the previous one. However, this report was not written as giving advice to the coming desired government, but to the new government of which the authors approved.

The American reporters' development strategies for the new government attached more importance to agricultural production and advised the complete abandonment of the statist industrial development. As in line with the Marshall Plan, according to these plans Turkey had to be the agricultural storehouse of Europe and produce especially more grains with the help of foreign investment and more liberal credit policies. A rapid mechanization of agricultural production was needed and in order to obtain the farm-market connection new highways had to be constructed

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[122] Max Weston Thornburg, *Turkey: An Economic Appraisal* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1949).
[123] Ibid., p. 255.
[124] Ibid., p. 198.
[125] International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), *The Economy of Turkey: An Analysis and Recommendations for a Development Program*, Report of a Mission Sponsored by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Collaboration with the Government of the Turkish Republic (Washington, D.C.: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development Publication, 1951).

while giving up the railroad policies of the statist Republican regime. The economic mentality during the previous period had been based on the development of the railroads in order to support industrial production. This perspective would be changed with the establishment of highways in order to maintain the connection of agriculture production with the market.[126] The monetary support of all these achievements would be given by the newly founded creditor organizations, which were under the direct control of the new leader of the capitalist world economy, the United States.[127]

The main motive of the US plans was the application of the modernizationist paradigm, which was described in detail in the previous chapter. According to this paradigm, first not all but some of the sectors in underdeveloped countries would be modernized, after which development would spread to the other sectors gradually. This sector was mostly the agricultural sector. It was believed that the existing social structures would resist this modernization process and that development would only be achieved by breaking the existing structure and replacing it with market-related Western-type rural structures. Modernization theory was strengthen with the hegemonic dominance of development economics in the post-war period. As a sub-discipline of economy, development economics tried to define the economic underdevelopment of the "non-Western" countries. This academic discipline mostly dealt with the main reasons for the lack of production in these countries, and how "productivity" could be increased.[128] This understanding was a sub-division of modernization theory in the field of economics. In order to achieve this goal,

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[126] Balta, "1945 Çiftçiyi," p. 283.
[127] For a detailed analysis of the Turkish relations with the US on the credit agreements, see Feridun Cemil Özcan, "U.S. Aid and Turkish Macroeconomic Policy: A Narration of the Aid Bargain Process in the 1946-1958 Period," *Turkish Yearbook*, no. 34 (2003).
[128] Fuat Ercan, *Gelişme Yazını Açısından Modernizm, Kapitalizm ve Azgelişmişlik* (İstanbul: Sarmal Yayınevi, 1996), p. 91.

development economics reinstalled the modernizationist paradigm of "intervention" in economics. With the effect of the Keynesian interventionist economic policies of the inter-war period, development economics redefined economic intervention and used it in the development plans and strategies of the post-war period. The economic intervention paradigm mostly was applied by means of foreign credit aid programs in underdeveloped countries.[129]

Thus, in the post-war period, the new world order was shaped through the notions of development, intervention and productivity. Especially the practices to increase productivity would be the main motivators in the economic plans. All kinds of foreign credit and aid were organized according to this notion. Reşat Aktan, one of the most important economic experts of the period, said, "the most short cut way to industrial development passes from agricultural development and consequently from the increase in productivity."[130]

Productivity became a magical word during this period and in all of the plans mentioned above, economic proposals were created to achieve an increase in productivity. In order to increase productivity in agriculture an intense mechanization was recommended. The mechanization of agricultural production was undertaken with the help of the intervention of international economic associations, which meant foreign credit.

As will be discussed at length below, the mechanization of agricultural production changed the rural structure of Turkey. It not only affected the rural structure but also the living conditions of the peasants. Due to that, the adjustment practices of Turkey to the new economic policies of the post-war period totally

[129] Tören, *Yeniden Yapılanan*, pp. 41-42.
[130] Reşat Aktan, "Türkiye Ziraatinde Prodüktivite," *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 13, no. 2 (1958), p. 48. "*Sanayileşmeye giden en kestirme yol zirai kalkınma ve dolayısıyla prodüktivite artışından geçer*"

changed the overall structure of economic mentality, and also as a result, the economic model. With the mechanization of the agricultural production and with the creation of a new highway transport system, the previous period's railway-industry based development model was changed into one based on highway-agriculture development. When the DP was in power, it continued the post-war RPP approach to economics. The change in government also facilitated the execution of the plans. The DP government would be most suitable than the RPP government for the new era, as was stated by Thornburg in his report.

The effects of the mechanization of agricultural production created enormous changes in the rural structure. However, the process of this change had complex relations with the other developments in the country. Due to that, it would be wrong to define the mechanization as the only reason for the change in the rural structure. As was discussed above, in order to understand the scope of this change, rural migration is the main focus in this study.

From the very first days in which the migration problem became the subject of academic and popular research, the main question was to understand the reasons for migration movements, which had become intensely noticeable. It was thought that if the reason for the migration movements was understood, the actions which were going to be taken to prevent them could be planned. However, from the 1950s, when the first research on this subject began, the rural migration gradually increased and continues even today. The reason for this increase has not been, of course, the improper identification of the problem's real cause, but lies in the problematization of the migration activities. As İlhan Tekeli and Yiğit Gülöksüz state, the theoretical perception in conceptualizing the relation of the dissolution of the rural structure to migration have been shaped by the activities that are undertaken to prevent the

migration movements until recently.[131] For this reason, the relations between capitalist development, modernization and urbanization have to maintain the axis of understanding rural dissolution and rural migration.

Capitalism, Modernization and Urbanization

The formation of the first cities can be dated to 3500-2500 B.C. However, the formation of cities in today's context occurred with the development of capitalism. In order to escape from the dominance of the aristocracy in the countryside, bourgeoisie created the free market and production facilities in cities. This increased the importance of the cities as centers of economic activity. Simultaneously with the creation of the first industrial cities in England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the rural structure disintegrated and the dispossessed peasants began to migrate to the cities, which made the modern cities the center of production and consumption, and thereby centers of capitalism. Within this framework the extent of urbanization is closely related to the extent of the dissolution of rural structures.

The development of the cities and capitalism is a part of the modernization process. İlhan Tekeli categorizes the modernization process in four interrelated dimensions. The first and main economic dimension is the development of capitalism. The second is the creation of social organization and the knowledge of life style, that is to say, the creation of positivist norms. The third dimension, which occurred with the transformation from traditionalism to individualism, is the creation

[131] İlhan Tekeli and Yiğit Gülöksüz, "Kentleşme, Kentlileşme ve Türkiye Deneyimi," in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, Vol.5* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), pp. 1234-1238.

of "citizenship." The last dimension, as the administrative scope in which all of the other dimensions unite, is the creation of the nation-state.[132]

Although there were some differences in these interrelated dimensions of the modernization process in late capitalist societies, basically the creation of modern societies followed a similar process. Within this framework, during the Ottoman-Turkish modernization process some distinctive forms were created and both in the creation of administrations that are peculiar to capitalism and in urbanization process, Ottoman-Turkish society passed through a more rapid transition process. In order to get rid of the social tensions, which were anticipated due to this rapid transition, an ideological positioning against urbanization emerged during the first years of the Republican period. As a result, the populist/peasantist approach, which included the anti-urban glorification of the village, became a dominant ideology in controlling this social tension.[133]

Although the cities during the Ottoman period were places in which capitalist development spread, the articulation of the countryside to the capitalist relations of production occurred in the later periods. During the first years of the Republic, while the older city settlements were redesigned according to a modernization mentality, the modernization of the countryside, which could bring capitalist relations to the villages, was not aspired. Due to that capitalist relations did not spread to the countryside and this resulted in a limited connection between the countryside with the cities. The development level of the relations of production did not necessitate the overall capitalization of the countryside during the first years of the Republic.

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[132] Tekeli, "Bir Modernleşme Projesi," p. 137.

[133] The definition of the populist/peasants approach can be found in Chapter One, and also see Karaömerlioğlu, *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta*; Zafer Toprak, "Halkçılık İdeolojisinin Oluşumu," in *Atatürk Döneminin Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Sorunları* (İstanbul: İstanbul Yüksek İktisat ve Ticaret Mektebi Mezunları Derneği, 1977).

This situation also coincided with the nation-state approach of the Republican administration. Tekeli writes that:

> [The nation-state structure of the Turkish Republic] was not based on national consciousness, which is created while maintaining the market unity of a country that became industrialized in market mechanism. It was a nation-state which emerged during the dissolution of an empire and whose national consciousness would substantially be recreated. Although the nation-state was founded politically, it would be recreated on the social consciousness level.[134]

For this reason, theoretically, before capitalist relations spread out from the cities that are able to adopt the desired nation-state understanding, this new consciousness has to be settled in the countryside. That is when the united market mentality needed for capitalist development can be established throughout the country and the countryside can be accepted as a part of this united capitalist entity. This process is determined with the new nation-state's requirements.

The Republican regime tried to stop the destructive forces of capitalism that affected the rural structures. The Kemalist regime first exerted the dominance and control over the cities according to the new nation state's requirements. The new state tried to obstruct the dissolution of the rural structures in order to protect the cities from the rural migration movements. As Tarık Şengül writes, "the Kemalist nation-state project experienced the discomfort of entering the modernization project from the periphery".[135] In order to overcome this discomfort, the Kemalist modernization project created positivist citizenship norms, and according to these new norms, the Kemalist administration tried to give a new consciousness to the components of the rural structure that there was no need to move to the cities.

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[134] Tekeli, "Bir Modernleşme Projesi," p. 145. "[Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ulus-devlet yapısı] *piyasa mekanizması içinde sanayileşen bir ülkenin pazar bütünlüğünü sağlarken oluşturduğu ulus bilincine dayanmaz. Bir imparatorluğun parçalanması sırasında ortaya çıkmış, ulus bilinci büyük ölçüde yeniden inşa edilecek bir ulus-devlettir. Ulus-devlet siyasal olarak kurulmuş olmasına rağmen, toplumsal bilinç düzeyinde yeniden oluşturulacaktır.*"

[135] H. Tarık Şengül, *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset: Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçleri Üzerine Yazılar* (İstanbul: Dünya Yerel Yönetim ve Demokrasi Akademisi, 2001), p. 75. "*Kemalist ulus-devlet projesi modernite projesine çevreden girmenin sıkıntısını yaşamıştır*."

However, this consciousness-giving process was interrupted, mostly as a result of the compulsion for change in the international system. Turkey sought a place for itself in the international economic restructuring activities of the post-war period, as told above. Korkut Boratav describes this new economic preference of Turkey as "a different articulation attempt with the world economy." According to him, this transition process is "the unification tendency with the world economy that was based on the specialization on raw materials."[136] According to the new economic development model, an increase in agricultural production and specialization in agricultural products in the world market were anticipated. In order to achieve that, policies calculated to increase agricultural production were put into practice and to establish the substructure facilities needed to transport the production to the international markets.

In terms of urbanization, this necessitated abandoning the previous economic policies. In addition to that, the countryside had to be restructured in order to create the market-based production. The obstructions in the way to creating such an economic order had to be abolished, especially in the countryside. Thus, it became necessary to rapidly commercialize the rural structure and adjust to the newly created world order. This was mostly done with the transformation of the dominant but fairly unproductive petite production in agriculture, which was rooted in the Turkish economy.

With the commercialization of the rural structures, the old "to keep the peasants in their village" mentality needed to be changed. The unified market mentality along the borders of the nation-state was not totally formed when it was hit by this commercialization of agriculture. The need to adjust to the new economic

[136] Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2002*, 8. ed. (İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi, 1998), p. 101. "*dünya ekonomisiyle farklı bir eklemlenme denemesi*"; "*dünya ekonomisi ile hammaddeci ihtisaslaşmaya dayanan bütünleşme eğilimi*".

policies developed capitalism in the countryside more rapidly than desired, and this affected the ideological perception of the creation of a unified and controlled market. As a result, the dissolution of the rural structure occurred more quickly than the Kemalist ideologues had predicted. The dissolution brought rural migration movements, and due to the high level of urbanization during this period, a new kind of urbanization form, squatting or *gecekondu* building activities, was created.

In the ideological arena the citizenship mentality that the new nation-state tried to create would be abandoned and instead a new kind of unifying element was needed. During this period this unifying element, as a result of covering the requirements of the international bloc which Turkey had joined, would most of the time be built by the anti-communist discourse.[137] This discourse was especially used for the integration of the peasants with the country's ideological and political directions.

In order to explain the fact of peasants moving toward cities during the 1945-1960 period, all of the components of the rural structures need to be taken into consideration. Actually, as was said at the beginning, no matter which one was chosen from the rural structures and rural migration as the starting point, any analysis that did not include the other would be missing. This missing point leads to a common misunderstanding in the research dealing with especially the rural migration, which is, as İlhan Tekeli says, the settling of a "mechanical" approach on explaining the reasons of the rural migration. [138]

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[137] For the development of anti-communist discourse during this period, see Chapter Four.
[138] İlhan Tekeli, "Türkiye'nin Göç Tarihindeki Değişik Kategoriler," in *Kökler ve Yollar: Türkiye'de Göç Süreçleri*, ed. Ayhan Kaya and Bahar Şahin (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007); İlhan Tekeli, "Türkiye Tarımında Mekanizasyonun Yarattığı Yapısal Dönüşümler ve Kırdan Kopuş Süreçleri," in *Yerleşme Yapısının Uyum Süreci Olarak İç Göçler*, ed. İlhan Tekeli and Leila Erder (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1978).

The Land Reform Law, the Marshall Plan, the Smallholder Peasantry and Migration

In order to understand the rural migration movements in the 1945-1960 period, the main rural economic developments need to be remembered and their relation to the migration movements maintained. Although all of these developments are so broad and could be the subjects of the independent research, here only their relation to the rural migration movements will be discussed. In general, as is asserted in this study, the main reasons for the rural migration movements in the 1945-1960 period can be sought in the united effects of the economic developments during these years. Accordingly, if it is proper to say the last words from the beginning, the Land Reform Law (LRL) created the juridical substructure of the increase in the amount of cultivated land, which affected the migration movements; the Marshall Plan affected the increase in the amount of cultivated lands, and as a result created the technical possibilities for the rural migration; and at last, as the dominant production unit, the small peasantry, which would continue to exist despite the increasing commercialization in the rural production, made up the human resource of the rural migration.

It is not possible to analyze all of these components with all of their aspects here; for that reason only their relation to rural migration will be emphasized. The purpose of portraying this relation in between all of these developments is to emphasize the importance of this relation in the creation of rural migration movements. This section can be understood as a summary of all of these developments, and due to that, the general process will be stressed more than presenting the statistical information of the developments. In order to avoid from

repetition, the statistics will be given in the section in which rural migration is discussed in detail.

LRL is mostly defined as the visible reason for the transition to multi-party politics. The oppositional groups in the Assembly for the first time became visible and increased their opposition to the single-party government during the discussions on the preparation of the Law in the Assembly. The oppositional alliance, which became united as a result of these discussions, paved the way for the establishment of the would-be power party, the DP. Actually, these discussions and the formation of the oppositional parties thereafter show that the following period mostly would be shaped around discussions on agriculture and the peasantry.

LRL can be defined, in general, as a law that aimed to distribute land to peasants who had no or insufficient lands to sustain themselves. The land was planned to be distributed from both big landowners' estates and the lands that were already owned by the state. With this law the state officials hoped to overcome the political and economic problems that had occurred during and after the Second World War.[139] However, the law was not put into practice as it had first been accepted. Especially during the 1945-1950 period the RPP government was hesitant on putting into practice for lessening the oppositions' criticisms, and as a result the distribution of land continued at a very slow pace. During the following years, the law's most radical articles were abolished and during the DP's power years the LRL became only a tool for opening treasury-owned uncultivated lands to agricultural production. From 1947 to 1962, 1.8 million hectares of land were distributed to

[139] For discussions and comments on the LRL, see Balta, "1945 Çiftçiyi."; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "'Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu' ve Türkiye'de Zirai Bir Reformun Ana Meseleleri," in *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi* (İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1980); Süleyman İnan, "Toprak Reformunun En Çok Tartışılan Maddesi: 17. Madde," *Journal of Historical Studies* 3 (2005); Asım Karaömerlioğlu, "Bir Tepeden Reform Denemesi: "Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanununun" Hikayesi," *Birikim*, no. 107 (March, 1998); Çağlar Keyder and Şevket Pamuk, "1945 Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu Üzerine Tezler," *Yapıt* 8 (December/January 1984/1985).

360,000 families with the law. Only 8,600 hectares of these were not state-owned lands and were confiscated from private estates during the execution of the law.[140] The distribution of the land to the peasants by using LRL accelerated during the DP government. Actually the DP was against the law at the beginning; however, with the changes in the law that had been made before its power years, the DP became the greatest practitioner of this law. Two main factors were effective in this increase. The first one was the need to distribute land to the Turkish immigrants that entered the country from Bulgaria after 1951. The other one was the mechanization of agriculture. With the Marshall Plan the mechanization of agriculture enabled the cultivation of new lands, which mostly were distributed with this law.[141]

The LRL had two different effects on the rural migration. The first, which will be analyzed in detail in the section in which the Marshall Plan is discussed, had a postponement effect on the rural migration movements. Especially with the distribution of land to landless and sharecropper peasants in small amounts through this law, their highly expected contribution to the migration after the mechanization of the agriculture was delayed. When the rural migration is discussed in the academic literature, the possession of land by these groups, however in small and inadequate amounts, with LRL is mostly not mentioned. The second was in the ideological context, and an ideological differentiation occurred during the execution of the LRL. Some of the articles of the law, which had existed in its initial draft but had been excluded in its final version, show that the ideological mentality of the law rested on the peasantist ideology of the single-party period. According to this mentality, they would try to obstruct the effects of the transformation of the rural structure, which might occur after the land distribution, to the cities. In order to achieve this end, they

[140] Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 115.
[141] Zvi Yehuda Hershlag, *Turkey: The Challenge of Growth* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), p. 158.

tried to obstruct the rural migration and tried to keep the peasants in their villages by ideological manipulation. The peasantist ideology basically feared the proletarianization of the dispossessed peasants and their move to the cities, as had been seen in the industrialization process of the Western countries. The social problems which might occur after such a transformation shaped this attitude.[142] These articles were criticized by the opposition in the Assembly and as a result they were removed from the law. Actually, when this development is reevaluated from another angle, it can be asserted that, even if the would-be DP members had not criticized these articles, the RPP might have removed them from the law, because, the RPP had already begun to adjust the country's economic and political policies according to the new world order, and they might be aware that these "old" perspective would not fit to the new period's economic preferences.

This kind of approach to rural structures would be contradictory to the requirements of the international bloc, in which Turkey desired to take an important role. The reorganization process of the rural structures and production according to the requirements of the international market would at the same time bring the dispossession of the peasants at certain levels and, as a result, the rural migration movements. In this condition, no matter how much they desired to keep the peasants in their villages on the ideological level, the reorganization of agricultural production could make the execution of these articles impossible. Due to that it was a necessity to remove the peasantist ideological mentality from the law. In this sense, by bringing an increase in the amount of cultivated lands and by determining the cultivation method of these lands, the LRL created the juridical standing point of the rural transformation, which also brought about the rural migration movements.

[142] Karaömerlioğlu, *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta*, p. 135.

The Marshall Plan was created to obstruct the spread of communism to underdeveloped and economically weak countries after the Second World War by restructuring the economic activities of European and surrounding countries.[143] Turkey, although had not actually entered the war, acquired Marshall Plan aid as a country that was in close proximity to the Soviet Union.

The most important effect of the Marshall Plan on rural migration would be with the agricultural investments that were applied in two main areas. The first one was the mechanization of agricultural production and as a result, an increase in production. This development became visible with the fact of "tractorization." Both with the direct investments and credit given for the development of agriculture production the agricultural production of Turkey became mechanized at unprecedented speed. There would be two effects of the mechanization. First, it increased the amount of agricultural production and developed the capacity of the production for the market. More important than that, the mechanization increased the amount of lands cultivated. Turkey, having not entered to the Second World War, had not lost its manpower in agricultural production, as had happened during the previous wars; on the contrary, the population was increased. However, this increase in population did not effect the agricultural production, because the country did not invest in technical developments to get an increase in production. Even though the number of people working in agricultural production increased during this period, the peasants' access to the simplest agricultural tools was limited. With the Marshall Plan these deficiencies would be overcome and the lands that had not been cultivated due to the lack of manpower was put to use. In addition to that, with the allowance of the LRL previously uncultivated pastures, forests and lands owned by the state

[143] For a detailed analysis of the Marshall Plan and its execution in Turkey, see Tören, *Yeniden Yapılanan*.

treasury were opened to agricultural production and the amount of the cultivated lands increased as a result. This situation also increased agricultural production, as was expected. As for the effects on rural migration, the mechanization of agriculture had an important effect on the agricultural workers, which will be analyzed in detail in the following sections.

The second effect of the Marshall Plan on the migration was in the area of transportation, which was developed for carrying agricultural products to the market more easily. According to the Plan, priority would be given to the development of the highway network in order to carry the products to the market without delay and at low cost. This development both brought the villagers close to the market and eased the transportation of the peasants to the cities. Thus, the technical substructure, which eased the movement of the peasants towards the cities, was completed.

Maybe the most disputable problem in analyzing the rural structure of Turkey is the existence and the continuation of the smallholder peasantry. In most of the discussions and research on the changing characteristics of the peasantry during the development of capitalism in Turkey, theoretical expansions are needed in order to understand the changing characteristics of the capitalist rural structure with the existence of the smallholder peasants and their political effects.[144] During the 1960s and 1970s, defining the condition of the peasantry was, at the same time, referred to a kind of class struggle and the discussions were held as if the peasantry could be accepted as a part of the struggle in alliance with the working class movement.[145]

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[144] For the general discussions on the development of capitalism in the rural structures of Turkey, see Zülküf Aydın, "Kapitalizm, Tarım Sorunu ve Azgelişmiş Ülkeler I-II," *11. Tez* 3-4 (1986); Boratav, *Tarımsal Yapılar*; Oya Köymen, *Kapitalizm ve Köylülük-Ağalar, Üretenler ve Patronlar* (İstanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2008); David Seddon and Ronnie Margulies, "The Politics of the Agrarian Question in Turkey: Review of a Debate," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 11, no. 3 (1984).

[145] For the brief descriptions of these discussions, see Seddon and Margulies, "The Politics."

The 1945-1960 period can be characterized with the development of capitalist relations in agricultural production and moving toward a more market-oriented mentality in agriculture. However, theoretically, these kinds of changes in the rural structures were expected to lead to the big landownership and the development of large-scale agricultural industry. When the agricultural surveys that were taken at the end of the period are taken into consideration, the real situation became different from the expectations. According to the 1963 agricultural survey results, in between the years 1952 and 1963 the number of agricultural holdings doubled and the numbers increased from 1,527,000 to 3,100,000.[146] There was more than one reason for this development. The primary reason was the distribution of small amount of lands to the peasants with the execution of the LRL. With the execution of the law, many landless peasants received small amounts of land and this increased the total number of agricultural holdings in Turkey.

Another reason for the increase in the number of agricultural holdings was the separation of the lands between the descendants in families whose household population had increased during the Second World War. This separation of the lands as a result of inheritance had made the size of the agricultural holdings smaller and also increased the number of total agricultural holdings. According to a comparison of statistical surveys of the two periods, the land size per agricultural holding was 77 hectares in 1952 and 35.46 hectares per unit in 1963.[147] In addition to that, during the execution of the LRL the big landowners allocated their registered lands among their family members in order to escape from the confiscation of their lands according to

[146] Bahattin Akşit, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye Köylerindeki Dönüşümler," in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere*, ed. Oya Baydar (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), p. 177.
[147] Özer Serper, "1950-1960 Devresinde Türkiye'de Şehirleşme Hareketleri," *İ.Ü. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 24, no. 1-2 (October-March 1964), p. 161.

the law.[148] Although these lands were actually needed to be defined as being large estates, they were accepted as small agricultural units and increased the total number of smallholders in Turkey.

Çağlar Keyder relates this increase in smallholder peasantry to the political attitude of the state against capitalist development. According to him, except for the Southeastern region of Turkey, which was held apart for historical and political reasons, the development of smallholder peasantry had a character of obstructing the development of capitalism.[149] However, it will be better to describe the process as capitalism in Turkish agriculture developing with the existence of the smallholder peasantry and in some degree this transition to capitalism reflected the peripheral characteristics of a late capitalist society. Because the increasing level of rural migration in spite of the existence of the smallholder peasantry shows that the dominant smallholder structure in agricultural production did not create great obstacles to the development of capitalism in the countryside. In fact, it would not be wrong to say that the existence of smallholder peasantry became one of the things brought about the rural migration movements. The peasants, who did not have sufficient lands to support themselves, moved to the cities by hiring out their small plots of land.

As will be told in the following sections, the main human resource of the rural migration was not the totally dispossessed peasants or the peasants left landless after the depeasantization process, but the smallholder peasantry, who hired out their small assets and gained a little bit of capital accumulation to help them move to the cities. The increasing agricultural production and agricultural prices, notwithstanding the

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[148] Karpat, *Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System*, p. 124; Ronnie Margulies and Ergin Yıldızoğlu, "Tarımsal Değişim: 1923-1970," in *Geçiş Sürecinde Türkiye*, ed. Irvin Cemil Schick and Ertuğrul Ahmet Tonak (İstanbul Belge Yayınları, 1990), p. 303.
[149] Çağlar Keyder, "Türk Tarımında Küçük Meta Üretiminin Yerleşmesi," in *Türkiye'de Tarımsal Yapılar*, ed. Şevket Pamuk and Zafer Toprak (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1988), p. 171.

rapid increase in cultivated lands, increased the rents and selling prices of agricultural lands.

For that reason most of the smallholder peasants did not cultivate their own lands due to the expense and instead hired it out and moved to the cities. During this process, it can be observed that a new category of agricultural producer was created. This new kind of producers hired out these small lands and created a kind of middle or large agricultural business on lands that they did not own but hired. Instead of the smallholder peasantry, which could obstruct the development of capitalism in agriculture and made production that did not adjust to the market mentality, this new situation enabled the creation of some intermediary forms in the agricultural industry which did not obstruct the development of capitalism. From that time on it is possible to observe the development of a new mixed type of agricultural production in which the property and business units were separated from each other.[150] As a result, the transformation of the rural structure created a new structure in which not a monotype but the co-existence of various types of business and property relations were seen in the agricultural structure.

The Reasons for the Rural Migration, or Is It Possible to Create a Stereotype in the Analysis of the Rural Migration?

Is it possible to make a single definition for the reasons of the rural migration? At the first glance the answer surely would be “no.” However, there is a dominant understanding in social sciences on the way to stereotyping the reasons for the rural migration that had happened during the 1945-1960 period. If you ask any student of the social sciences that studies Turkey, the question “What was the reason

[150] Ronnie Margulies and Ergin Yıldızoğlu, "Tarımsal Değişim: 1923-1970," in *Geçiş Sürecinde Türkiye*, ed. Irvin Cemil Schick and Ertuğrul Ahmet Tonak (İstanbul Belge Yayınları, 1990), p. 307.

for the rural migration during the 1945-1960 period?" the answer is immediate: mechanization. However, when you ask the source of this information, the same student would give reference to many well-known studies on modern Turkish history. When these sources are studied, it can be seen that the answer to the question is not clear to most of them. Even with a general scan of these well-known most-read sources on modern Turkish history, a clear definition of this problem is never given. However, it can be said that most of them relate the main reason for the rural migration to the overall transformation of the rural structures during the period in question.

For example, Erik J. Zürcher writes that: "Turkey's rapid population growth, a lack of opportunities in agriculture, and the attraction of the new industries combined to increase the flow of people from the countryside to the big cities, which had started in the 1950s."[151] It is understood that Zürcher does not maintain a direct relation with mechanization and asserts that the developments both in the villages and cities affected the rural migration during this period. Feroz Ahmad, on the other hand, gives reference to tractorization as the reason for the rural migration, but mostly limits his analysis to the effect of mechanization on the sharecroppers. Ahmad mentions both the sharecroppers as one of the components of the rural migration and the continuation of the shareholding among the peasants that owned lands, but does not have any tractor or cultivation machines or animals. These peasants acquired debts from the *ağa*s and usurer merchants in the villages and due to that they became sharecroppers to pay their debts while they owned lands, although they were inadequate. In other words, Ahmad shows the relation of

[151] Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 1993), p. 283.

mechanization to rural migration, but does not directly relate the reason for rural migration to mechanization only.[152]

Another mostly referred source is Çağlar Keyder, who says that the importance of the sharecroppers in the agricultural production decreased due to mechanization. In addition, he says, as a result of the mechanization "some of" these sharecroppers were obliged to move to the cities in order to support themselves. However, he adds that these rural migrants did not leave their lands or their connection with agricultural production, meaning that they were not totally dispossessed, even though they lived in the cities.[153]

In most of the Turkish economic history books, the relation of mechanization to agriculture is problematized around notions of property relations, agricultural prices and incomes. For example, in Korkut Boratav's history of the Turkish economy, mechanization is evaluated in relation to the increase in the amount of cultivated lands and agricultural production. He mostly explains the break down in the economic situation of the peasants as a result of mechanization.[154] Memduh Yaşa, on the other hand, calls attention to the change in the living conditions of the sharecroppers and highlights the decrease in the demand of agricultural labor due to the mechanization.[155] Among these kinds of sources, the most direct relation of rural migration to the mechanization is observed in Yakup Kepenek and Nurhan Yentürk's study on the Turkish economy. They clearly state that: "[During the 1945-1962 period] the use of modern input, led by the tractor, was increased, this situation

[152] Ahmad, *The Making*, p. 115-116.
[153] Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar*, p. 178, 188.
[154] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat*, p. 105.
[155] Memduh Yaşa, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ekonomisi 1923-1978* (İstanbul: Akbank Kültür Yayını, 1980), p. 143.

brought the widening of the cultivated lands at first and as a result the flow of surplus labor to the cities."[156]

However, in addition to the above-mentioned sources, in many well-known studies, the relation of mechanization and rural migration is drawn with a clear-cut understanding. For example, Oya Köymen discusses the effect of the smallholder peasantry in the rural migration especially for the period after 1960, but she does not extend this analysis for the 1950s. Due to that, she only relates the rural migration to tractorization and land gatherings.[157] In her current study, she again repeats this assertion and says, "most of the sharecroppers who became unemployed after the tractorization migrated to the cities."[158]

In a very recent study on the overall history of modern Turkey, Kemal Kirişçi writes on migration movements of every kind during the Republican period. He also creates a direct link between mechanization and rural migration during this period by asserting that "the mechanisation of the agriculture sector, especially the introduction of tractors and fertilisers, is cited as a major factor driving a growing number of people off the land."[159] Kemal Karpat writes the reasons for the rural migration in his other studies or in the different parts of his study that will be cited below are different from maintaining a mechanical, direct relationship with the mechanization. However, interestingly, he creates an unseen mathematical relation to tractorization

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[156] Kepenek and Yentürk, *Türkiye Ekonomisi*, p. 108. "[1945-1962 döneminde] *Başta traktör olmak üzere çağdaş girdi kullanımı artmış, bu durum öncelikle işlenen alanın genişlemesi ve işgücü fazlasının kentlere akını sonucunu vermiştir*."

[157] Oya Köymen, "Bazı İçgöç Verileri (1950-1980)," in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere*, ed. Oya Baydar (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), p. 263.

[158] Köymen, *Kapitalizm*, p. 137. "*Traktörleşme yüzünden işsiz kalan ortakçıların büyük çoğunluğu da kentlere göç etmiştir.*"

[159] Kemal Kirişçi, "Migration and Turkey: The Dynamics of State, Society and Politics," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 4, Turkey in the Modern World*, ed. Reşat Kasaba (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 190.

and asserts that "the 40,000 tractors that entered into the agriculture production during this period drove around 1,000,000 people from agriculture."[160]

Even though some estimates were made to determine the possible unemployment rates due to mechanization, it is not possible to observe any extreme calculation which says that one tractor could have caused the unemployment of 25 peasants. Another example of this kind of estimation can be observed in Tansı Şenyapılı's study. She says:

> On the one side there was an increase in the size of agricultural holdings, the number of tractors and productivity, on the other the agricultural workers who were replaced with the tractors, such as sharecroppers, were kept out of the sector. One tractor replaced at most 10 workers. There was no choice for these workers, except to leave the agricultural sector. On the other hand, there was no place to go, except the cities.[161]

Şenyapılı, while underlining the importance of the smallholder peasantry in this development, constituting a mechanical relation to the consequences of mechanization lessens the effect of the other assertions.

One other similar comment on the consequences of the mechanization exists in Mehmet Doğan's study as follows: "As a result of the mechanization of agriculture the labor force that were used in this section decreased, the agricultural workers were replaced by professional employees that could use machinery. In addition, it can be said that in general one tractor makes ten people unemployed. …

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[160] Kemal H. Karpat, *Türkiye'de Toplumsal Dönüşüm-Kırsal Göç, Gecekondu ve Kentleşme*, trans. Abdulkerim Sönmez (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2003), p. 104. "*Bu dönemde tarıma giren yaklaşık 40,000 traktör 1,000,000 civarında kişiyi tarımdan çıkardı*"

[161] Tansı Şenyapılı, *'Baraka'dan Gecekonduya-Ankara'da Kentsel Mekânın Dönüşümü: 1923-1960* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), p. 118. "B*ir yandan işletme büyüklükleri, traktör sayıları ve verim artarken öte yandan traktörün yerini aldığı ortakçı, yarıcı gibi tarım emekçileri sektör dışı kalıyordu. Bir traktör en fazla 10 emekçinin yerini almakta idi. Bu emekçiler için tarım sektöründen ayrılmaktan başka seçenek yoktu. Öte yandan kentlerden başka gidecek yer de yoktu.*" Similar calculation is observed in Mübeccel Kıray and Jan Hinderink's sociological study on the Turkish studies as follows: "This unplanned mass mechanization, however, carried out regardless of possible social consequences, completely upset the pattern of farming and enhanced social differentiation in the region. In a country like Turkey, one tractor, with equipment to match, may displace as many as ten village farmers." Jan Hinderink and Mübeccel B. Kıray, *Social Stratification as an Obstacle to Development: A Study of Four Turkish Villages* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 29. Although Hinderink and Kıray underline mostly the effects of the rural transformation that would happen after the mechanization, they give that extreme prediction without any evidence.

the internal migration and urbanization gained a great pace…, this in a way had to be related to the mechanization."[162]

The last example can be given from the History of the Turkish Republic book, which was written by state officials, for creating a standardized narrative of events in Turkish history for the use of history students and teachers. It is possible to observe the most mechanical comment on this problem, in the section *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Ekonomik Gelişmeler* (Economic Developments during the Republican Period), as follows: "The mechanization of agriculture accelerated. With the foreign credits that were acquired with suitable conditions the import of tractors was mostly increased. This rapid mechanization created surplus labor in agriculture. These unemployed people were forced to migrate to the big cities."[163]

Nearly all of these studies develop their assertions using similar sources. One of the leading sources is a study, which was prepared in joint effort by US and Turkish specialists in 1954 with the help of Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences. The study was based on a statistical survey which was done for the first time in the villages that were undergoing mass mechanization in agriculture.[164] However, it is possible not to reach the conclusion of the mechanical rural migration-mechanization relation from the data gathered from this source, because in one figure, that gives the number of sharecroppers that had become unemployed due to mechanization only a small proportion of those who had become unemployed due to

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[162] Mehmet Doğan, *Tarih ve Toplum-Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1977), p. 282. "*Tarımda makinalaşmanın gelişimi karşısında, bu kesimde kullanılan işgücü azalmış, tarım işçilerinin yerini makine kullanmada ihtisas sahibi elemanlar almıştır. Bununla birlikte, umumiyetle bir traktörün on kişiyi işsiz bıraktığı söylenebilir. ... iç göç ve şehirleşme büyük bir hız kazanmıştır..., bu bir bakıma makinalaşmayla da ilgili olmalıdır.*"

[163] Durmuş Yalçın, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi II* (Ankara: AKDTYK, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2004), p. 332. "*Tarımın makineleşmesi hızlandırıldı. Elverişli koşullarla sağlanan dış kaynakla traktör ithalâtı büyük ölçüde artırıldı. Bu hızlı makineleşme tarımda işgücü fazlası doğurdu. Bu işsizler büyük kentlere göçe zorlandı.*"

[164] A.Ü. S.B.F., *Türkiye'de Ziraî Makinalaşma* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1954). For the details on the preparation of the surveys and the people that prepared this study, see Köymen, *Kapitalizm*, p. 136.

mechanization had migrated to the cities. Instead, most of them had stayed in their villages or moved to another village in order to take new jobs in the agricultural sector. In addition to this, again in this often referred to study, it says that some of the unemployed peasants had found new land and had begun to cultivate it after they had become unemployed.[165]

There is a lot of different data on the effects of mechanization in this study. Due to that it is possible to comment differently on any of them from a very general perspective. However, the main outcomes of the survey point to another, different problem, which was clearly defined and summarized by Reşat Aktan, one of the prominent agricultural economists of the period, as follows:

> From the survey and research, which have been conducted by the Faculty of Political Sciences, to investigate the effects of motor power and the use of other agricultural machineries on Turkish Agriculture, it is clearly has been determined that the land owners, who reside in the cities but have their lands cultivated to other people, partially have become actual farmers, the lands that the sharecroppers work on were taken from their hands and some of the sharecroppers have become agricultural workers or have begun to establish self-sufficient farms on the less productive or empty assets, there has been an increase and development in land tenancy against the benefits of sharecropping, the area that was cultivated by the mechanized farms increased in size and showed the tendency of unification.[166]

As can be seen from this definition of Aktan, the main consequence of this survey and research was not due to the rural migration, but on the total

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[165] S.B.F., *Ziraî Makinalaşma*, p. 129. For example, in the same figure, it says that from the total 3,270 sharecroppers, who became unemployed due to mechanization in Aegean region, only one (1) of them moved to the district or city.

[166] Reşat Aktan, "Zirai Teknolojide İlerlemeler ve Arazi Reformu," *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 11, no. 1 (1956), p. 9. "*Türkiye Ziraatinde motor kuvveti ve diğer zirai makinalar kullanılmasının yaptığı tesirleri incelemek üzere Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesince yapılan anket ve araştırmalardan, evvelce kasaba ve şehirlerde oturarak arazilerini başkalarına işleten mülk sahiplerinin kısmen bilfiil çiftçi durumuna geçtikleri, başkalarının arazilerinde ortakçı olarak çalışanların ellerinden bu arazilerin alındığı ve bir kısım ortakçı çiftçilerin işçi durumuna düştükleri veya daha az verimli boş araziler üzerinden kendi kendine yetmeğe çalışan zirai işletmeler kurmağa teşebbüs ettikleri, kiracılığın ortakçılık ve yarıcılık aleyhine olarak arttığı ve geliştiği, umumiyetle makineleşmiş zirai işletmelerin sahaca genişledikleri ve daha toplu bir birlik olma temayülü gösterdikleri sarih bir şekilde tespit edilmiş bulunmaktadır.*"

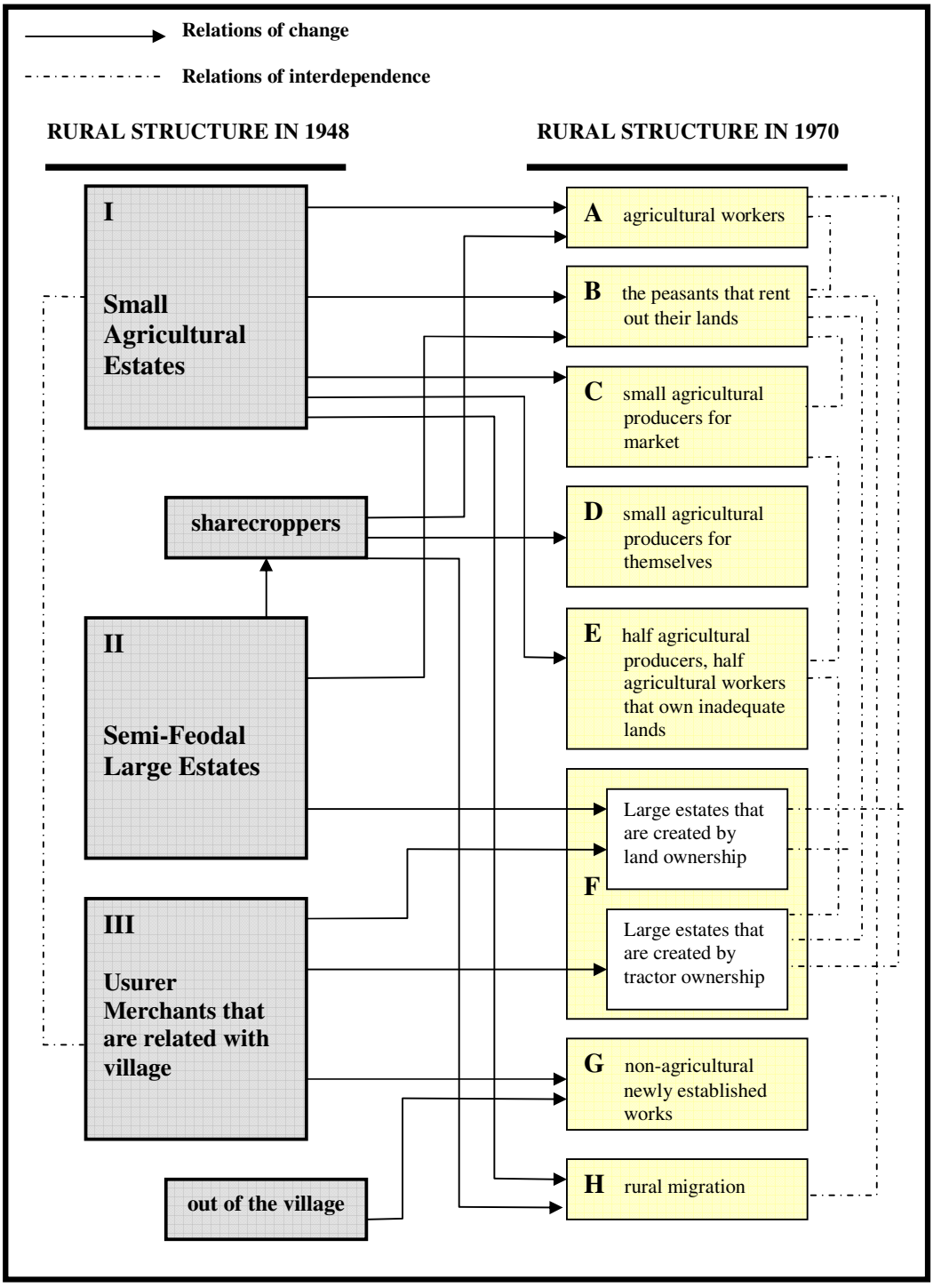
transformation of the rural structures. Aktan did not even mention rural migration as being one of the results that could be acquired from the survey.[167]

Another popular source on the explanation of the rural migration is a study by Barbara and George Helling. In this study, the Hellings assert that one tractor could remove five to nine agricultural workers from agricultural production.[168] The research that have since cited this study assert accordingly that the mechanization of the agriculture "directly" created unemployment and, due to that, encouraged the rural migration. However, as can be seen in the examples given above, these studies mostly have developed their assertions according to the hypothesis that every sharecropper who became unemployed due to the mechanization "automatically" moved to the cities. In fact, these unemployed peasants at first and most of the time tried to look for similar jobs in their surrounding areas and preferred to migrate to the cities as their last chance. For example, according to another frequently used source it was calculated that during the 1948-1952 period every new tractor displaced 3.4 people from its place. Although this information is cited in most of the studies on rural migration, the following calculation of the writer, which says in short, according to this rate the mechanization would effect 79,000 sharecroppers in total and 64,000 of them would stay in their villages, is rarely cited.[169] The reasons for this difference in relating the data to rural migration will be discussed later.

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[167] In another article, Aktan directly interprets the results of this survey and although he makes many comments on the effects of the mechanization in agriculture, he does not even mention the relation of mechanization to the rural migration. See Reşat Aktan, "Mechanization of Agriculture in Turkey," *Land Economics* 33, no. 4 (Nov., 1957).
[168] Helling and Helling, *Rural Turkey*, p. 29.
[169] William H. Nicholls, "Investment in Agriculture in Underdeveloped Countries," *The American Economic Review* 45, no. 2 (May, 1955), p. 66.

Table 1. The Transformation of the Rural Structure 1948-1970



Source: İlhan Tekeli, "Türkiye Tarımında Mekanizasyonun Yarattığı Yapısal Dönüşümler ve Kırdan Kopuş Süreçleri." in *Yerleşme Yapısının Uyum Süreci Olarak İç Göçler*, edited by İlhan Tekeli and Leila Erder, (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1978), p. 311.

From now on, the differentiation of the rural structure will be discussed through an analysis of the relation of agricultural mechanization to rural migration. The most detailed analysis of the relation between agricultural mechanization and rural migration can be found in a study of İlhan Tekeli prepared in 1978.[170] As it will be argued in this study too, Tekeli asserts that in order to understand the rural migration movements it is necessary to focus on the transformation of the rural structure and the characteristics of the relations that were founded after the transformation of the rural structure.

As can be seen in the Table 1, which presents a comparison of the rural structures in 1948 and 1970, the development of capitalism in agriculture created not a unified but mostly a differentiated rural structure. This differentiation also created many relations of interdependence in between. This development, as Tekeli puts it, was a transformation that was caused by the mechanization of agriculture, but not as a result of a direct determination process. When rural migration is taken into consideration, the mechanization of agriculture was not the only reason for this transformation, but an important component of it.

The important, but mostly forgotten, aspect that was mainly effective in the relation of the mechanization of agriculture and rural migration was the increase in the amount of cultivated lands, the juridical substructure of which was maintained by the LRL. After 1946, the total amount of cultivated lands increased from 12,664,000 hectares to 23,264,000 hectares in 1960, which made nearly the amount of lands that are being cultivated today. During the same period, the number of tractors used in agricultural production increased from 1,500 in 1948, when the mechanization in

[170] İlhan Tekeli, "Türkiye Tarımında Mekanizasyonun Yarattığı Yapısal Dönüşümler ve Kırdan Kopuş Süreçleri," in *Yerleşme Yapısının Uyum Süreci Olarak İç Göçler*, ed. İlhan Tekeli and Leila Erder (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1978).

agriculture began, to 40,282 in 1955 at a rapid pace and reached to 44,144 two years later. In 1960 the total number of tractors would decrease to 41,896.[171]

Even though these statistics are presented in many of the studies dealing with the rural transformation and rural migration, they mostly focus on the increase in the number of the tractors and pass over the increase in the amount of cultivated lands. When the pace of the increase in cultivated lands is taken into consideration, this development points to a greater transformation in agriculture rather than the increase in the number of tractors. In addition to that, another underestimated statistical information is the amount of lands that were being cultivated by tractors during the period in question. According to that, while 688,000 hectares of lands were being cultivated by tractors in 1948, this amount increased to only 3,160,000 hectares in 1960. This means that, in spite of 12 million hectares of increase in the total cultivated lands, only 1/8 of the lands came under cultivation by tractors. [172] In addition to that, the amount of land that was being cultivated by animal power increased from 12.5 million hectares in 1948 to 20 million hectares in 1960.[173] These statistics show that, no matter the extent of the number of peasants that could have been unemployed due to the mechanization, the increase in the amount of cultivated lands required the continuation of the need for human power in agricultural production.[174]

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[171] D.İ.E., *1944-1965 Tarım İstatistikleri Özeti* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü), p. 5.
[172] William Hale calculates the amount of lands that are being cultivated by tractors in 1950 as 8.6 percent and at the end of the 1950s as 14 percent. William Hale, *The Political and Economic Development of Modern Turkey* (London & Sydney: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 95.
[173] D.İ.E., *Tarım İstatistikleri*, p. 5.
[174] Tekeli, "Türkiye Tarımında Mekanizasyonun," p. 304. Yet in another study by Richard D. Robinson, while asserting that one tractor can displace 10 agricultural workers, in the following lines he mentions that if new lands are gained for cultivation no one should be displaced. Richard D. Robinson, "Turkey's Agrarian Revolution and the Problem of Urbanization," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (Autumn, 1958), p. 398.

Table 2. The Size of the Area Cultivated by Draft Animals and Tractors 1944-1960

Years	Area cultivated (1000ha)			Number of draft animals (in pair)	Number of tractors	Area cultivated by tractors (1000 ha)	Area cultivated by pair of draft animals (1000 ha)
	Area sown	Fallow	Total				
1944	8,170	4,814	12,984	2,228,291	956	72	12,912
1945	8,044	4,620	12,664	2,287,030	1,156	87	12,577
1946	8,413	4,680	13,093	2,284,235	1,356	102	12,991
1947	8,902	4,673	13,575	2,393,868	1,556	117	13,458
1948	9,477	4,423	13,900	2,442,494	1,756	132	13,768
1949	8,990	4,274	13,264	2,510,780	9,170	688	12,576
1950	9,868	4,674	14,542	2,495,256	16,585	1,244	13,298
1951	10,600	4,672	15,272	2,506,148	24,000	1,800	13,472
1952	11,775	5,586	17,361	2,349,417	31,415	2,356	15,005
1953	13,021	5,791	18,812	2,389,868	35,600	2,670	16,142
1954	13,208	6,408	19,616	2,592,419	37,743	2,831	16,785
1955	14,205	6,793	20,998	2,563,878	40,282	3,021	17,977
1956	14,556	7,897	22,453	2,578,148	43,727	3,280	19,173
1957	14,392	7,769	22,161	2,591,316	44,144	3,310	18,851
1958	14,764	8,001	22,765	2,476,938	42,527	3,190	19,575
1959	15,020	7,920	22,940	2,596,460	41,896	3,142	19,798
1960	15,305	7,959	23,264	2,647,695	42,136	3,160	20,067

Source: D.İ.E., *1944-1965 Tarım İstatistikleri Özeti,* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü), p.5.

Other statistical data, which are mostly used but also underestimated, are on the increase in the number of the people occupied with agricultural production. According to the survey by Ankara University, four percent of the peasant families that were included to the survey had entered into agricultural production just after the mechanization of agriculture. This means that the mechanization encouraged four percent of the non-agricultural population to enter into agricultural production during this period.[175]

Actually, the increase in the cultivated lands happened after a very troublesome process. Again, according to the research that was prepared by the University of Ankara, the land conflicts in between the neighbor villages after mechanization increased by 44 percent. According to the statements of the village headmen, 6,304 land conflicts occurred in between the villages that were included in the survey. Lands conflicts were mostly seen in the Central Anatolian and

[175] S.B.F., *Ziraî Makinalaşma*, p. 126.

Mediterranean regions of the country. The lowest rates of land conflicts were observed in the Black Sea region, where the mechanization and the increase in cultivated lands were the lowest.[176] The land conflicts mostly occurred over the pastures that remained in between two villages and had indefinite ownership. When a village's residents try to extend their cultivated lands with the help of mechanization, first they occupied the pastures, which had always been used as communal pastures between neighboring villages. If those two villages could not agree on the ownership, fighting broke out between, sometimes ending in murder. Many reports of these kinds of conflicts were published in the newspaper of the period.[177] Most of the times these land conflicts were resolved with the help of patronage relations. The village that had supported the government party, especially when the other party had supported the opposition, mostly was backed by the government while occupying the communal pasture. The other village did not rely on the judgment of the government in this situation and as a result tried to maintain the "justice" with their own hands. In the end land conflicts caused many deadly fights between the peasants.[178]

However, the "tractorization" of agricultural production, which can be considered the symbol of the capital accumulation in agriculture at the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s,[179] had important influence on the transformation of the rural structure. Although the World Bank experts said that 8,000 tractors would be enough for Turkey when the existing land system was taken into consideration, a higher numbers of tractors were imported in a very short time. This brought a very high burden on the foreign trade equilibrium and caused a non-

[176] Ibid., p. 135.
[177] For example: "Köylüler arasında iki kanlı kavga," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 May 1951; "Bu haller ne zamana kadar devam edecek," *Karagöz*, 12 January 1953; "İki Köy Halkı Arasında Savaş!;" *Karagöz*, 12 November 1954.
[178] These land conflicts would also be the subject of the village literature during that period. For the examples of these conflicts in literature, see Chapter Five.
[179] Morris Singer, *The Economic Advance of Turkey* (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1977), p. 199.

economic and irrational "consumption madness" among the peasants.[180] After a short time period, buying a tractor became accepted as a the symbol of prestige and wealth among the peasants.[181] Peasants that owned economically irrational small agricultural fields would go into a heavy debt, which they could not repay by their agricultural income, to own them. The rational size that a pair of draft animals could cultivate was calculated as 5.5 hectares. When peasants who owned less than the rational minimum size that the tractors could cultivate, which was 75 hectares,[182] joined in on the frenzy of owning a tractor, they soon had problems with the banks and usurers, from whom they had obtained credit for buying tractors.

The greatest effect of tractorization was on the increase in the amount of cultivated lands, as told above. Even though the increase in the amount of cultivated lands was a result not only due of tractorization, the mechanization of agriculture was meaningful in providing the technical appliances for the cultivation of land. Most of the existing lands in the previous periods had not been cultivated due to lack of labor and technical power. However, with the mechanization of agriculture this shortage was overcome and this development enabled the extension of the amount of cultivated lands. In general, the increase in the amount of the cultivated lands with the mechanization of agriculture enabled the acceleration in agricultural investments,

[180] According to the calculations of Morris Singer the burden of only the import of tractors to the budget in between the years 1950-1952 was nearly 111,225,000 USD. Ibid., pp. 203-204.
[181] The most criticized fact in the mechanization of agriculture during this period would be this non-economic buying and use of the tractors. In most of the sources the peasants' irrational behaviors, such as making tractor race to prove their prestige and preferring the tractors that are flashy but not suitable to the land type, would be satirized. Short time after these machines would not be practical and would be inert. In addition to that, these tractors would be used out of their purpose, mostly as being a transportation vehicle. Kemal Karpat gives one example of that kind of use of the tractors and tells the story of a peasant, who went to Germany with his family from a Western Anatolian village Pamukova by his tractor. Kemal H. Karpat, "Social Effects of Farm Mechanization in Turkish Village," *Social Research* 27, no. 1 (Spring 1960), p. 92.
[182] Tekeli, "Türkiye Tarımında Mekanizasyonun," p. 310.

the support of the agricultural prices, the improvement of transportation and the increase in agricultural credit.[183]

These developments also brought an increase in agricultural production. The most important point that needs to be underlined here is that the increase in agricultural production did not occur due the mechanization in agriculture, but mostly due to the increase in cultivated lands. Even in cases where mechanization was supported with irrigation and fertilizing, the mechanization became harmful to land productivity. When the fluctuations in cereals production during this period are investigated, the harmful consequences of unplanned mechanization, irrigation and fertilization can be seen clearly. In 1945 the total amount of wheat production was 2,189,318 tons and, even though there were some fluctuations over time, it reached 8,000,000 tons in 1953. However, despite the increase in cultivated lands, in the following years, it rose and fell in relation to weather conditions and reached only 8,450,000 tons in 1960.[184]

In addition to the increase in cultivated lands, the effect of weather conditions had an important place in the increase in the wheat production during those years. In a study which calculated the proportions of the real reasons for the increase in agricultural production when the weather conditions were deflated, the suitable conditions of the world market and agricultural prices were twelve percent; the mechanization was ten percent; development of transportation was five percent; the improvement of seeds was two percent effective and the use of the fertilizers had dispensable effects on the increase of agricultural production. Again in the same study, in normal weather conditions it was calculated that there had been 43 percent increase in the wheat production during the years 1948-1953 and the 5/6 of this

[183] Yaşa, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi*, p. 151.
[184] D.İ.E., *Tarım İstatistikleri*, p. 6.

increase was due to the increase in the amount of cultivated lands and only 1/6 of it was as a result of improvement practices.[185] In another study in which the whether conditions are included to the calculation, the reasons for the increase in agricultural production are given as 36 percent for the increase in cultivated lands, 32 percent for the suitable weather conditions, 10 percent for mechanization and 10 percent for the development of transportation. According to this study, only seven percent was calculated as being effective on the increase of agricultural production.[186] Although the increase in the cultivated lands maintained the increase in the agricultural production, it did not bring an increase in the amount of production per hectare, which means productivity. For example, in cotton production, which had a stable production increase despite weather conditions, the total number of production increased from 118,377 tons in 1950 to 195,000 tons in 1960. However, the production per hectare remained around 250-300 kilograms during the whole period. The productivity in cotton production increased to 400 kilograms just after the 1962-1963 period, when the productivity increasing precautions were began be taken seriously.[187]

Productivity increasing precautions, such as irrigation and fertilization, were not widely used during this period and these both decreased the effects of mechanization on agricultural production and did some irrevocable harm to the lands. The old wooden ploughs that were pulled by oxen could only dig 15 centimeter into the soil. The new metal ploughs pulled by tractors could both turn the soil upside down and dig 25 centimeters down. However, when irrigation was insufficient and non-suitable weather conditions were present, the productive upper level of the soil, which was twisted and dug deeper, grew dry and wind erosion blew

[185] Nicholls, "Investment in Agriculture," p. 62.
[186] Ahmad, *Demokrasi Sürecinde*, p. 137.
[187] D.İ.E., *Tarım İstatistikleri*, p. 8.

that rich soil away. This shows that the unplanned use of the new machines in agricultural production not only decreased the effect of mechanization, but also decreased the level of productivity.[188]

This relative increase in agricultural production definitely increased the welfare level of the peasants in a short time period. However, although there was an increase in real agricultural prices, it can be asserted that the prices of agricultural goods recessed when compared to the increase in the prices of industrial goods. Although there was a nominal increase in the agricultural prices due to the Korean War boom, the only agricultural product that benefited from this increase in the world agricultural prices was cotton.[189] Nur Keyder calculates the development of the welfare level of the peasants in between 1938-1968 and asserted that during this period the internal terms of trade developed against the benefit of the peasants. The agricultural surplus was transferred to non-agricultural sectors during the period in question.[190] However, despite this relative recession in agricultural prices, the economic welfare of the peasants was not affected by that.

When the increasing world agricultural prices and production are taken into consideration, it is seen that the peasants earned much more money than the other groups of society during this period. This created a relative of wealth feeling among them. Even though agricultural prices recessed in respect to industrial prices, the peasants who had been unable to accumulate capital in the previous periods gained much more money and began to practice a kind of capitalist relation during this period. According to Boratav, this was "a period in which the relations of distribution

[188] Singer, *The Economic Advance*, p. 211.
[189] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat*, p. 104.
[190] Nur Keyder, "Türkiye'de Tarımsal Reel Gelir ve Köylünün Refah Seviyesi," *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi*, no. 1 (Autumn, 1970), p. 52.

were destroyed due to the price fluctuations but the broader peasant masses mostly could compensate for this loss within the dynamism of production."[191]

The primary question that was asked at the beginning of this section will be analyzed hereafter through the explanation of the rural differentiation forms that Tekeli has drawn. This analysis will also show that to maintain a stereotypical explanation to define the reasons for the rural migration is difficult. In addition to that, the regional differences of the effects of agricultural mechanization will be presented here. As was told at the beginning of this section, there is a tendency in academic literature to unify the outcomes and reasons for the rural migration that occurred during this period. This is mostly defined in relation to the mechanization of agriculture and mostly as a direct and mechanical relation to the rural migration. During the research process of this study, it was observed that it is not possible to assert a mechanical relation between the rural migration and mechanization.

Cahit Tanyol prepared a study on the Barak Plain, located in the Gaziantep and Urfa region, during the 1950s and explored the changes in the villages after the mechanization of agriculture. He stated that the outcomes of the mechanization process could not be unified in one condition and even said that mechanization may have caused unexpected consequences. According to this study, it was both observed that in some of the villages the population had decreased even though there was no tractorization, and in some of the villages the population had increased after the mechanization of agricultural production.[192] In order to benefit from the increasing job possibilities, many people had migrated to the villages that had been mechanized. These peasants mostly came from the very poor villages of that region. Actually, in

[191] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat*, p. 106. "*geniş köylü kitlelerinin ... fiyat hareketleri nedeniyle bozulan bölüşüm ilişkilerini, üretim dinamizmi içinde fazlasıyla telafi edebildikleri bir dönem*[dir]."
[192] Cahit Tanyol, "Traktör Giren 50 Köyde Nüfus Hareketlerinin ve İçtimaî Değişmelerin Kontrolü," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 13-14 (1958-1959), p. 200.

this example the mechanization of agriculture "pulled" the landless or poor peasants to the villages that had been mechanized instead of making peasants unemployed. In addition, Tanyol noted that the rural migration especially from the villages, which were described as *efendi/ağa* villages in which the feudal relations of productions were still intact, after the entrance of tractors to the agricultural production. However, he added that most of these peasants were landless and they tried to benefit from the newly created seasonal jobs in the cities, such as in the construction sector.[193]

In fact, as can be seen in the example given above, the mechanization caused differentiated outcomes. Along with creating a group of people who became unemployed due to the mechanization, mechanization created jobs and as a result, most of the landless or sharecropper peasants tried to benefit from these newly created job areas at first, instead of directly migrating to the cities.

In addition to that, there were some different and unexpected practices that were created with the mechanization. Especially in the regions where the feudal relations of production remained dominant and most of the peasants were deprived of any kind of means of production, as a result of the complementation of the LRL and mechanization, most of the sharecroppers and landless agricultural workers became unemployed. However, these peasants did not move directly to the cities. Most of them opened and owned new and previously uncultivated lands with the execution of the LRL and they were transformed into the smallholder peasantry. In some of the interviews of the period conducted with the sharecroppers and landless peasants in those regions, the process of gaining new lands was described. This process also brought out another characteristic of these peasants. They gained lands that they did

[193] Ibid., p. 215.

not have before, but they did not own any kind of machine or animal power that was used in the cultivation of land. Yaşar Kemal described this situation as follows:

> More than three hundred villages have been established on the Tektek mountains since 1948. Before that the Tektek mountains were empty. There were no footsteps of any human kind on the Tektek mountains except for those of the shepherds. When tractors came to the country, the tractor came and agriculture became mechanized. From year to year the sharecroppers were expelled from their lands. There was no place for them to go. They shook the dust off their feet and went to the Tektek mountains. The Tektek mountains do not have water, but the Tektek mountains are fertile. And three hundred villages were established. The government gave the release of the lands to the peasants. However, it gave eighty or at most hundred *dönüm*s of field to each peasant. These lands cannot give more than one to ten at best. According to that, eighty *dönüm*s of land was not enough for each family. It would not salve the pain. Whatever, it is better than being landless. They have roofs over their heads and lands to plough.[194]

Yılmaz Gümüşbaş described the process of the peasants' gaining lands similarly and also highlights the process of their losing the lands:

> The Cırcıp plain lies in between the ridges that are known as Cırcıp near Viranşehir. The owners of this plain, which is more than 150,000 *dönüm*s wide, are almost extirpating even the state from here. The land is the state's, its owners are individuals. It is called cultivating by leasing. In 1955 many landless peasants that lived in mountain villages gained some lands from here that would be enough only to feed themselves after a long time of resistance. But only land. After that no one called or looked after them. The peasants and the great *ağa*s of the region and necessarily of the cities rose up against each other. The resistance continued for years. Due to not getting any kind of credits and not buying agricultural tools, the peasants could not find even seeds to use in their lands. And as a result, they became indebted to the *ağa*s. The debts accumulated higher gradually and one day the *ağa*s want "money or land" in return. What has money got to do with the peasants? They gave the lands and returned to their mountain.[195]

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[194] Yaşar Kemal, *Bu Diyar Baştan Başa*, 2. ed. (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1973), pp. 478-479. "*Tektek dağlarına 1948'den bu yana üç yüzden fazla köy kurulmuştur. Bundan önce Tektek dağları bomboştur. Çobanlardan başka insan ayağı değmemiştir Tektek dağlarına. Vakta ki traktör gelir memlekete, traktör gelir, ziraat makineleşir. Yıl yıl yarıcılar topraklarından atılırlar. Gidecekleri yerleri yok. Başlarını alırlar giderler Tektek dağlarına. Tektek dağlarının suyu yoktur ama, Tektek toprakları verimlidir. Ve üç yüz tane köy kurulur. Hükümet de toprakların tapularını köylülere verir. Ama her köylüye seksen, çok çok yüz dönümlük tarla verir. Buraların toprağı bire ondan fazla taş çatlasa veremez. Buna göre bir aile için seksen dönüm azdır. Yaraya merhem olmaz. Her neyse topraksızlıktan çok daha iyi. Başlarını sokacak bir evleri, saban atacak bir toprakları var.*"

[195] Yılmaz Gümüşbaş, *Toprak Ağrısı (Röportaj)* (Ankara: ÇGD Yayınları, 2001), p. 92. "*Viranşehir yakınındaki Cırcıp adıyla tanınan sırtların arasında Cırcıp düzü uzanır. Genişliği 150.000 dönümden fazla olan bu düzün sahipleri, bugün devleti bile söküp atmak üzere buradan. Toprak devletin,*

This situation was repeated often in the discussions on the Agriculture/Land Reform policies, and actually points to the real condition of the smallholder and landless peasants. The land distributed to the peasants who did not have any kind of capital accumulation or had no access to any cultivation tools, changed hand after a short time period or was hired by big landowners. Çağlar Keyder and Şevket Pamuk stress this important point in their discussion on the LRL and say that if the land reform had not been supported with "oxen reform," the ownership of the lands that had been distributed would have soon after changed hands and most of these peasants would have returned to sharecropping.[196] Despite the great amount of mechanization in agriculture this situation occurred during the 1950s because of not creating an equal distribution of benefiting from the agricultural credits and mechanization among all peasants.

Another factor in analyzing the relation of mechanization to the rural migration is to maintain the identity of the migrating peasant groups. This factor is disregarded in most of the studies on this subject. This factor, also, has a great importance in shaping the perception of analyzing the rural migration. The narratives of rural migration, as can be seen in the above quoted interviews, mostly dealt with the stories of sharecroppers and landless peasants and failed to see other factors that influenced on the rural migration movements. Actually, contrary to the above narratives, the rural migration during the period in question did not occur from the lands of the southeastern Anatolia or Çukurova, where the sharecroppers maintained

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sahipleri kişiler. Adı icara işliyorlar. 1955'de dağ köylerinde yaşayan binlerce topraksız uzun süren direnmeleri sonunda, buradan kendilerini besleyecek kadar toprak almışlar. Fakat sadece toprak. Ondan sonra ne arayan olmuş, ne soran. Köylülerle çevrenin ve illa da kentlerin büyük ağaları birbirlerine girmişler. Direnme yıllarca sürmüş. Kredi ve tarım aracı alamadıkları için köylüler gün gelmiş tohumluklarını bile bulamaz olmuşlar. Ve bütün bunların sonucu da ağalara borçlanmışlar. Borçlar gittikçe büyümüş ve bir gün gelmiş ki ağalar "ya para, ya toprak" demişler. Köylüde ne para gezer. Vermiş toprağını çekilmiş dağına yine."

[196] Keyder and Pamuk, "1945 Çiftçiyi," pp. 60-61.

a great majority in agricultural production, but mostly from the regions in which this kind of agricultural relation was not that much dominant. As was shown with the examples above, the regions like Çukurova, in which the mechanization and the increase in the cultivated lands were mostly seen, "pulled" the unemployed agricultural workers and landless peasants to itself. In this sense, the regions, which were highly mechanized, gained new peasant populations as the new centers of rural migration. The mechanization created new job opportunities and new uncultivated lands and due to this the peasant migrated to these places to work on the land.

It is not possible to assert that the mechanization did not effect on these regions. Especially during the second half of the 1950s and since 1960s, again with the change in the economic preferences, some deficiencies of the agricultural mechanization process were met and soon after the mechanization process affected the sharecroppers and agricultural workers of these regions, too. Anyhow, the creation of new jobs in the agricultural sector with the mechanization and the increase in the cultivated lands and with the execution of the LRL the chance to become a smallholder peasant can be defined as a retarding mechanisms for the sharecropper and landless peasants, which set back the participation of these peasant groups to the rural migration during the period in question.[197] The disappearance of these chances at the end of the 1950s and during the 1960s also meant the disappearance of the retarding mechanisms and due to that the migrating groups mostly consisted of sharecropper and landless peasants. However, at the beginning of the rural migration during the first years of the period in question, most of the

[197] In many sources the importance of the newly created jobs in agriculture sector are stressed: Doğan Avcıoğlu, *Türkiye'nin Düzeni* (İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 1978), p. 630; Karpat, "Social Effects," pp. 92-93; Tekeli, "Türkiye Tarımında Mekanizasyonun," p. 318.

immigrants were landless peasants from Eastern Anatolia and smallholder peasants of the Black Sea region.[198]

Actually, when only the origins of the immigrants are taken into consideration, the mostly repeated mechanical reason for the rural migration, agricultural mechanization, can be falsified. The Black Sea region, which is geographically surrounded by steep high mountains and the agricultural fields of which have fragmented characteristics due to the geographical positioning, was the least mechanized region after the start of mechanization in agriculture.[199] This region, as the least mechanized but origin of a large part of the rural migration, is the clearest proof that creating a direct and mechanical relation between the mechanization of agriculture and the rural migration is unwise.

The Black Sea migration, which would continue in the following periods, had a special importance that could set forth the characteristics of the rural migration during this period. Alongwith having a key position in defining the relation of mechanization to the rural migration, when the migration from the Black Sea region is analyzed it becomes possible to maintain the reasons for the rural migration during

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[198] Erol Tümertekin, in his detailed study on the rural migration during the 1950-1960 period, makes the following categorization on the origins and the directions of the immigrants: "Actually the rural migration movements mainly originates from the Eastern half of the country and from the Northeastern that covers the Middle Black Sea region and are directed to the West, but in general to İstanbul in Northwest and to İzmir and surroundings in Aegean." "*Gerçekten, iç göçler, esas itibarı ile, memleketin Doğu yarımından, özellikle, Orta Karadeniz'i de içine alan Kuzeydoğu'dan Batı'ya, fakat genellikle Kuzeybatı'da İstanbul'a, Ege'de İzmir ve civarına yönelmiş bulunmaktadır.*" Erol Tümertekin, *Türkiye'de İç Göçler* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1968), p. 34. According to Sami Öngör, the cities which were mostly participated to the rural migration are arranged proportionally as follows: Rize, Gümüşhane, Erzincan, Trabzon, Elazığ, Giresun, Bitlis Çankırı, Artvin, Isparta, Kastamonu, Kırşehir, Siirt, Yozgat and Sivas. Among the other Trabzon is calculated as having the most nominal participation to the rural migration. According to Öngör's calculations, the number of people, which were originally coming from Trabzon but live outside Trabzon, was 83,000 as the end of the 1950s. Sami Öngör, "Türkiye'de Dahili Muhaceret Hakkında," *Türk Coğrafya Dergisi* 14-15, no. 18-19 (1958-1959), pp. 103, 105.

[199] Peter Suzuki, in his research on İstanbul slums whose residents were migrated from Kırıntı village of Gümüşhane, says the following on the mechanization in this Black Sea region village: "...only a few plows with steel blades in these villages, and although a small tractor owned by the district is available to the villagers, little use has been made of it because of the fragmented holdings of each peasant." Peter Suzuki, "Peasants without Plows: Some Anatolians in Istanbul," *Rural Sociology* 31, no. 4 (December 1966), p. 429.

this period. The Black Sea migration, besides having a historical background, maintains the data through which the relation of rural migration to the increase in the rural population, smallholder peasantry and increasing land prices can be investigated.

The migration from the Black Sea region, especially from the cities located in the eastern part of the region, to the developed metropolis cities, leading with İstanbul, had a historical base. The proportion of people living in İstanbul who had a Black Sea region origin was nearly 12.5 percent even in 1950.[200] This data also shows that historical ties are very deterministic on the formation of the destination. *Gurbetçilik* (expatriation) was a very common and settled practice for most of the male peasants of the Black Sea region, both due to the land system and the enforcement of the population increase. As Kemal Karpat writes, "the people of the Black Sea region, who grew bored with unemployment during the Republican period, made up a great amount of the labor force that built the railroads at the birth of Turkey. At last, most of them reached İstanbul and had a profession for generations."[201] The existence of the coal mines in this region and working in these mines sometimes as forced labor settled the *gurbetçilik* and the practice of working outside of the village for the people of this region. In the following periods, with the development in the transportation opportunities these people easily moved to the cities to work.

The Black Sea migration, which mostly was directed to İstanbul historically, reached Ankara after the Republican period and with the development of the

[200] Oya Baydar, "1950 Sonrası Göç," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayını, 1994), p. 407.
[201] Karpat, *Gecekondu*, p. 102. "*Cumhuriyet döneminde işsizlikten çok bunalmış olan Karadeniz bölgesi insanları, Türkiye'nin doğuşundaki demiryollarını inşa eden işgücünün büyük bir kısmını sağladılar. Birçoğu sonunda İstanbul'a ulaştı ve orada kuşaklar boyu meslek sahibi oldu.*"

transportation opportunities. As a result the Black Sea population became the most settled and highly migrated population in most of the big cities in Turkey.

The historical relations to the migration practices eased the rural migration for some regions. However, the main motif behind the Black Sea migration movements was the land system that existed in the region. In the presence of the pressure coming from the increasing population, the small and fragmented proportions of land ownership did not allow the people even to feed themselves. According to one calculation, the agricultural income of the Black Sea region was 58 percent below that of the average of Turkey.[202] Only this statistic can give a clear idea about the proportion of inadequacy of land and agricultural production in this region. The geographical limitations did not allow for the extension of cultivated lands like as in other regions. The lack of increase in the cultivated lands and the population increase created a base for the migration from this region.

In addition to these factors, there were also some developments in the region during this period which slowed down the rural migration from this region. Due to the region's geographical limitations the peasants in the Black Sea region could not compete with the increasing agricultural development. As a result, some them tried to produce different agricultural products, which raised them to an advantageous position. Especially in Rize, the development of widespread tea production slowed down the rural migration from that region. Also the development of some local industrial and port cities, such as Ereğli, Zonguldak and Samsun, limited the departure of the rural migration in that region and the peasants preferred to go to these cities than to İstanbul and Ankara.[203] The development of variations in agricultural production was seen not only in the Black Sea region, but in other

[202] Gülten Kazgan, "Şehirlere Akın ve İktisadî Değişme," *İ.Ü. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 19, no. 1-4 (October 1957-July 1958), p. 388.
[203] Tümertekin, *Türkiye'de İç Göçler*, p. 27.

regions of the country with different products.[204] The transition from less profitable agricultural products to some other profitable and industrially supported agricultural products limited the migration movements of some smallholder peasants during this period.

The most important reason for the rural migration, more intensively from the Black Sea region but also from other regions of the country, was the pressure coming from the population increase in rural families. The twentieth century began with wars and great disasters for the Anatolian people. After the foundation of the new republic, a steady development in the population occurred and the human resources, which had nearly come to an end at the beginning of the century, were renewed in this new period. The main political goal of the new state was to increase the population in order to maintain the labor force for the continuance of production. This policy became effective and the population increased as the time passed. Turkey's decision not to enter the Second World War accelerated the population growth. Also the public health policies which were adopted from the 1930s, the newly discovered antibiotics during the 1950s, the widespread use of the DDT and penicillin after the war, the reduction on the deadly effects of contagious diseases such as syphilis and malaria, and healthy nutrition for children with the increase in the agricultural production, decreased infant mortality rates and this caused an increase in the overall population.[205]

As can be seen in Table 3, the population increased by seven million from 1927 to 1950, and 5.5 millions of this increase occurred in the countryside. This

[204] For the Southeastern Anatolia region, see Tanyol, "Traktör Giren 50 Köyde," p. 198.
[205] Hürriyet Konyar, "Çok Partili Hayata Geçiş ve Yeni Siyasi Yapılanmanın Toplumsal Hareketlilikte Meydana Getirdiği Değişim," in *II. Ulusal Sosyoloji Kongresi-Toplum ve Göç 20-21-22 Kasım 1996 Mersin* (Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası, 1997), p. 684; Rebii Barkın, Osman Okyar, and Doğan Avcıoğlu, *Şehirlere Akın ve Mesken Davası* (Ankara: C.H.P. Araştırma Bürosu, 1959), p. 8; Tunçay et al., "Cumhuriyet İstanbul'u," p. 79.

increase in the rural population worsened the living conditions of the peasants and this situation pressured the rural population to move elsewhere to make their living. All of the population increase policies and practices there were undertaken during the republican period caused an increase in the parental mass, which means an increase in the number of households. The increase in the number of households caused the division of the lands of the smallholder families into many small parts as a result of inheritance. As a result, the small-sized lands, which were already below subsistence level, got much smaller. This pressure of the population increase created the "pushing" effect of the rural migration in the countryside.[206]

Table 3. Overall Population / City and Village Population 1927-1960

Census Years	Total	City Population	Village Population	Proportion of city and village Population in total (%)	
				City	Village
1927	13,648,270	3,305,879	10,342,391	24.22	75.78
1935	16,158,018	3,802,642	12,355,376	23.53	76.47
1940	17,820,950	4,346,249	13,474,701	24.39	75.61
1945	18,790,174	4,687,102	14,103,072	24.94	75.06
1950	20,947,188	5,244,337	15,702,851	25.04	74.96
1955	24,064,763	6,927,343	17,137,420	28.79	71.21
1960	27,754,820	8,859,731	18,895,089	31.92	68.08

Source: TÜİK. *Demografi İstatistikleri.*
Available August 2009: *http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreIstatistikTablo.do?istab_id=202* 13 June 2007.

Consequently, it is now possible to assert that the smallholder peasantry, which was clearly defined in Tekeli's rural transformation chart given in Figure 1, was directly the subject of the rural migration. In fact, the smallholder peasants should be defined as being the agents of the rural migration to a large extent than the landless peasants, who are mostly indicated in the mechanic narration of the relations of rural migration. During the period in question, the juridical substructure that had

[206] For a detailed study on the increase in the parental mass and its relation with the rural migration, see Besim Darkot, "Türkiye'nin Nüfus Hareketleri Üzerinde Yeni Gözlemler," *Türk Coğrafya Dergisi* 17, no. 21 (1961).

been created with the LRL, the technical substructure that was created with the Marshall Plan and the pressure of the population increase developed the smallholder peasantry into the dominant type of agricultural relations of production and they rapidly increased in number. However, another important aspect of this relationship type was the maintenance of the lands that were left behind in the countryside after the migration.

Table 4. Average Field Size and Proportions According to Operational Types

Years	Average Field Size (in dönüms)	Proportion of Private Fields (%)	Proportion of Fields by Rent (%)	Proportion of Fields by Sharecropping (%)
1948	847	87	6	7
1949	875	85	7	8
1950	944	82	9	9
1951	1 011	77	12	11
1952	1 113	74	14	12

Source: Yahya Kanbolat, *Türkiye Ziraatinde Bünye Değişikliği* (Ankara: AÜ, SBF Maliye Enstitüsü, 1963.), p. 40.

Some limited numbers given in Table 4 show that there was an important development tendency in the rural structures. According to the chart given above, although the average field size did not increase rapidly or in great number, there was a decreasing tendency in the proportion of privately owned fields. On the other hand, there was an increase in the proportion of fields which were rented (both as renting and sharecropping). This shows an interesting characteristic of the Turkish agricultural development. Middle and big agricultural production units were created by the absorption of small agricultural units by their rental, while the proportion of the small landownership in the rural structure increased. Reşat Aktan discusses this development, according to the same numbers that were given in Table 4 as follows:

> Since mechanization started there has been a tendency for larger farms which use machinery extensively to increase in size. According to the survey the average size of mechanized farms was about 840 decares

> (about 210 acres) in 1948, whereas it increased to 1113 decares (about 280 acres) in 1952. However, most of this increment was due to spread of the practice of renting land; the amount of land owned by these farms increased by only 45 decares (10 acres) each between the two years. Turkish villagers generally put great value on land and hold it very closely to their hearts. Thus the peasant is very reluctant to sell a piece of land he owns even if he is not cultivating it at that time, unless he is in great distress. Tractor owners could enlarge their operation by renting tracts of land which were formerly kept idle or leased to small sharecroppers. Since cash renting is a more suitable arrangement than share-cropping for large farmers, during the period of increasing mechanization the practice of cash rental of land has increased and sharecropping of small farmers has decreased.[207]

In order to understand how these relations in the agricultural structure were developed, some number from the following periods can be given. For example, in 1970 18.8 percent of the agricultural enterprises that operated on more than 500 decares of land hired nearly half of their lands.[208] In more data of the same period, although the 42 percent of the landowners had registered their lands as being less than 2.5 hectares, only 9 percent of the wheat producer enterprises in Central Anatolia had that much land.[209]

This situation can be accepted as the result of the transformation of the rural structure during the 1950s. The gradually diminishing size of land ownership for historical and demographic reasons and the increase in the number of small land ownership as a result of the suitable conditions that had been created by the LRL maintained the dominance of the smallholder peasantry in Turkey in appearance. However, even though the size of the land ownership did not get bigger, the agricultural enterprises developed into middle and big enterprises by gaining control of land by renting it. After the capitalization of agricultural production, the big landowners, who had access to the necessary tools for agricultural production (such as easy access to agricultural credits and machinery), increased the size of their

[207] Aktan, "Mechanization," p. 281.
[208] Tekeli, "Türkiye Tarımında Mekanizasyonun," p. 319.
[209] Margulies and Yıldızoğlu, "Tarımsal Değişim," p. 307.

agricultural enterprises not by buying the lands but by hiring them from the smallholder peasants.[210]

As with the increase of agricultural prices due to the Korean War, the price of lands also increased. As a result, the smallholder peasants preferred to hire out their small lands instead of cultivating them and obtaining inadequate returns. Although these peasants were in financial difficulty, after hiring out their lands they migrated to the cities to seek their livings. Accordingly, by not selling their lands when they moved to the cities they were able to generate the initial capital that would help them in their move.

It is possible to identify the reasons why sharecropper and landless peasants did not follow the pattern of the smallholder peasants. The landless peasants were unable to raise the initial capital to travel and settle in the cities. For this reason the landless peasants did not participate in the migration movements at the beginning. This situation also created the continuance of the smallholder peasantry as the dominant type in the rural structure. Although the sharecroppers became unemployed during this period, not many of them participated in the rural migration. Instead of moving to the cities they stayed in the countryside and worked in newly created agricultural jobs or gained new small lands or at least went to such places as

[210] Deniz Kandiyoti analyzed the developments in the rural structure after the mechanization during the 1950s in Sakarya and told a similar story as follows: “One of the most noteworthy developments in Sakarya, when the village lands reached their cultivable limits, was a 'rush for land' where mechanized villagers went out of the village and as far South as the plain of Konya in search of land tenancy. This tenancy was a new form of contractual relation whereby mechanized farmers rented land by paying a specified amount per dönüm (icar), thus optimizing their holding size to make mechanization feasible. Clearly, while labour constituted the major limiting factor in the pre-mechanized period, land took on the most critical role after mechanization, so that ultimately the differing fortunes of many households could be explained in terms of their ability to retain and optimize their holdings in the face of pressures to pay debts incurred through credit for tractors and production costs. Meanwhile, non-mechanized small producers found it increasingly profitable to let out their land on an icar basis to mechanized farmers. Thus, the former could secure a fixed income from land which they now had to supplement with additional sources such as wage-work, while mechanized farmers used these smaller holdings to optimize their larger ones. This created a new dependence of small producers on mechanized farmers who benefited from this symbiotic relationship.” Deniz Kandiyoti, "Some Social-Psychological Dimensions of Social Change in a Turkish Village," *The British Journal of Sociology* 25, no. 1 (1974), p. 49.

Çukurova to work as agricultural workers. Adana, a major city in the Çukurova region, gained population due to this movement especially in the second half of this period.[211]

Table 5. The Temporal Change in Transportation (in hours)

Cities	50 Years Ago by Cart or Horse	By Automobile in 1957	By Bus in 1949	By Bus in 1957
Ankara-İstanbul	79	7.30	18	14
Ankara-Kayseri	69	5.00	11	9
Ankara-Samsun	96	7.00	20	16
İzmir-Balıkesir	37	3.45	-	-
Adana-Konya	80	6.00	-	-
Erzurum-Trabzon	57	7.45	-	-

Source: Cavit Orhan Tütengil, "Türkiye'de İçtimaî Değişmeler ve Yol." in *1960-1961 Ders Yılı Sosyoloji Konferansları*, (İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası, 1962), pp. 26-27.

Together with the necessity of raising the initial capital, another important factor that eased the participation to the rural migration was the development of the transportation systems with the development in the construction of highways during this period. No matter the reason a peasant had for migrating from his village, if he had no transportation possibilities or if the transportation was so hard that it did not allow him to move from the village, he might decide to postpone migration. Thus, it can be asserted that the rural migration was direct related to the development of transportation.

The rural migration literature on Turkey and world mostly highlights the importance of the development of highways as an element that eased and gave pace to the rural migration.[212] To the two main facts that are usually used to define the reasons for the rural migration, the “push” and “pull” forces, a third fact is added in

[211] In 1955-1960 period the pace of the rural migration would be slowed down in many major cities, but Adana would go in the opposite direction. The rural migration that was directed to Adana doubled during the second half of the period. Tümertekin, *Türkiye'de İç Göçler*, p. 41.
[212] Karpat, *Gecekondu*, p. 54.

order to explain the effect of the development in the transportation systems. This third fact is called the "transmitter" force, makes the connection between the pulling factors in the cities and pushing factors in the countryside.[213] The underdevelopment of the transmitter forces decreases the effects of the other forces and directly maintains the pace of the rural migration. The degree of development of the transportation system determines the pace of the rural migration.

In the early Republican period both the difficulties in transportation and the lack of initial capital had limited the connection of the villages to the city centers. The transportation from the villages to cities and from city to city was difficult. During this period it was not the peasants who needed to reach to the city centers, but the state needed to reach the villages; the roads were built in order to serve to the needs of the state.[214] Before the 1950s, especially in terms of the migrations from the Black Sea region, the seaways were used for transportation to İstanbul and İzmir. People boarded in the cheap class of steamboats, called *ambar* (depot), departing from the port cities of the Black Sea and reaching İstanbul through Trabzon and Giresun. The railway destinations that were built during the Republican period also determined the routes of the rural migration.[215]

The development of the highways was planned as being part of the Marshall Plan, by which agricultural products were to be transported to the market easily and rapidly. In 1948 the US Public Roads Administration to Turkey prepared a survey on the state of the Turkish highways, which is generally known as the Hilts report.[216] This report mainly includes the suggestions of the US administration on the

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[213] Ruşen Keleş, *100 Soruda Türkiye'de Şehirleşme, Konut ve Gecekondu* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1972), p. 37; Yakut Sencer, *Türkiye'de Kentleşme* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1979), pp. 66-67.
[214] Konyar, "Çok Partili," p. 681.
[215] Tunçay et al., "Cumhuriyet İstanbul'u," p. 76.
[216] H. E. Hilts, *The Highway Situation in Turkey: A Report of the United States Public Roads Mission to Turkey to the Minister of Public Works of Turkey* (Ankara: 1948).

development of highway networks in order to develop Turkey's agricultural production in relation to its place in the international division of labor.

Just after the report, on 11 February 1950 a new law was accepted in the Assembly called *Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü Kuruluş ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun* (The Law on the Establishment and the Duties of the General Administration on Highways). With this law, the juridical and administrative substructure for the development program for the highways in Turkey would be maintained according to the recommendations of the US administration.[217] In a short time, the construction of the highways started. When the amount of highway is accepted as 100 in 1947, in comparison the increase in the state and district roads reached 228 in 1957. The total amount of roads which were covered with asphalt increased from 532 km in 1946 to 4,376 km in 1957.[218] Together with this development in the construction of the highways the time for transportation between the cities shortened, as can be seen in Table 5, and the amount of people and loads increased. The average number of transportation vehicles that passed from a certain point increased from 26 to 120 in the 1948-1958 period.[219]

Another development was a decrease in the prices of transportation. With the start of the construction of the highways, also together with the bettering economic conditions of the peasants, the costs of transportation for people and loads decreased. For example, the cost of carriage for per ton/km, 25 piasters in 1948 fell to 14.5 piasters in 1953 and the cost of carrying per passenger/km fell from 2 to 1.7 piasters during the same period. However, with the worsening economic conditions and the crisis that occurred in the last years of the DP government, these prices rose

[217] Cavit Orhan Tütengil, *İçtimaî ve İktisadî Bakımdan Türkiyenin Karayolları* (İstanbul: İstanbul Matbaası, 1961), pp. 20-21.
[218] Ibid., pp. 22-23.
[219] Ibid., p. 163.

significantly, the load carriage increased to 47 piasters and the passenger carriage became 5.2 piasters in 1958.[220]

As the development of the highways affected the prices of transportation, so it did affect the cultural living conditions of the peasants. Firstly, the connection of the villages to the cities was increased with the development of the highways, and the villages were not as isolated as they had been in previous times. Newspapers published in Istanbul or Ankara quickly reached the villages, resulting in the awareness of the peasants about the country's problems increasing. With the development of the newspaper distribution network initiated by *Hürriyet* newspaper, the peasants had access to various newspapers more easily. For example, sending newspapers to Edirne by private truck increased newspaper sales in Thrace from 2,500 to 6,500 in 1955.[221]

Secondly, when the distance between the cities and the villages decreased with the establishment of new highway networks, the consumer habits of the cities spread to the villages. Together with the effect of the advertisements on radio and in newspapers many grocery stores were opened in the villages which sold modern canned foods.[222] The spatial convergence between the cities and villages created the unification of the peasants with the perception of time throughout country. The time schedules of the transportation vehicles changed the use of the old *alaturka* time to that of the national time system.[223]

At this stage it can be asserted that the relation between transportation and rural migration was significant in the decision of peasants to move to the city. Along with the increase in the transportation systems the cities were no longer places to be

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[220] Ibid., p. 77.
[221] Cavit Orhan Tütengil, "Türkiye'de İçtimaî Değişmeler ve Yol," in *1960-1961 Ders Yılı Sosyoloji Konferansları* (İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası, 1962), pp. 28-29.
[222] Karpat, "Social Effects," p. 90.
[223] Tütengil, "Yol," p. 25.

scared of but attractive places for the peasants who could no longer continue their lives in their villages. To prove this, it should be noted that the participation in the rural migration was limited from the places where the transportation systems were not developed. Especially from the underdeveloped regions such as the southeastern Anatolia, the landless peasants did not participate in the migration movements during the first phases. The main reasons for this were their inability to raise the initial capital and underdeveloped transportation systems. The migration of these people began in the second half of the 1950s and especially during the 1960s.

After all of these explanations of the reasons for the rural migration, it is necessary to evaluate the overall reasons for not making a stereotyped definition for the rural migration movements, by returning to the first question. As was shown in Table 1, the transformation of the rural structure created various and differentiated structures in the countryside. Also the old structures in the countryside did not change by passing through a unique experience. On the contrary, many economic, geographical, demographic and cultural developments affected the creation of the new rural structures. İlhan Tekeli summarizes this development as follows:

> The transformation that was created with the process of capitalization and mechanization in agriculture created a two-sided development. On the one side, the mechanization and capitalization created the mechanism for dispossession and depeasantization by rural migration; on the other hand, it created the mechanism that would allow staying in the countryside by creating a kind of rural marginal group. Here, to show the existence of the formation of such a marginal group in the countryside recovers the explanation of depeasantization by rural migration be attached to only one independent factor, which enters to the countryside from outside.[224]

[224] Tekeli, "Türkiye Tarımında Mekanizasyonun," p. 328. "*Tarımda kapitalistleşme ve mekanizasyon sürecinin yarattığı dönüşüm iki yönlü bir gelişim ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Bir yandan mekanizasyon ve kapitalistleşme, mülksüzleşme ve kırdan kopuş mekanizmasını oluştururken, öte yandan bir çeşit kırsal marjinal kesim yaratarak kırda kalmaya olanak sağlayan mekanizmalar oluşturmaktadır. İşte kırsal kesimde böyle bir marjinal kesim oluşumunun varlığının gösterilmesi, kırdan kopuşun açıklanmasını kıra dıştan giren tek bir bağımsız değişkene bağlı olmaktan kurtarıyor.*"

As was shown above, instead of maintaining the reason for the increase in the rural migration movements, the mechanization of agriculture created some intermediary mechanisms that obstructed the migration movements during this period. The most important ones of these mechanisms were the increase in the amount of cultivated lands and the creation of new job opportunities with the arrival of machinery. In fact, the relation of mechanization with rural migration had an inversely proportional relation. Gülten Kazgan describes the characteristics of this relationship as follows:

> How much did the mechanization increase the flow to the cities in our country? As it is commonly known, the agricultural machinery displaced in Turkey mostly the landless strata defined as "sharecropper." However, it is understood that the ones who left the village to earn their livings are not from the rich villages that the agricultural tools and machines have entered, but from the villages that the machines have not entered yet and the level of living is very low. B. and G. Helling observed a negative correlation as (r = -5.543,) which cannot be underestimated, between the standards of living and the workers that leave to earn their livings. This point shows us that the importance of the flow out from the village due to the mechanization is not that great yet. In fact, although the number of peasant families is nearly 2.5 million, the number of tractors is approximately 45,000 and this means that the ratio of mechanization is barely 1/600. It can clearly be seen that … there is an inversely proportional relation between the regions that send out labor from the villages and the regions that have modern machineries. In other words, there is a strong flow of leaving the villages in the regions that have less agricultural tools and machinery.[225]

In the light of these statements, then, it must be asked why the relation of mechanization and rural migration was understood as a direct mechanical

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[225] Kazgan, "Şehirlere Akın," p. 386. "*Makinalaşma memleketimizde ne dereceye kadar şehirlere akını şiddetlendirmiştir? Bilindiği gibi, ziraî makinalar Türkiye'de daha ziyade "ortakçı-yarıcı" denilen topraksız zümreyi yerinden etmiştir. Ancak, köyden dışarı kazanç maksadiyle gidenlerin çoğunlukla modern ziraî âlet ve makinaların girdiği zengin köyler değil, fakat henüz makinanın girmediği, hayat seviyesi çok düşük köylerden olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. B. ve G. Helling hayat standardı ve köyden dışarı kazanç maksadiyle giden işçiler arasında (r = -5,543) gibi küçümsenmiyecek menfî bir korrelasyon tesbit etmiştir. Bu husus da bize, makinalaşma dolayısiyle köyden dışarı akının öneminin henüz pek fazla olmadığını göstermektedir. Gerçekten, çiftçi aile sayısının 2,5 milyon civarında olmasına karşılık, traktör sayısının 45 bin kadar olması dolayısile makinalaşma nisbeti ancak 1/600 nisbetinde demektir. Köyden dışarı işgücü gönderen bölgelerle modern makinaların mevcut bulunduğu bölgeler arasında ters orantılı bir münasebet bulunduğu, diğer bir deyişle, ziraî âlet ve makinalar kıymetinin düşük bulunduğu bölgelerde köyden dışarı daha kuvvetli bir akının mevcudiyeti … açıkça görülmektedir.*"

interaction? Three main reasons can be put forward in order to explain this perspective. First, it is an easy way to accept the mechanical explanations while trying to explain a related problem. Especially in urban studies, this mechanical perception is often seen. Most urban studies researchers do not pay attention to what happens in the countryside, but focus mainly on the developments and transformation in the city. Especially with the development of the field of urban studies in the 1960s and 1970s, most studies theorized urban and rural areas as distinct places. The dominant effect of these studies determined the perception on the rural migration. However, as Mehmet Ecevit writes, "without knowing 'what kind of migration dynamics is in question,' it becomes almost impossible to answer the question of 'what kind of city'."[226]

Second, this outcome is reinforced with the perception created by the prejudgments on the DP period. Especially after the 1960 coup, the efforts to accuse the DP for everything that had been done during its years in power without questioning them created this belief about the rural migration. By ignoring the entire structure of the economic preferences of Turkey after the Second World War, this judgment on the rural migration follows the mechanic linear conceptualization of Americanization-Marshall Plan-mechanization-rural migration. This linear conceptualization obstructs the understanding of the whole period. As was told in this chapter, it was not only the political and economic preferences of the DP, but the whole economic transformation of the rural structure that enabled the rural migration movements during this period.

Finally, not making any distinctions between the phases of rural migration movements creates an understanding that asserts all phases have same reasons and

[226] Ecevit, "İç Göçün Unutulan Kaynakları," p. 501. "'*nasıl bir göç dinamiğinin söz konusu olduğu' bilinmeden, 'nasıl bir kent' sorusuna da cevap verebilmek neredeyse imkânsız hale gelir*."

consequences. The effect of agricultural mechanization can be more easily traced in the rural migration movements during the 1960s and 1970s. However, in the 1950s, there were also some intermediary mechanisms that obstructed and delayed some of the peasants' participation in the rural migration movements. By ignoring these differences between two periods, a unified understanding of rural migration was created that held that it existed similarly in all phases of the rural migration. The rural migration movements which began during the first years of the 1950s, were different from those of the 1960s and 1970s. They were also undergoing change during the last years of the 1950s. This need for a unified reasoning of the rural migration movements occurred as a result of the need to find solutions to the problems that were occurring in the cities due to the rural migration, as stated at the beginning of this section. The increasing questioning in the academic and political spheres in order to solve the problems of urbanization quickly also brought a perception that create a rapid and easy description of the problem. This mechanic description of the rural migration problem settled in the academic and political spheres and the stereotyped relations of mechanization and rural migration definition were widely accepted.

From now on, the developments that occurred after the peasants move towards the cities will be analyzed. In this way, what happened to the peasants that moved to the cities will also be investigated.

The Peasants in the Cities and the Invention of the "*Gecekondu*"

According to İlhan Tekeli, there are three main consequences of the people's spatial move for the production order of industrial society. These are the

displacement of the labor, capital and the consumer or the market.[227] Actually all of these movements reveal that the economic structure is basically changing. The spatial move of all of these elements, except for fixed varieties of economy such as land and machinery, from countryside to cities also show that there is an overall development in the capitalist relations of production. This situation also reveals that with the movement of labor, capital and market there can be changes in the characteristics of the capitalist relations of production. The effect of the rural migration on the capitalist relations in the cities during the period in question was on two main bases. One of these effects was on the relations of production in the cities and the other one was on the spatial structures. The first one was determined through the city's capacity to absorb the new labor supply, which increased with the rural migration, and this employment process was shaped through the development level of the city. The second one created a new building and construction form in the cities that occurred in order to meet the shelter requirements of the newcomers, which is commonly called the *gecekondu* (literally-built in one night).

In the previous sections it was shown that the mechanization of agriculture and rural migration did not have a direct relation of determination. In addition, it was said that although with the creation of some intermediary mechanisms the rural migration did not involve all of the peasants of the period, the mechanization affected more directly the peasants in the following periods. This situation was also stated by some researchers of the period. William H. Nicholls called attention to the complementary relation in between agriculture and industry by comparing the single-party economic policies with the economic policies in the DP period and said that "any further increase in the number of what might be called 'Bayar's oxen' (tractors)

[227] İlhan Tekeli, "Türkiye'de İçgöç Sorunsalı Yeniden Tanımlanma Aşamasına Geldi," in *Türkiye'de İçgöç, Sorunsal Alanları ve Araştırma Yöntemleri Konferansı 6-8 Haziran 1997 Bolu-Gerede* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998), p. 11.

should largely await more 'Atatürk minarets' (smokestacks)."[228] He was trying to say that if the development in agriculture that was based on mechanization was supported by the development in industry the rural migration waves, which might occur afterwards, could create problems in the cities; especially the employment problem for the rural migrants, who were needed to be replaced in industrial work in the city. Due to that, the development in industry had to follow the development in agriculture.

After the Second World War the economic condition of the cities in Turkey were not in good condition. They were too small to employ all of the peasants that migrated to the them. The economic structure of the cities was not very developed due to both the economic preferences of the single-party period and the destructive effects of the Second World War. As a result, the peasants who migrated to the cities began to work in non-industrial and non-registered sectors, which are commonly known as the marginal sector. The marginal sector would become a settled economic activity in the cities later, due to the underdeveloped structure of the cities, which could not employ all of the peasant immigrants. The newly arrived groups first entered into the most active sector of the 1950-1960 period, which was that of building and road construction.

These workers, who had grown up outside of the city culture, created a binary structure between the old labor forces in the cities. This process gave birth to a "fragmented working class," as described by Ahmet İçduygu, İbrahim Sirkeci and İsmail Aydıngün, between,

> the institutionalized mass of the working class, who had become workers before and due to that were relatively more organized and conscious … and on the other hand, the new migrant workers, who were still in a phase of proletarianization, more weak in the meaning of class

[228] Nicholls, "Investment in Agriculture," p. 67.

> consciousness, unorganized, but with the labor force they serve they are in intensive competition with the conscious mass of workers that was stated before.[229]

This new working class would mostly be composed of the above-mentioned peasants. These workers were not totally dispossessed, due to the mechanisms that maintained the continuance of the smallholder peasantry, and as a result they did not totally take on the working class characteristics while they were in the cities. However, although these new workers found themselves in rivalry with the previously existing workers in the cities, they caused the creation of a new labor market in which all kinds of workers would take part. Again with the descriptions of İçduygu, Sirkeci and Aydıngün, these new workers contributed to the creation and the continuance of the import substitution model in the economy, which would start at the end of the 1950s and would be dominant in the 1960s, by providing a cheap labor force for all sectors, by meeting the supply deficit with imitated and non-registered products, by spreading and making cheaper the distribution facilities with itinerant trade and other such ways, by increasing domestic demand in order to support the development of the production in the cities and by transferring their limited accumulation to the cities that they made due to their continual ties with the agricultural production.[230] In a way, the rural migration and the peasants that came to the cities maintained the creation of industrial city production through the 1960s with their labor and cultural habits.

The continuation of this new labor market can be related to two basic factors. First, the continual need of the industrial production in the cities for cheap labor

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[229] Ahmet İçduygu, İbrahim Sirkeci, and İsmail Aydıngün, "Türkiye'de İçgöç ve İçgöçün İşçi Hareketine Etkisi," in *Türkiye'de İçgöç* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998), p. 211. "*bir yanda, kentlerde daha önce işçileşmiş ve böylece görece olarak çok daha örgütlü, bilinçli, kurumsallaşmış bir işçi kitlesi ..., diğer yanda ise işçileşme sürecinin bir noktasında bulunan, sınıf bilinci anlamında çok daha zayıf, örgütsüz, ancak sunduğu işgücü ile ilk olarak saydığımız bilinçli işçi kümesi ile yoğun bir rekabet içinde olan yeni göçmen işçiler*"
[230] Ibid., p. 235.

increased the probability of finding jobs for the newly arrived members of the city. In a way, while the industry was developing, these worker-peasants were operationalized as a reserve labor force and were used as a cost-decreasing element. The second factor, which will be analyzed below in detail, was the proliferation of *gecekondu* settlements in the cities. This housing type eased the settlement of the peasants in the cities at first and also was accepted as a cost-decreasing factor for the industrial sector, as when the peasants found cheaper places to live, their demands from the labor market would be limited. The *gecekondu* settlements, in a way, decreased the cost of shelter in the total costs of industrial production. In this way the proliferation of the *gecekondu* settlements did not bring much burden on the cities' economic development at the first instance.

Squatting is defined mostly as a "problem" which occurred as a result of the different paces of development in industry and agriculture sectors. As Mübeccel Kıray writes, the squatting occurs "in societies in which relatively the market oriented production in agriculture (cash cropping) and the accumulation of population in the cities are increasing rapidly but a very slow industrialization happens."[231] Kemal H. Karpat says that this kind of development is a general characteristics in every late capitalist society and by counting the names of this kind of squatting from twenty different countries asserts that these names could be the subject of very meaningful cultural studies "because they expressed the perception and culture of every country on confiscating someone else's land and other related matters."[232]

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[231] Mübeccel Kıray, "Gecekondu: Az Gelişmiş Ülkelerde Hızla Topraktan Kopma ve Kentle Bütünleşememe," *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 27, no. 3 (1972), p. 561. "*tarımda pazara yönelik üretime (cash cropping) geçişin göresel olarak hızlandığı ve kentteki nüfus yığılmasının hızla artmasına karşılık, çok yavaş bir sanayileşmenin gerçekleştiği toplumlarda*"

[232] Karpat, *Gecekondu*, pp. 9, 34-35."*her ülkenin fakire, başkasına ait araziye el koymaya ve diğer konulara dair kültür ve bakış açısını ifade ettiği için*"

In Turkey the term *gecekondu* is used to define the settlement type, which is made on state or private property without permission and without the existence of any substructure facilities. The term was invented as a result of the amazement that was felt by the common public from the building of these settlements, often in a single night. Again, Karpat says that "the squatter districts [can be defined] as the side product of the rapid economic development and industrialization, the developments in agriculture and the scarcity of residence," should not be confused with the slums, which mostly exist in developed industrial cities.[233] Even though the slums resemble *gecekondu*s in appearance, *gecekondu*s are different from slums in their creation and life styles and the characteristics of the people that reside in them.[234]

The 1940-1960 period corresponded to a similar process in other parts of the world. During the 1940-1960 period the population in the urban settlements of underdeveloped countries increased from 220 million to 490 million. At the end of this development, the United Nations calculated in 1970 that squatter settlements in 23 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America made up 35 percent of the total urban population in these countries.[235]

This migration and urbanization process happened very rapidly in Turkey and, as Tekeli says, this transformation "has over and done within a person's

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[233] Ibid., p. 50. "*gecekondu semtleri hızlı iktisadi kalkınma ve sanayileşmenin, tarımdaki değişmelerin ve mesken kıtlığının bir yan ürünü olarak*"

[234] Nephan Saran states that the *gecekondu* type in Turkey stands in between the English and Indian types of squatter settlements. Although in all three of these countries there is an intense flow of migration from the countryside the reaction of the states differs in each other. In England state builds houses for the new comers through municipalities. As oppose to that in India these immigrants stay in parks, streets and train stations. In Turkey the rural immigrants did not wait any help from the state or they did not stay in the streets, instead they built their own buildings. Nephan Saran, "Squatter Settlement (Gecekondu) Problems in İstanbul," in *Turkey, Geographic and Social Perspectives*, ed. Peter Benedict, Erol Tümertekin, and Fatma Mansur (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), p. 330.

[235] Halil I. Tas and Dale R. Lightfoot, "Gecekondu Settlements in Turkey: Rural-Urban Migration in the Developing European Periphery," *The Journal of Geography*, no. 104 (Nov/Dec 2005), pp. 263-264.

lifetime."[236] The urbanization that occurred as a result of the rural migration was so rapid that the pace of urbanization, which was much more rapid than that of the natural growth, transformed the structure of the big cities almost overnight. For example, according to the calculations of Ferhunde Özbay, if İstanbul had never gained population with rural migration, with at a natural rate of growth its population would have been roughly 2.5 million in 1990, whereas, the population of İstanbul was already 7.5 million at that time.[237] This rapid rural migration and limited industrialization and urbanization, which did not meet the needs of the immigrants, created the fact of squatting in Turkey, and due to that the increasing urbanization since the 1950s have always been defined together with this fact. In a study prepared by the Ministry of Development and Housing in 1960 it was stated that the amount of the *gecekondu*s among the total number of the residences were 64 percent in Ankara, 46 percent in Adana and 40 percent in İstanbul, İskenderun and Erzurum. Again according to the same study, the proportion of people that were living in the *gecekondu*s to the people that lived in other types of residences was calculated as 59.22 percent in Ankara, 45 percent in İstanbul, 44.95 percent in Adana.[238]

As Karpat said in the quotation given above, the most important aspect that was effective in the creation of the *gecekondu*s was the scarcity of housing or, as it was called and discussed in Turkey, the "housing crisis" (*mesken buhranı*). When the rural migration brought peasants to live in the cities, the scarcity of housing necessitated the creation of alternative housing types. The difference of the *gecekondu*s from the slums occurred at this point. In the case of the nonavailability of spare houses or places which could be used to meet the shelter problem of the

[236] İlhan Tekeli, "Türkiye'nin Göç Tarihindeki Değişik Kategoriler," in *Kökler ve Yollar: Türkiye'de Göç Süreçleri*, ed. Ayhan Kaya and Bahar Şahin (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007), p. 455. "*bir kişinin yaşam süresi içinde olup bitmiştir*."
[237] Baydar, "1950 Sonrası Göç," p. 406.
[238] Karpat, *Gecekondu*, p. 33.

poor city-dwellers or rural migrants, the only alternative solution to this problem became the construction of new houses. If this scarcity was met by the state or the private sector or if the values of the shelters that were maintained by the state or private sector were so high for these people, new alternative off-system ways needed to be invented. The appearance of these alternative places with the invention of the *gecekondu*s can be explained by the inadequacy of the state and private sector during the post-war period. Although the building of illegal houses had been seen during the Ottoman period,[239] the widespread construction of the *gecekondu* type building was connected with the special conditions of the post-war years.

During the Second World War period the construction sector nearly stopped due to various reasons. Gerhard Kessler calculated roughly the number of required houses for the period of 1942-1948 as 11,200. The new rural immigrants were not added to this number. Kessler added that the number of required buildings increased in the following periods and if new houses were not built immediately there would be a "housing crisis."[240] The "housing crisis," which was widely discussed during the period, can be defined as a problem that occurred due to an inadequate number of houses not only for the rural migrants, but also for the existing urban population. This situation also created suitable conditions for the establishment of the *gecekondu* settlements in Turkey.

Writing in 1949, Ekmel Zâdil defined three main reasons for the housing crisis. These were the confiscations which had done without building new houses instead, the rapid decline in construction activities due to the economic destruction of the Second World War, and as a reason that affected each of them, the restriction on

[239] See Orhan Erinç, "250 Yıl Önce İstanbul'da Gecekondu Kaçak İnşaat Sahil Yağması Sorunları ve Çareleri," *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, no. 10 (July1968).
[240] Gerhard Kessler, "İstanbul'da Mesken Darlığı, Mesken Sefaleti, Mesken İnşaatı," *Arkitekt* 18, no. 5-6 (1949), p. 131.

the increase of rents which was executed by the National Protection Law.[241] In order to protect tenants from the destructive effects of the war, Article 30 of the National Protection Law that was promulgated on 1 January 1940 said that no changes could be made to the rental contracts of 1939 and as a result rents could not be increased; in addition, except for some limited reasons, landlords could not evict tenants. This situation caused a great decrease in rental incomes during the inflationist economic atmosphere of the war and also caused the rental-based construction activities to come to a halt. The main reason for the stop of construction activities during the war was the pressure of the state to sell or rent houses underpriced, while the prices of construction materials skyrocketed due to the war.

This situation changed the structure of the cities in which not only the new arrivals but also the existing population could not meet their housing requirements. Zâdil said that in this situation the families looking for housing, preferred one of three alternatives. The first was to live together in a common or shared building.[242] The second one was creation of the landlords in order to protect themselves from the restrictions of the law. The tenants could find themselves a house by paying extra money to the landlord (called *hava parası*-key money).[243] This practice was created during the Second World War due to the restrictions of the law on the increase of the rents. When the landlords could not increase the rents they increased the *hava parası*.

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[241] According to Zâdil's calculations when the year 1938 is accepted as 100, the decrease in the construction activities was 78 in 1940 and 47 in 1941. Ekmel Zâdil, "İstanbul'da Mesken Mes'eleleri ve Gecekondular," in *İçtimai Siyaset Konferansları, İkinci Kitap* (İstanbul: İ.Ü. İktisat ve İçtimaiyat Enstitüsü Neşriyatı, 1949), pp. 72-73-74.

[242] Kemal Demirel tells the story of this kind of living during the Second World War years in his memories named *Evimizin İnsanları* (The people of our house). This book later filmed by Tunç Başaran in 1990 as *Piano Piano Bacaksız* (Piano Piano Kid).

[243] Gerhard Kessler defined and curses the invention of *hava parası* as being the illegal practice of the war riches and says the following words: "The wealthy ones without obeying to the law, in addition to the legal rents, illegitimately follow the way of paying a great amount in order to find a new house, which is named and commonly known today as *hava parası*." "*Varlıklı kimseler kanuna riayet etmiyerek, yeni bir mesken bulabilmek için, kanuni kiraların yanıbaşında, bugün herkesin malûmu olan* hava parası *namındaki büyük bir meblâğı gayrı meşru olarak tediye cihetine giderler*." Kessler, "İstanbul'da Mesken Darlığı," p. 132.

Adopted during the war, this practice continues today. However, the first moving expenses in this practice were much higher and due to that the tenants did not leave the houses into which they moved and eventually no new spare houses were left again. The last alternative was, in Zâdil words, "the necessity to reside in non-healthy barracks that were built in empty fields, in other words, the g*ece-kondu*s."[244] These problems that occurred due the execution of the National Protection Law were solved as late as the 1950s. However, the rural migration could no longer be stopped and the squatting was accepted as a settled and applicable construction activity for the rural immigrants during that period.

As for the squatter settlements, Istanbul underwent the most remarkable transformation. As the most crowded place and center for economic activities and with its distinctive culture, İstanbul became the center of the discussions on the squatter settlements and the transformation of the cities with the rural migration. When the origins of the rural migrants that came to İstanbul is investigated, it can be seen that most of them came from cities, which mostly participated in the rural migration. The people that came from Black Sea region mostly settled in Zeytinburnu and Kazlıçeşme, which were the first established *gecekondu* settlements in İstanbul. The Balkan immigrants, who came to the country after 1951, settled in Taşlıtarla (Bayrampaşa) together with Black Sea migrants. As the last *gecekondu* activities during this period, migrants from Black Sea, East and Southeastern and Central Anatolian regions settled along the hills of the Bosporus and the hills of Gültepe, Kuştepe, Çeliktepe and Kağıthane.[245] When it is thought that the

[244] Zâdil, "İstanbul'da Mesken," pp. 75-76. "*boş arsalarda kurulan gayri sıhhi barakalarda ikamet zarureti, yâni Gece-kondular*."

[245] Baydar, "1950 Sonrası Göç," p. 410. It is possible to find the proof of the assertion that the most of the migrants to İstanbul came from the Black Sea region, in the oral history studies that were made on this subject. For example, in an oral study on Taşlıtarla, in the interviews conducted with the immigrants that came from Bulgaria first and afterwards move to İstanbul, they told that even the

establishment of the gecekondu settlements was done by people that migrated from the countryside, it is again possible to assert that the rural migration was mostly occurred from the regions in which the mechanization of agriculture was low and the smallholder peasantry was dominant.

The popular and academic perceptions on the people living in the *gecekondu* settlements differ according to the periods in Turkish history. According to Tahire Erman's classification, the perceptions on the *gecekondu* people can be defined in four different periods. The people living in the squatter settlements were defined during the 1950s and 1960s as the "Peasant Squatters," and during the 1970s as the "Exploited/Disadvantageous Squatters." During the 1980s and 1990s the definition transformed to a binary opposition between the "Squatters that acquire illegally" and the "City-Poor Squatters." This definition has been transformed since the 1990s as again to a new binary opposition between the "Slum Dwellers as Inconvenient Squatters" and the "Squatters as Agents."[246]

The definition of the "Peasant Squatters" pretty much fits the period that is analyzed in this study. During this first period, in which there was a rapid increase in urbanization and rural migration, the newly established structures could not be defined. These new immigrants in the cities were not accepted as being city-dwellers; instead they were called "peasants in the cities." These peasants in the cities lived alongside the old residents of the cities. Sharing the same places with these newcomers created an exclusionist perception among the old city dwellers.

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mafia-type organizations dominant in the *gecekondu* construction business in Taşlıtarla were from the Black Sea region. This situation gives us the proof of intense and historical Black Sea migration to İstanbul. "Bulgaristan'dan Türkiye'ye Sivas'tan İstanbul'a... İki Kez Göçmen!..(Akdeniz Sesleri Projesi Kapsamında Bir Sözlü Tarih Çalışması)," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 140 (Ağustos 2005), p. 88.

[246] Tahire Erman, "Gecekondu Çalışmalarında 'Öteki' Olarak Gecekondulu Kurguları," *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no. 1 Thematic Issue, Gecekondu, p. 1.

Karpat describes these reactions as follows: "The old residents of the city, in other words settled, notable, self-confident and middle-class valued families, defined the rural migration as an invasion. … As being the loyal defenders of old elitist order and its values, while living in their elite settlements these families also surrounded gradually with this rising wave from the countryside."[247] On the other side, well-known academics of the period, Gerhard Kessler and his student Ekmel Zâdil, praised the labor that created the *gecekondu* settlements and asserted that these newcomers should have been included to the political system of the cities in order not to create social disorder.[248] However notwithstanding the statements of Kessler

[247] Karpat, *Gecekondu*, p. 114. "*Kentin eski sakinleri, yani eski orta sınıf değerlerine sahip kendinden emin, tanınmış, yerleşik aileler göçü bir köylü istilası saydılar. ... Eski seçkinci düzenin ve onun değerlerinin sadık savunucuları olarak, bu aileler kendi seçkin semtlerinde yaşamaya devam ederken, kırdan yükselen bu dalga tarafından tedricen kuşatıldılar.*"

[248] Kessler said the following words on this subject: "Hereby at first, I want to state that I deeply appreciate the people that apply to the precautions of self-help. These people proved their love, intentness of purpose and devotion to their families. They are included to the most hardworking and valuable citizens of our city and the best ones among them should be elected to the City and National Assembly in the following elections." "*Bu vesile ile evvelâ, bu kendi kendine yardım tedbirine baş vurmuş olan insanları son derece takdir ettiğimi belirtmek isterim. Bunlar ailelerine karşı olan sevgilerini, azimkârlık ve fedakârlıklarını ispat etmişlerdir. Şehrimizin en çalışkan ve kıymetli hemşehrileri arasına dahildirler ve insan bunların aralarındaki en iyileri gelecek seçimlerde Şehir Meclisine ve Millet Meclisine intihap etmelidir.*" Kessler, "İstanbul'da Mesken Darlığı," p. 132. Ekmel Zâdil idealizes the *gecekondu* settlements almost like telling an utopian city, by leaning on his observations as follows: "Among one of them that I looked around was owned by a carpenter and it was a well furnished, properly heated house. You cannot find such a clean and cheerful house in the city center today for 60 liras. There was a white-bearded old guy in his eighties in the garden working; I watched with admiration this vigorous old man, who said he was the father of the carpenter and working to make the garden more beatiful and fertile with the pride and pleasure of owning a detached house. Almost in every house there was a child at primary school age. They were playing in their garden with such a joy and pleasure that one could not stop appreciating with a new love the ones that had created these places with great deprivation for the health, joy and felicity of their children. Our amazement increased while we walked; you came across all new grocery stores and coffeehouse. There were even butchers, coal dealers and wood dealers here, I mentioned earlier from the barber shop and tailor. As I said before one imagined himself in a new commune. The security work was handled by four gendermeries, whereas there was no need for such official guards because here is safer than Beyoğlu. Everyone knew and respected each other. They said that there were no stealing and molestation events. The worker girls say that they could return back from the factories late at night without any hesitation or fear." "*Bunlardan gezdiğim ve bir marangoza aid olanı güzel döşenmiş, iyi ısınmış bir evdi. Gayet temiz iç açıcı vaziyetteki böyle bir evi bugün şehir içinde 60 liraya bulamazsınız. Bahçesinde ak sakallı 80 lik bir ihtiyar çalışıyordu; marangozun babası olduğunu söyleyen ve müstakil bir evin sahibi olmak gurur ve zevkiyle bahçesini daha güzelleştirmeğe ve daha verimli bir hâle kalbetmeğe çalışan bu dinç ihtiyarı hayranlıkla seyrettim. Hemen her evin ilk mektep çağında bir çocuğu var. Bahçelerinde öyle keyifli ve neş'eli oynuyorlardı ki, insan, çocuklarının sıhhat, neş'e ve saadeti için büyük mahrumiyetlerle buralarını meydana getirenleri yeni bir sevgi ile takdir etmekten kendini alamıyordu. Yürüdükçe hayretimiz artıyor; yeni yeni bakkal dükkânları, kahvehane ile karşılaşıyorsunuz. Burada kasap, kömürcü ve oduncu da var, berber ve terziden daha evvel bahsetmiştim. Diyorum ya insan kendini yeni bir komünde zannediyor. Emniyet*

and Zâdil, the general social perception was that the old urban structure had been spoiled with the rural migration and the state had to restore the old order.[249]

Against this rapid rural migration movement the state seemed unprepared. Although the state officials tried to create some solutions to this problem, most of them were fruitless. The state officials, soon after the establishment of the first *gecekondu* settlements, tried to take the situation into their hands and tried to control these settlements by demolishing these "illegal" buildings. However, as a rapid and cheap construction activity, the construction of the *gecekondu*s continued even after the intervention of the state officials. These buildings could be rebuilt in one night after they had been demolished and this is why they were called *gece* (night)-*kondu* (building). This rapid rebuilding characteristic of the *gecekondu*s made the struggle of the state against them nearly impossible. A Bulgarian immigrant who migrated to Taşlıtarla in İstanbul at the beginning of the 1950s related how they built the *gecekondu*s and the scenery of a *gecekondu* settlement as follows:

> At nights we were building *gecekondu* for one of us, in turns, I built my *gecekondu* in 54-55. My mother brought some gold jewelry from Bulgaria, I sold it in the *Kapalıçarşı*. We built a *gecekondu*, which consisted of a small room, a big room and a smaller terrace. Many things happened to us while building it. The gendarmeries came, they were demolished from one side, we built again from another, there was no water, we were carrying water from the spring at night and so forth. For example, we were digging the foundation in the daylight, when the night fell we made the foundation, at night we set the bricks, as such with our hands. We put mud instead of mortar. At the same time we were so respectful to each other and there were a good neighborhood relationships. During that time the roads were all dirt, there was no water or electricity, of course, we had to sit with the gas lambs. When the night fell we could not be late, if we were late we could not find the houses.

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işleri dört tane jandarma tarafından temin ediliyor, halbuki böyle resmî bekçilere hiç de hacet yok zira burası Beyoğlundan daha emin. Herkes birbirin biliyor ve sayıyor. Hırsızlık ve sarkıntılık vakalarına hiç rastlanmadığını söylüyorlar. İşçi kızlar gece geç vakit fabrikalarından hiç korkmadan ve çekinmeden geldiklerini söylediler." Zâdil, "İstanbul'da Mesken," p. 83.

[249] For an early evaluation of this kind of perception in literature, see Cevat Fehmi Başkut, *Göç* (İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevi, 1962). In this play of Başkut, the pace of the adaptation of the rural immigrants to the city values is shown. Also Başkut satirizes the changing conditions by dramatizing that the old city-dwellers cannot coop with these newly changed condition of the city and "migrate" to the countryside.

> Because the houses were all the same, same roof tiles, same roofs, same gardens…[250]

The squatters entered into various kinds of struggles with the state officials, sometimes bargaining with or sometimes struggling against them. In 1948, as a result of negotiations made with the district governor who came to demolish the *gecekondu* settlements in Zeytinburnu, the squatters blocked the demolition of their buildings.[251] Various struggle forms were invented by the squatters in order to resist the demolition and these forms were known even during that period.[252] Sometimes the resistance was not so easy. For example, in the Altındağ district of Ankara, 1500-2000 squatters defended their settlements and resisted the gendarmerie with digging tools.[253] After the spread of the *gecekondu* settlements the squatters got organized and they struggled to obtain their urban rights and even organized some street meetings. Tansı Şenyapılı describes these activities as follows:

> According to an article published in *Hürriyet* newspaper on 21 February 1955, 600 people living in 100 *gecekondu*s in the demolished İzmir Araphasan neighborhood organized a "protest meeting." On 6 May, the *İstanbul Gecekondularını Güzelleştirme Derneği* (Association for the Adornment of the *Gecekondu*s of İstanbul) came to Ankara with a committee consisting of 6 people and wanted from the government to show places for the 5,000 *gecekondu*s which planned to be demolished. On 22 August, the Association for the Adornment of *Gecekondu*s held an assembly and declared to the press that they wanted to create a federation by coming together with the *gecekondu*s of Ankara and İzmir. In the same assembly they advised the squatters to cut their nails, comb their hair and wear clean and proper clothes, when going to the state offices. This interesting advice shows that the squatters were conscious

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[250] "İki Kez Göçmen," p. 198. "*Akşamları birimize gecekondu yapıyorduk, sırayla, Gecekondumu 54-55'te yaptım. Bulgaristan'dan annemin getirdiği beşibiryerdesi vardı, Kapalıçarşı'da sattım onları. Bi ufak oda, bi büyük oda, bi de ufacık terasdan oluşan gecekondu yaptık. Onu da yaparken başımıza neler geldi. Jandarmalar geliyor, onlar bi uçtan yıkıyor, biz bi uçtan yapıyoruz, su yok, kaynaktan su taşıyoruz, geceleri falan. Mesela gündüzden temelini kazıyorduk, hava kararmaya başladığı zaman hemen temelini yapıyorduk, gece briketleri işliyorduk, böyle elimizlen. Harç yerine çamur koyuyorduk. Bu arada çok saygılıydık birbirimize ve iyi komşuluk ilişkileri vardı. Gaziosmanpaşa'da o zamanlar yollar toprak, su yok, elektrik yok, tabii, mecburen gaz lambalarıyla oturuyordu insanlar. Akşam olduğu zaman geç kalamıyorduk, geç kaldın mı evleri bulamıyorduk. Çünkü evler, hepsi birbirine benziyordu, aynı kiremit, aynı çatı, aynı bahçe...*"

[251] Saran, "Squatter Settlement," p. 333.

[252] For the various struggling forms of the squatters, see Kenan Yıldıran, "Gecekondular ve Mücadeleleri," *Forum* 17, no. 253 (Ekim 1964).

[253] Şenyapılı, *'Baraka'dan Gecekonduya*, p. 198.

> that they were distinguished groups that could not integrate to the city, however they thought that this integration problem could be solved in a way. The administrators believe that if they could settle the *gecekondu* population in houses that resemble the houses of the rest of the city, the problem would be solved. As opposed to that, the squatters believed that they could integrate to the city if they dressed and behaved like the city-dwellers. Both of the sides evaluated the problem at a similarly superficial level.[254]

As a result of these developments and together with the increasing population, the *gecekondu* settlements gained a political importance. The squatters used these political developments, and the obstructions of the state became limited to the frequently accepted *gecekondu* pardons. In a way, the state agreed that it could not meet the housing requirements of its citizens and it accepted the existence of the right of land speculation in the cities for not only a privileged minority, but also for the squatters.[255]

The integration of the city was one of the major problems during this period. A new tension between the old residents of the city and the people living in the *gecekondu* settlements arose in this period. This new development, which can be described as the creation of new behaviors by the rural immigrants that were different from those of the urban culture of the old residents of the city created a new academic literature called "urbanization." This new literature mainly observed the adaptation levels of the rural immigrants in the cities. One of the main subjects of

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[254] Ibid., p. 200-201. "*Hürriyet gazetesinin 21 Şubat 1955 tarihinde ilettiği bir haberde, İzmir Araphasan Mahallesinde yıkılan 100 gecekonduda yaşayan 600 kişinin bir 'protesto mitingi' düzenlendiğini ve Başbakan Menderes'e 600 imzalı bir telgraf çektiklerini iletir. 6 Mayıs'ta ise İstanbul Gecekondularını Güzelleştirme Derneği yedi kişilik bir heyetle Ankara'ya gelir ve yıkılması söz konusu olan 5.000 gecekondu için yer gösterilmesini ister. 22 Ağustos'ta ise gecekonduları Güzelleştirme Derneği bir toplantı yaparak basına Ankara ve İzmir gecekonduları ile birleşerek bir federasyon kurmak istediklerini açıklar. Aynı toplantıda gecekondululara, iş takibi için resmi dairelere giderken tırnaklarını kesmeleri, saçlarını taramaları, temiz ve kıyafet yasasına uygun biçimde giyinmeleri öğütlenir. Bu ilginç öğütler gecekonducların kendilerinin kentle bütünleşmemiş ayrı gruplar olduğunun bilincine vardıklarını ancak bu bütünleşme sorununun bir biçimde çözülebileceği sanısında olduklarını gösterir. Yöneticiler gecekondu nüfusunun kentin olağan konutlarına benzeyen konutlarda barındırabilirlerse sorunun çözüleceğine inanmaktalar, buna karşın gecekonducular da kentli gibi giyinip davranabilirlerse bütünleşebileceklerine inanmaktadırlar. Her iki taraf da sorunu benzer bir yüzeysel düzeyde düşünmektedir.*"

[255] Tekeli, "Türkiye'nin Göç," p. 465.

this literature was to define to what degree these migrants had become part of the city or if they were still peasants. Substantially, this literature mostly was affected by the modernization perspective and due to that, they asserted that these rural immigrants would be absorbed by the city soon and they would become the part of the system accordingly. However, this result did not happed as time passed. The rural migrants created some intermediary mechanism in the cities in order to support themselves. When this situation was observed, the urbanization literature tried to offer some political precautions in order to solve this integration problem.

The definitions of these groups were changed accordingly. Mübeccel Kıray says that, even though these groups defined themselves still as peasants, they lived in the cities and earned their livings in the cities, due to that they should be defined not as peasants but as city-dwellers because they did not want to return to their homes in the countryside. They preferred to stay in the city even if they lived in bad conditions. Nevertheless, these peasant-squatters preferred to maintain the ownership of a small amount of land in their hands as a security mechanism.[256] As a result, these new kinds of city-dwellers lived in the cities, worked in the cities but still had ties with the countryside. This confused many of the definitions that were peculiar to urban areas.

Behind all of these definitions, the resistance and struggle mechanisms of the peasant-squatters which were developed to continue or ease their livings in the city can be defined as the effective force. The peasants that came to the cities invented some defence and solidarity practices in order to protect themselves from the state's

[256] Kıray, "Gecekondu," p. 570-72. In a survey conducted in 1960s, the question of "Do you want to turn back to your village?" is answered 94 percent as "no" by the rural immigrants. Saran, "Squatter Settlement," p. 358. However, in another survey conducted in the 1990s, 49.5 percent of the people that are living in the *gecekondu*s even in the 1990s define themselves as peasant. Tahire Erman, "Şehirli Olmak Ya Da Köylü Kalmak: Kentteki Kır Göçmenin Kendini Tanımlaması Olayı," in *II. Ulusal Sosyoloji Kongresi: Toplum ve Göç (20-22 Kasım 1996, Mersin)* (Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası, 1997), p. 304.

pressure. The most important of these solidarity practices was organizations that were created around the notion of *hemşehrilik* (fellow countryman). According to Ayşe Güneş-Ayata, *hemşehrilik* was a kind of "identity-gaining" mechanisms for the migrant groups:

> For the first-time migrants, the people that take part in the crowded city life is an unresolved entity. They have relatives, people who came from the same village; they see them as "us." In the course of time the definitions of "us" multiply and differentiate. These different definitions of "us" help the immigrant population to differentiate the groups in the city and herewith to relate themselves with other groups and as a result to acclimatize them with the city. Due to that the *hemşehrilik* is protected all the time. What is expected from this is along with helping each other when necessary, to create and sustain a state of belonging.[257]

Even though *hemşehrilik* had bounds with the place of origin for rural migrants, it was more a city-based relation. If everyone comes from the same place, *hemşehrilik* could not become a defence mechanism or an identity. Other types of distinguishing or defining elements have to be replaced instead. In the countryside, class differences can be defined more easily. However, among the rural migrants in the cities, class differences can be ignored. For example, Peter Suzuki noted the solidarity cash-box, which was used to help the newcomers and needy relatives that stayed in the villages.[258] This situation shows that the peasant that came to city did not lose their connections with their villages and created a new mechanism which helped them continue their newly created identity in the cities.

The municipalities did not bring urban services rapidly to these newly established settlements. Due to that the squatters invented mechanisms that helped

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[257] Ayşe Güneş-Ayata, "Gecekondularda Kimlik Sorunu, Dayanışma Örüntüleri ve Hemşehrilik," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 51-52 (Autumn 1990-Winter 1991), p. 101. "*Kalabalık şehir hayatında yer alan insanlar ilk göç edenler için ayrışmamış bir bütündür. Akrabaları vardır, aynı köyden gelenler vardır, onları "biz" olarak görürler. Zaman içinde "biz" tanımları çoğalmakta ve farklılaşmaktadır. Bu farklı "biz" tanımları göç eden nüfusun şehirdeki grupları farklılaştırmasına ve böylelikle kendisine başka gruplarla ilişkilendirmesine ve şehre uyum sağlamasına yardımcı olmaktadır. İşte bunun için hemşehrilik sürekli olarak korunur, bunda da beklenen, ihtiyaç halinde yardıma koşmak yanında, bir aidiyet duygusu yaratmak ve yaşatmaktır.*"

[258] Peter Suzuki, "Encounters with Istanbul: Urban Peasants and Village Peasants," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 5 (1964), p. 211.

them survive in the city. For example, in order to solve the transportation problem, a new form of vehicle was invented, called the *dolmuş* (shared taxi). The *gecekondu* settlements were not defined in the limits of municipalities and due to that urban services such as municipality buses did not reach at these places. With the invention of the *dolmuş* this problem was solved with the initiation of the squatters.[259]

The peasants that migrated to the cities were seen as being elements that would be absorbed by the urban culture in time by modernization theory. However, instead of getting lost in the urban culture, they created new intermediary mechanisms to survive in the city conditions. Due to that the articulation of the peasant-squatters to city life was seen in ways different from how it was expected. As Gülsüm Bayar Nalbantoğlu writes, "in order to support him or herself in the city, the migrant peasant discovered some spatial and architectural tactics which have not been emphasized by the architectural discourse until today. While conditionally internalizing, changing or imitating the existing urban and architectural orders, they never rejected the language of the city with a strict traditionalism."[260]

This new architectural style, which was the invention of the *gecekondu*, also shows the characteristics of the rural migration in Turkey, which was undertaken by not totally dispossessed peasantry. The peasants that moved to the cities did not leave their lands behind; they in a way remained connected always to the agricultural production even though they worked at industrial jobs in the cities.

The cities also did not transform these peasants with their culture. This was mostly due to the existence of an underdeveloped city culture in Turkey. Especially

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[259] Kepenek and Yentürk, *Türkiye Ekonomisi*, p. 125.

[260] Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "Sessiz Direnişler ya da Kırsal Türkiye İle Mimari Yüzleşmeler," in *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), p. 165. "*köylü göçmen kentte hayatını sürdürebilmek için mimari söylemin bugüne değin pek de üzerinde durmadığı mekânsal ve mimari taktikler keşfediyordu. Varolan kentsel ve mimari düzenleri yerine göre özümser, değiştirir ya da taklit ederken hiçbir zaman katı bir gelenekçilikle kentin dilini yadsımıyordu.*"

the abandonment of the main elements of the bourgeois city culture in Turkey after the foundation of the new republic impoverished the existing urban culture. The new republic tried to create a new urban culture, shaped by its new ideological perspective. However, before the creation of this new urban culture was concluded, the changing economic and political preferences transformed the rural structure and this caused a rapid and speedy rural migration movements. The urban culture, which was not strong enough to resist both culturally and economically the migration movements, was changed this time by the newcomers.

The economic and political requirements of these immigrant masses affected politics, too. Due to the squatters' voting potentials the political authorities approached them and the squatters became the centers of political patronage and populism in the cities. In a way,

> The "peasants" that migrated to the city changed both themselves and the city during the time passed and the labor market, housing market, the structure of the local politics and city administrations got their share from this change. … The new lives of the migrants mostly were reshaped with the cultural characteristics they brought from their villages and their experiences in the city. As a result of this interaction, "new city-dwellers" and "new İstanbul resident" groups emerged, which had very different characteristics than before.[261]

This development, although it created a class differentiation among the urban residents, as Karpat says, created cultural, political and religious homogenization at a certain level in the country.[262]

As for concluding remarks, in this chapter the transformation of the rural structure during the post-war period is analyzed. The transformation of the rural

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[261] Sema Erder, *İstanbul'a Bir Kent Kondu-Ümraniye* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1996), pp. 12-13. "*kente göçeden 'köylüler', kentte geçirdikleri süre içinde, hem kendileri değişmişler hem de kenti değiştirmişlerdi ve kentin iş piyasası da, konut piyasası da, yerel siyaset yapısı ile kentsel kurumlar da bu değişimden nasibini almışlardı. ... Kente göçedenlerin yeni hayatları köylerinden taşıdıkları kültürel özellikleri, kentte yaşadıkları deneyimlerle, büyük ölçüde yeniden biçimlenmiştir. Bu etkileşimin sonucunda da, eskisinden çok farklı nitelik taşıyan 'yeni kentliler' ve 'yeni İstanbullu' gruplar ortaya çıkmıştır.*"

[262] Kemal H. Karpat, "The Genesis of the Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization (1976)," *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 Thematic Issue, Gecekondu (2004): p. 19.

structures occurred both due to the economic developments in the international level and the changing economic preferences, which were the practices that helped the accommodation of the country's economic structure to the changing economic world order. It can be asserted that the urban structure was transformed as a result of the rural transformation during this period. Within this framework the LRL, the Marshall Plan and the continuation of the smallholder peasantry were analyzed and their effects to the rural migration during this period were evaluated accordingly.

During the reconstruction of the world economic order in the post-war period, the change in the economic preferences of Turkey occurred with the transition from an industrial-based development mentality to one of agricultural-based development. This change was the main basis for the creation of the rural migration during this period.

Within this framework, the main factors and reasons that created the rural migration during this period were analyzed in this chapter. As opposed to the mechanic reasoning of the rural migration movements, the overall transformation of the rural structure was offered as the main reason for the migration. Although the mechanization of agricultural production during this period is accepted as one of the factors that created the rural migration, it was not the only or the most effective reason. The main effect of the mechanization during this period was to make an increase in the total amount of cultivated lands. When taken together with the LRL, the mechanization was the element that for the most part maintained the continuance of the smallholder peasantry in Turkey.

As a result of the rural migration, massive numbers of peasants moved to the cities and they settled there. The transformation of the rural structure thus not only created the rural migration movements, but also changed the urban structure. In order

to observe the effect of the transformation of the rural structure on the urban structure, the development of the *gecekondu* settlements, which were invented as a result of the rural migration during this period, were analyzed in this chapter. The *gecekondu*s were developed as a peculiar type of urban settlement, as a result of the economic destruction of the cities that was created with the Second World War. When the rural migration movements began after the war, the cities were unable to cope with the massive increase in the urban population. This underdeveloped condition of the cities gave way to the creation of the squatter-type settlements. The development of squatter settlements in the major cities became the most discussed problem during the period, more than the actual rural migration movements, because the effects of the rural migration became visible mostly with the creation of such settlements and they directly affected the daily lives of the urban residents.

The urbanization policies of the single-party regime depended on the separation of the urban and rural areas and to the policy of keeping the peasants in their "natural" places. According to the economic policies, this ideological perspective corresponded with the separation of urban and rural production as self-sufficient units. However, with the changing political preferences after the Second World War, this separation in the economic production activities disappeared. The necessity of transforming agricultural production from its self-sufficient structure to a market-based cash-cropping system brought the transformation of the rural structure and, as a result, the previously adopted industrial-based production changed with agricultural-based production. Accordingly, the previously adopted industry-railroad policy changed with the agriculture-highways policy in accordance with the recommends of American specialists during that period. With the construction of the highways the connection of agricultural production to the market was secured. In

addition to that, the cities became relatively much closer to the villages, easing the connection of the peasants with the major cities. In addition to the transformation of the rural structure, another factor that accelerated and eased the rural migration movements was the development of highways during this period.

The ideological perspective of keeping the peasants in their villages changed with the transformation of the rural structure and the rural migration. The cities were not prepared for such a flow of immigrants and due to that many problems arose in the cities in terms of meeting their job and housing requirements. Squatting emerged as a solution to these problems.

The amazement that met the creation of the *gecekondu* settlement in the cities brought with it a redefinition of the peasantry. The urban and rural spaces, which were efforts had made to keep separated previously, became intersected in the urban structure with the rural migration. The residents of the *gecekondu* settlements were not totally dispossessed and did not leave their lands behind. They were still, in a way, related to the agricultural production, although they had settled in the cities. This situation created a new identity that was more rural than urban. For that reason, the peasants that move to the cities during this period are mostly referred to as "peasant-squatters."

The peasants were defined afterwards through the new structures they created and transformed in the cities. Urban residents, for the first time, met "actual" peasants in the cities with this development. The migration movement was declared as a "real" problem, since the existence of the rural immigrants became visible in the cities. As a result, the rural migration was not only a process related to the peasants, but also became a relation that transformed the cities. For the city-dwellers, who met the peasants in the cities accordingly, the peasants stopped being an unknown

"imaginary" entity and became a concrete "reality" that affected their everyday lives. In this sense, the transformation of the rural structure resulted in the creation of the peasants as "real" elements with the rural migration.

This intervention of the rural migration into the urban spaces gave rise to the creation of a new academic area in Turkey, urban studies. Urban studies developed in Turkey during this period as an academic area that researches on the problems that created by the "real" peasants in the cities. With these studies, the "reality" of the peasants in the cities became a research subject.

In the next chapter, the relation of the peasants to politics will be analyzed. During the period in question, in which the rural structure was wholly transformed, the effects of the relation of the peasants to politics became as great as the transformation of the economic structures and the peasants became visible in politics as much as they became visible in the cities. Within this framework the transformation of the peasants, by which they were released from being abstract and imaginary elements and became concrete and real entities, will be analyzed through their relation to the politics in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

PEASANTRY AS AN ACTIVE COMPONENT OF POLITICS

In this chapter, the emphasis will be on the relation of the peasants to politics during the period in question. The political behaviors that were developed by the peasants during this period, and government's changing political perception of the peasantry will be discussed. By defining these relations between politics and peasantry, the differing positions of the peasantry in politics from the previous period will be examined. During this period, although the peasants did not become the subjects of politics exactly, they became more visible as an active component of politics. As opposed to the "imagined" existence of the peasantry, which was created discursively during the previous period, peasants gained the consciousness of their political existence and effect during this period. As a result of their active participation in politics, they put themselves forward as being a "real" and indispensable political force. As said in the other chapters of this study, the peasants were accepted by the other groups in society as a "real" component in politics as well.

The relation of the peasants with politics in the 1945-1960 period will be investigated from different angles. First, by reviewing the general literature on the period in question, how the relation of the peasants with politics is defined in these works and the main factors that affected these works will be shown. Second, the "Arslanköy Case" will be investigated as an example of peasants being an active component of politics before the DP came to power. The peasants' relation with law and politics will be discussed in the light of this example. Especially, how the new

understanding of rule of law, as an arena of political struggle, affected politics in general and the peasants' participation in politics will be shown. The development of the "rights demand" phenomenon and the importance of this demand in the making of the peasants as a political entity will be put forth with a wider analysis of this case and the general political atmosphere of the period. This "rights demand" phenomenon continued after the DP came to power. Examples of the peasants' continual demands of their rights from the government will be presented by using state archival documents.

After the Arslanköy Case, the alteration in the government's political discourse will be examined. As the peasants became an indispensible factor in politics, the governments changed the evaluation of the peasantry in their political discourse. In the following section, the emphasis will be on how politics were put into practice in the villages. An analysis of all of the kinds of villages and peasant households is not possible. Due to that, the change in the political space in the villages will be investigated. At this point, the development of the village coffeehouse as a political space will be the main unit of analysis. The local organization forms of the political parties during the period in question made the development of village coffeehouses as political institutions possible.

Finally, the relation of the peasants with anti-communist policies will be investigated. To make the peasants' political integration to the political system smooth, an anti-communist discourse was used as a functional tool, which was imposed on the peasants as an ideological control mechanism. Within this framework an evaluation of the use of anti-communism will be made by analyzing the media tools which were mostly read by and shaped the peasants' political and social consciousness, such as special newspapers published only for the peasant audience.

Herewith, by focusing on some main developments that shaped the political world of the peasants during this period, the differing meanings of peasantry in politics will be set forth.

Samuel Huntington distinguishes the "village" and the "city" as being matters of politics as follows: "The city becomes the continuing center of opposition to the political system. The stability of a government depends upon the support, which it can mobilize in the countryside … In a modernizing society, the successful party is born in the city but matures in the countryside."[263] Huntington reaches this inference by studying modernizing countries, like Turkey, and the political problems they come across during their modernization process. This inference also bears a proposal in itself, according to which, in the modernizing countries, when oppositional movements emerge in the cities, it is not possible to acquire the continuity of politics by ignoring the rural population, which make up vast majority of the society. Accordingly, if any political party wants to be successful throughout a country, it has to gain the support of rural population. Whether in a single-party regime or in a competitive multi-party system, the agents of modernization have to be in close relation with the components of the rural structure and *without* permitting the violation of its own political perspective, it has to "politicize" the rural population.

It is possible to consider the relation of peasants with politics in the 1945-1960 period from this perspective. As part of the new word system built after the Second World War, Turkey's socio-economic structure changed accordingly. The transformation of the agricultural structure and the effects of this transformation were discussed in the previous chapter. As political side of this transformation, the political system changed from an inward-oriented single-party regime to a

[263] Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Heaven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 433-434.

competitive multi-party system. With this transformation, the political effect of the peasantry, which made up the vast majority of society, increased comparatively. The hegemonic uptrend of the political opposition, which started in the center of the politics and gained mostly city-oriented support at first, began when it carried out the peasants' entrance into politics. The DP would be successful at attracting the support of the groups which had been economically battered and politically disregarded during the single-party period, with the help of an organizational awareness of this situation of the people. Examples of these developments will be given in detail. But before that, how the relation of the peasants with politics is defined in the literature dealing with the period in question will be presented.

The primary resource on the political developments of the 1946-1960 period in the academic literature of Turkey is Cem Eroğul's preliminary book *Demokrat Parti-Tarihi ve İdeolojisi* (The Democrat Party: Its History and Ideology), which was published in 1968.[264] The most important aspect of this study is its time of publication. It was published during a period close to the events discussed in the book and so many years ago from now. It is having been written so soon after the events allows a more accurate version of the events. It is also meaningful that a book written forty years ago still designates our appreciation of a historical period. This book remains valuable even today and such broad information on the political events of the period is not available anywhere else. But it could be insufficient to evaluate the period due to its distinctive approach to the period in question. Actually Eroğul himself emphasizes this point in the foreword he wrote for the book's 1998 edition:

[264] Cem Eroğul, *Demokrat Parti-Tarihi ve İdeolojisi* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1998). Kemal Karpat's book, which mostly covers the DP during its oppositional years, was published before Eroğlu's study. See Karpat, *Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System*. But Karpat's work deals mostly the events until the DP came to power and its primal concern is to explain the "transition" process. Due to that we have to accept Eroğul's book as the first compact study of the DP period.

> On the other side, as the years passed, the necessity to make a warning to the reader gradually increases: Ones who read the book today should not miss out that the analysis in the book represents the situation of Turkey in the 1960s.[265]

By making this warning, Eroğul actually wants to state that the book represents not the general understanding of the 1950s but of the 1960s. No matter which part of the 1945-1960 period is being studied, it is necessary to pay attention to Eroğul's warning, because, it points out that the historiography of the 1950s is mostly affected by the political atmosphere of the 1960s. When discussing the relation of the peasants with politics, this fact needs to be considered.

During the process of evaluating the DP period from a historical perspective, a deflective phenomenon, which will be called hereafter as "the perception rupture," is mostly influential. "Perception rupture," in short, indicates the breaking points which affect the formation and our perception of the factual knowledge of a given historical period. These breaking points present the various components of the period and the definition of political events that happened during the period are different from how they were understood and known at the time they actually happened. From within this framework, the most important perception rupture that affect explications on the facts and the components of the 1946-1960 period was the 27 May 1960 coup d'état. The justification discourse, or roughly the "pretext," of the coup designates the perceptions on the DP period in general. The justification of the coup manifests a "new" perception, which creates a new "real" historical narrative of the period. The oppressive political behavior of the DP, which existed mostly during the last years of its power, becomes the only fact that is used to define the whole period. Both for these who are still in the realm of politics following a political mentality closer to

[265] Eroğul, *Demokrat Parti*, p. 6. "*Öte yandan, yıllar geçtikçe, okura temel bir uyarıda bulunma gereği gitgide artıyor: Kitabı bugün okuyanlar kitaptaki çözümlemelerin Türkiye'nin 1960'lardaki durumunu yansıttığının gözden kaçırmamalıdır.*"

that of the DP, and for the ones who do not hesitate to mention the "progressive" characteristics of the coup, the effect of the coup forms the basis of their explanations and as a result are problematic in the same way.

It is possible to follow up the effects of the coup on the literature of the period in question by investigating various researchers' evaluations of the relation of the peasants with politics. On the way to understand these effects, it is better to focus on the descriptions of the DP's acquisition of power on 14 May 1950. With these elections, for the first time in Turkish modernization process, the party in power was replaced by another with the help of the electoral process. The main moving force of this change was the peasants, who were the main supporters of the DP and also the majority in the overall population. It may be wrong to say that the whole rural population supported the DP during this takeover. Nevertheless, the political support of the peasants and the DP's propaganda activities to gain this support were the main dynamics that carried the DP to power.

Actually, some of the descriptions of this change in power which belittle or exaggerate this takeover do not base their assumptions on any kind of social analysis. These kinds of descriptions, mostly seek to support their political perceptions, which have been created by the effect of the coup. For example, in the political speeches of a political tradition which describes itself as the follower of the DP tradition, this change in power is described as a "people's movement." Rıfkı Salim Burçak, who was an active member of the DP during the 1950s, expresses this view as follows:

> In fact, the Democrat Party, which was founded by Celal Bayar, Fuat Köprülü, Adnan Menderes and Refik Koraltan on 7 January 1946, advanced in a very short time period after its foundation and by gaining the trust of the people it created a massive people's movement. This was the first people's movement that was seen after the National Struggle.[266]

[266] Demokratlar Kulübü, *14 Mayıs 1950 Seçimlerinin 40. Yılı Sempozyumu* (Ankara: Demokratlar Kulübü Yayınları, 1990), p. 9. "*Gerçekten de Celal Bayar, Fuat Köprülü, Adnan Menderes ve Refik Koraltan tarafından 7 Ocak 1946'da kurulan Demokrat Parti, kurulmasıyla birlikte çok hızlı bir*

The basic factor that lies behind this expression is to stress that, with the 27 May 1960 coup, the military made the intervention "against the people." This kind of perspective mainly asserts that only *they*, as a party or movement, represent the people. As Çağlar Keyder says, they actually, "implicitly deny the representative legitimacy of the National Assembly."[267] As a result, every opposition to the party in power is accepted as being directed against the "people." Such an account of the event tries to reckon with the coup and make the pretext of the coup ineffective, but does not describe the general understanding of the period.

The second perspective on the 1950 elections is shaped by hostility towards the DP and its political mentality. The extreme side of this perspective describes the DP's coming to power and the political developments during the period as a "counter-revolution."[268] This perspective mostly applies to the pretexts of the coup in their descriptions and legitimatizes the coup as being a political and historical necessity. This perspective mostly describes the political position of the RPP as having been more "progressive" than the DP and claims that the DP was nothing but a coalition of groups united to destroy the progressive reforms which had been put into practice during the single-party period. According to that, during this "counter-revolution," peasants were nothing more than "passive" supporters of the DP's policies and, besides, they had been deceived into behaving like that. Keyder describes this perspective as follows: "the supporters of the RPP and statist policies later try to claim that, the 1950 victory of the DP was nothing but the conservative

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gelişme kaydetti ve kısa sürede milletin güvenini sağlayarak, büyük bir halk hareketini oluşturdu. Bu, Milli Mücadele'den sonra görülen ilk büyük halk hareketiydi."

[267] Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar*, trans. Sabri Tekay, 5. ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999), p. 163. "*Meclisin temsili meşruiyetini üstüörtülü bir biçimde inkâr.*"

[268] For a typical example of this perspective see, Sina Akşin, "DP'nin Karşı Devrimi," *Radikal İki* 14 May 2000, p. 4.

reaction of the peasants, who rejected keeping up with the modernizing elites with the effect of distant religious leaders."[269]

In the first perspective, the peasants are conceived as active subjects of the movement and the central political developments are left aside. In this way, they try to position the "people" and the groups that supported the coup against each other. In the second perspective, the peasants' relations with politics were ineffective or unimportant and they could have had only a kind of guided relation with the central forces of the politics. As a result, the peasants, mostly due to their lack of education, were "deceived" by the "counter-revolutionary" forces. Neither perspective gives any proper information about the peasants' relation with politics during the period in question. These perspectives, mostly affected by the "perception rupture" described above, obstruct our evaluation of the events that occurred during the period.

In the general literature on the period, some of the studies deal with the peasants' relation with politics to some degree. But in most of these studies, the peasants mostly exist as not "real" political beings, but more like political elements that were "affected" or "directed" by the center of the politics. As a matter of fact, these kinds of studies mostly focus on the characteristics of rural power relations, but not the actual relation of the peasants with politics. The main problematic of these kinds of studies is mostly to evaluate the importance of patronage and clientelist relations in the rural structure, and in this kind of problematization peasants are defined only as rural elements directed by the rural powerful landowners. For example, in Horst Unbehaun's socio-political study on the villages of Datça, the peasants are defined only as a population element in the struggle between the *ağa*s of

[269] Keyder, "Türkiye Demokrasisinin," p. 54. "*sonraları CHP ve devletçi politikanın savunucuları, DP'nin 1950'deki zaferinin, samimiyetsiz dini önderlerin etkisiyle, çağdaşlaştırıcı seçkinlere ayak uydurmayı reddeden köylülerin tutucu bir tepkisinden başka bir şey olmadığını iddia etmeye kalkacaklardır.*"

that area. The peasants are not discussed as political elements for their own sakes, and no political participation form apart from that is mentioned.[270] When patronage relations are in question the most important subject to remember in describing the political participation of the peasants is the "buffer mechanism," which is a reciprocal relation that provides the adaptation of peasants to the changing conditions, as defined in Mübeccel Kıray's works.[271] In a patronage relation type, peasants are not passive elements that only obey the patron's desires. As a reciprocal relation at the economic level, there is also a mutual interaction in politics. Also, as a hegemonic relation type, patronage, depends on both the obedience and the consent of all parties. In order to get the consent of the peasants, the landlords are required to offer some kind of "freedom" or "allowance" to them. This mutual relation made the peasants of the period more closely involved with the political developments of the period. Due to that, during the dynamic political atmosphere of the 1945-1960 period, the peasants were able to develop some kind of political consciousness "even" if they were surrounded by the boundaries of the patronage relations.

The most frequently encountered description of the peasants in this period is made with the effect of a general perception which accepts the peasants as the passive recipients of political developments. This kind of perception mostly developed as a result of a belief that implies that both the DP and the peasantry in this period could not put into practice a "desired" or "intended" way of political

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[270] Hans Unbehaun, *Türkiye Kırsalında Kliyentalizm ve Siyasal Katılım-Datça Örneği: (1923-1992)*, trans. Mehmet Öztürk (Ankara: Ütopya Yayınevi, 2005). This kind of perspective can be seen in Unbehaun's book in the section where he deals with the political function of the village coffeehouses, which is going to be analyzed here in detail. The headline of Unbehaun's section is "The 'Politicization' of the Peasants: The Separation of the Coffeehouses" Here, the term "politicization" defines the peasants as passive recipients of politics, by which peasants are only directed by the powerful landlords of the region (p. 240). In this section, he is not dealing with the political thoughts or the behaviors of the peasants but he tries to stress that "even" the coffeehouses are separated according to the political needs of the landlords.

[271] Mübeccel Kıray, "Değişen Patronaj Kalıpları Yapısal Değişme Üzerine Bir Çalışma," in *Toplumsal Yapı Toplumsal Değişme* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1999), p. 300.

existence. In an analysis on the effect of the 1950 elections, Sungur Savran reduces the peasants' political role in this change to a more passive level and says that, "People did not 'arise' during this change; they at the most applauded this change over from where they sat!"[272] Keyder similarly relates this political passivity of the peasants to the socio-economic condition of the peasantry in Turkey and says that, "the peasantry, of which at least 80 percent were independent petite producers, could not have much revolutionary potential".[273] The peasantry was thus not very "revolutionary" during the period in question, but the peasants were also active political elements that could intervene into politics when necessary.

Özer Ozankaya writes the following about the development of the political culture in the countryside: "If the material life conditions by which the villager is surrounded could not bind him to the broader society, the broader society's government style would not have an active place in the villager's problems. So, there should not be any political consciousness."[274] The political elites of the single-party period were hesitant about the political participation of the peasants. The RPP did not try to bring politics to the countryside and particularly tried to leave the peasants outside of the political realm. During this new period, the peasants would be introduced to politics and they would participate in the new political system. With the passage to a multi-party direct suffrage system, peasants started to participate in politics directly without the intermediacy of the rural representative of the central power. This means that, from that time on, politics would directly affect

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[272] Sungur Savran, *Türkiye'de Sınıf Mücadeleleri-Cilt I (1919-1980)* (İstanbul: Kardelen Yayınları, 1992), p. 92. "*Halk 'ayağa' kalkmamıştır; olsa olsa oturduğu yerden bu düzenli nöbet değişimini alkışlamıştır!*"

[273] Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar*, p. 174. "*en azından yüzde 80'i bağımsız küçük üreticilerden oluşan bir köylülüğün fazla bir devrimci potansiyeli olamaz.*"

[274] Özer Ozankaya, "Köyde Toplumsal Yapı ve Siyasal Kültür," *Amme İdaresi Dergisi* 4, no. 1 (March 1971), p. 33. "*köylünün içinde bulunduğu maddi şartları … onu geniş toplumla bütünleştiremiyorsa, geniş toplumun yönetim biçimi köylünün sorunları arasında etkin bir biçimde yer alamaz. Böylece bir siyasal bilinçlenme de söz konusu olamaz.*"

the overall rural structure. From its first years of opposition, the DP would seek to spread its organization to the countryside. For the first time in history, the peasants would directly come across with the political representatives of the central power, who were trying to gain their support. With the improvement of the material life conditions of the villages, the political sphere of the villages was widened and the peasants become integrated into the broader society. İbrahim Yasa describes these developments as follows:

> …with the transition to the multi-party period, it can be said that various groups of people slowly become aware of their belonging to a strata or class. Meanwhile, the peasants become aware that they were not only a part of their closed and limited community, but also the part of the broader society and they could have an impact on the political preferences of the country. With the transition to liberal from closed economy the arrival of various party propaganda and politics to the villages made the oppositional and disintegrating powers, which naturally existed in the village communities, more effective than before; this is the most characteristic reason for this change. … Today, villagers and city dwellers have more chances to know each other well and to have close incorporation than before.[275]

After the Second World War, with the political and economic transformation, the relation of the peasants with politics was transformed, too. In a multi-party competitive system, some issues, which had not been put into words before, began to be spoken. Especially after the DP came to power in the 1950 by elections, the peasants became aware of their importance in politics. In most of the works published before the coup, this awareness of the peasants is openly expressed:

> When sitting in the coffeehouse in Bölceköy, they began to talk about politics. One of the Democrat villagers loudly said:

[275] İbrahim Yasa, *Türkiye'nin Toplumsal Yapısı ve Temel Sorunları* (Ankara: Türkiye ve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1970), p. 201. "*…çok partili döneme girildikten sonra çeşitli halk yığınları yavaş yavaş kendilerinin de birer tabakaya, sınıfa bağlı olduklarını algılamaya başlamışlardır denilebilir. Bu arada köylüler sadece kendi kapalı ve sınırlı toplulukların değil, aynı zamanda da büyük toplumun parçaları olduklarını, kamuoyu ve ülkenin güdeceği siyasada etkili olabileceklerini anlar olmuşlardır. Bu değişmenin en belirgin nedeni kapalı toplumların açık pazar ekonomisine geçmesiyle birlikte çeşitli parti propagandalarının, siyasanın köye ulaşmasının, zaten köy topluluğunun kendi doğasında varolan, birbirlerine karşıt ve parçalayıcı güçleri daha etkili hale getirmiş olmasıdır. … Bugün köylü ile kentli eskisine göre, birbirlerin daha iyi tanıma ve birbirleriyle daha yakından kaynaşma olanakları içinde bulunmaktadır.*"

> -We brought the Democrats to power; if they do not come to our village and sit with us, if they do not listen to our problems and do not accomplish what they promised, we will overthrow them, too. They taught us how to overthrow. We will not give even a vote to them either. We will turn our face to another party!.. as such.
> In these villages, the name of the government officer became servant. A deputy of parliament comes to the Poyracik for the election propaganda. Because he was a member of the DP, most of the villagers did not go to meet him. Some of them said, "it will be disgrace not to meet him, let's go and say welcome". One of them says:
> -Minister or deputy is the servant to the people. I am the people; I will not go near him if he won't visit me personally!.. This idea became dominant, they did not go. For he did not find anyone to listen his propaganda, the deputy returned without saying a word.[276]

The DP's coming to power can be accepted as an important phase in the peasants gaining a political consciousness. How peasants appraised this takeover can be seen clearly when the "perception rupture" that the coup created is eliminated. Also in this way, it is possible to give meaning to the discourse that the peasants of the period were appropriated. For example, during the 1954 elections one of the peasants said, "we made a revolution in [1]950, but we will make elections in 1954."[277] These words reveal the political consciousness of the peasants and the actual meaning of elections for them. The peasants gained the consciousness that they had a great affect on politics during this period. Besides, different from the single-party period, they did not hesitate to voice their opinions loudly. This change in their political consciousness was expressed by them as "freedom." But the concept of this "freedom" was different from what was really understood by the political

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[276] Yalçın Dağlar, *Köylerimizden Örnekler* (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1951), pp. 100-101. "*Bölceköyde kahvede otururken bahsi siyasete döktüler. Demokrat bir köylü bağıra bağıra: -Demokratları iktidara getirdik; köyümüze gelip aramızda oturmazlar, dertlerimizi dinlemezler, vaitlerini yerine getirmezlerse, onları da devririz. Onlar bize devirmeyi öğrettiler. Gelecek seçimde onlara da tek rey vermeyiz. Başka bir partiye daha döneriz!.. gibi sözler söylüyordu.Bu köylerde memurun adı hizmetçi olmuş. Seçim propagandası için Poyracik'a bir milletvekili gelmiş. Çoğu demokrat olduğu için yanına giden olmamış. Birkaç kişi "ayıp olur, gidip hoş geldin diyelim" demişler. İçlerinden biri: -Bakan veya milletvekili milletin hizmetçisidir. Ben milletim; o benim ayağıma gelmedikçe ben onun yanına gitmem!... demiş. Bu fikir hâkim olmuş, gitmemişler. Propagandayı dinleyecek kimse bulamadığı için, giden zat, ağzını açmadan, geri dönmüş.*"

[277] Muzaffer Celasun, "Demokrat Parti Afyon Teşkilatında Kaynaşma", *Cumhuriyet*, 3 April 1954. "*biz 950 senesinde inkılap yaptık, 954 senesinde de seçim yapacağız*"

elites of the period. Turan Güneş, a prominent political personality of the period, defined the understanding of "freedom" by the peasants of the period as follows:

> It used to be that the mediator between the state and people was the *ağa* or the notables of the region… In the DP period these were displaced by the chief of the district or village branch of the parties. … for the broader voter masses freedom was something else. … For this mass of people freedom was not to be beaten up by the gendarmerie, not to be treated harshly by the tax collector. Applying to the district governor easily or to ask for something, even if it was against the law, from him.[278]

Demands that were defined as "against the law" by the government in power or the political elites were the definition of "democracy" or "freedom" for the peasants. Politics for the peasants was a way to realize all of the things of which they had been deprived in the single-party regime. This new attitude was actually a political attitude for the peasants. These demands, which would gradually increase and were the creation of the DP's propaganda during its oppositional years, would be reclaimed by the peasants later in a "rights demanding" framework. For example, in an election district report prepared by RPP Ankara deputy Mebrure Aksoley on 16 November 1947, the peasants' understanding of democracy is described as follows:

> The peasant citizens understand democracy as, waging complaints about everything rashly, not obeying the existing law and orders and not respecting the state authority. Due to that the works ordered by law could not be executed. Our moves are pausing. … The peasants especially harshly object to the road building business and the peasants of the 18 village in Etimesgut district raised their objection to me as: -the state officials take road money from us, make the roads of the cities, why do they not make our roads, too? Why does the district manager pressure us to build our own roads?[279]

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[278] Mehmet Barlas, "Turan Güneş Anlatıyor," *Milliyet* 20 January 1979. "*Eskiden halk ile devlet arasındaki aracı, ağa ya da eşraftı… DP zamanında bunların yerine ocak-bucak başkanları geçti. … büyük seçmen kitlesi için özgürlük başka bir şeydi. … Bu kitle için özgürlük, jandarmadan dayak yememek, tahsildarın gadrine uğramamaktır. Kaymakamın yanına rahat çıkmak ya da ondan kanunsuz bir şeyi de isteyebilmektir.*"

[279] *Ankara Bölge Müfettişi Esad Uras'ın Teftiş Raporunun Genel Sekreterliğe Sunulduğu*, 23.1.1951, BCA 490.01/618.26.1. "*Köylü vatandaş demokrasiyi, ulu orta her şeyden şikayet etmek, mevcut kanun ve nizamlara riayetsizlik etmek, devlet otoritesine saygısızlık göstermek şeklinde anlamaktadır. Bu sebeple kanunların emrettiği işler maalesef yaptırılamamaktadır. Hamlelerimiz duraklamaktadır. … Köylü bilhassa yolların yapılması işine şiddetle itiraz etmiş ve Etimesgut bucağına bağlı 18 köy halkı bana: -devlet bizden yol parası alıyor, şehirlerin yollarını yaptırıyor, neden bizim yollarımız yaptırılmıyor? Bucak müdürü neden bizi yol yapacaksınız diye sıkıştırıyor?- diye şikayette bulundu.*"

During these years the peasants demanded their rights, raising their objections and questioning the government; all of which can be defined as peasants' "political behavior." By developing some behaviors that were defined as "against the law" by the state officials, as can clearly be seen in the report, they raised their objections to the state affairs and they obstructed the continuation of the projects they did not want. These examples, which happened before the DP power, show that the peasants started to be an active component of politics without fear of the government power.

Documents in the State Archives of Turkey contain the case files of some villagers who engaged in lawsuits due to political struggle in the countryside.[280] In addition to lawsuits, the peasants began to express their objections loudly and directly face-to-face to the representatives of the state.[281] Occasionally, the peasants did not hesitate to confront officials, whom they saw as the representatives of the state.[282] It is possible to trace the developments of how the peasants talked about politics between each other in the intelligence reports, which were prepared in order for the state to understand this change in the peasants' political attitude.

> After saying that there remained no goodness and blessing the others broke into the conversation. After talking of this and that, Harun from Çerkeş says that he heard from outside that there is a so-called powerful hodja in Ankara and people heard of and know him as a very straightforward man and he has a lot of followers and through his followers he calls for the enrollment in the Democrat Party and either *Mareşal* is a very Muslim person, as the hodja wanted, and the path he follows is straightforward. As for the People's Party it caused the suffering of many peasants and citydwellers for years and he said he had

[280] *Eskişehir'in Bozan Köyü'nden Ali Pişmiş'in Laiklik Aleyhine Suç İşlediği*, 19.7.1950, BCA 490.01/459.1886.3; *Balıkesir Mebuslarının Teftiş Raporlarının Genel Sekreterliğe Sunulduğu*, 19.9.1950, BCA 490.01/624.52.1. The lawsuit petitions of the peasants in these folders contain the political fighting and affronts between the RPP and DP members in the countryside, after the DP's victory in the 1950 elections.

[281] "During a propaganda trip, one of the villagers talked to Hasan Saka as follows: 'My wife gives honey to the cows three times a day. And milks them two times a day; you milk us for twenty years, but did not give honey once.'." *Cumhuriyet*, 16 July 1946. "*Hasan Saka'nın yaptığı propaganda gezisinde bir köylü kendisine şöyle demiş: 'Bizim kadın, ineklere günde üç öğün bal verir. İki defa da sağar; siz bizi yirmi sene sağdınız, bir defa bal vermediniz'*."

[282] "A villager sued a gendarmerie." *Cumhuriyet*, 28 April 1947.

> heard that, without god's consent, charged many people heavy taxes and from the people that could not pay the taxes took their assets and sold them, but he did not know this clearly and wanted to learn who and when this happened. Accordingly the others said is that a lie, once people think reasonably they can find the truth. The path of the Democrat Party is a Muslim way, because it both gives freedom and finds cures for the troubles of the peasants and city dwellers. In addition to that both *Mareşal* and Celal Bâyar travelled through the country without distinguishing village and district or listening to our problems.[283]

The DP's propaganda campaigns to win the support of the peasants made the peasants more aware of the country's political developments and talk about politics between themselves. The rising opposition against the 27-year old continuous rule of the RPP made all social groups in the country more interested in politics than they had been in the previous periods.[284] Individuals were interested not only in politics as supporters of a party; they sometimes took the initiative into their hands and acted as active participants in politics. For example, an event that took place in İzmir before the 1946 elections greatly displeased the political elites of the period. The news of

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[283] *Bir Emniyet Yetkilisinin Hazırladığı Rapor*, 24.12.1946, BCA 30.01/65.404.14. *Mareşal* in the text means Mareşal Fevzi Çakmak, a prominent commander during the National Struggle and the supporter of the DP opposition. "*Hayır bereket kalmamış demesi üzerine diğerleride söze karışarak şurdan burdan derken Çerkeş'li Harun hariçten işittiğine göre güya Ankara'da gayet kuvvetli bir hoca olduğunu ve bunun çok müstakim bir zat olarak halk tanıdığını işittiğini ve bunun bir çok müridleri de bulunduğunu ve bu müridleri vasıtası ile halkı Demokrat Partiye kayt edilmelerini ve Mareşal'ın da unun istediği gibi çok Müslüman bir zat olup bunun gösterdiği yolun doğru bir yol olduğunu Halk Partisi ise senelerden beri bu kadar köylü ve kentlinin canını yaktı ve allahın rızası olmadığı halde yüklediği ağır vergiler yüzünden borcunu ödeyemeyenlerin malını elinden alarak sattığını işitmiş ise de bunun nerede ve kim olduğunu öğrenmek istediğini söyledi ve diğerleri de yalanmı bir kere insan aklı ile düşünse hakikatı bulur. Demokrat partinin tuttuğu yol Müslüman yoludur. Çünkü hem hürriyet veriyor hemde köylünün kentlinin elinden tutarak dertlerine çare buluyor. Bundan başka gerek Mareşal ve gerekse Celâl Bayar nahiye ve köy bırakmadan geziyorlar ve dertlerimizi dinliyorlar. dediler.*"

[284] In a short public survey held by *Cumhuriyet* in the first days of the political change, they ask "20 people that you first encounter with in the street" the question, "What is Democracy?". The results of the survey reveal that not so many people are aware of the meaning of democracy. Most of them remember only the 1908 Revolution and its slogans. There are some people saying that "We passed to democracy with the Republic", but still it is apparent that "democracy" is an alien word for the general public in the first days after the Second World War. (*Cumhuriyet*, 24 September 1945.) After the transition to multi-party system this meaning of this term will be filled by the people. But still, for the peasants and the broader public, the meaning of "democracy" will be nothing but the sphere of "freedom" to do the things that could not be done during the single-party period. In the newspapers of the period, this confusion in the meaning of "democracy" intensely took place. For example, in one of the cartoons, a man sitting in the middle of a bulk of papers like trying to solve a problem, another one asks him what he is doing there. The man replies, "I am just noting the meanings that is given to the word democracy." *Cumhuriyet*, 31 July 1949. "*demokrasi kelimesine bizde verilen mânaları not ediyorum*"

this event, which was given in *Cumhuriyet* with the headline "An Inconvenient Incident," was as follows:

> Today in our city some declarations are captures, written by typewriter with the headline "Unofficial personal notice sent to the Democrat Party board of entrepreneurs." The declaration says: "In the demonstration which will be held for greeting Celal Bayar, the founder of the Democrat Party that will protect the rights of Turkish peasants and workers and was founded for the development of the country, the postponement of the coming elections will be demanded. I request all of your participation in this demonstration with your supporters, in which all of the youth of Izmir will be present, and extend my greetings to you." The declaration is signed: "Mustafa Rizeli: Kristal Hotel, İzmir, Basmahane." The declaration also included a note saying that, if someone wants information about the event he/she may appeal by letter within five days, and Mustafa Rizeli will personally respond in written.[285]

This personal initiation made the political atmosphere tense and both state officials and journalists begin to investigate the person in charge and the "real" motivation behind this move. In the following days, the DP officials explained that they had no relation with this move and it was totally the personal attempt of Mustafa Rizeli.[286] This incident shows that ordinary citizens had begun to take the political initiative into their own hands and tried to be an active component of politics.

The political attitudes of the peasants were experienced not only during the elections or in the discussions on the meaning of democracy. During this research I encountered information about other kinds of political activities of the peasants. When their economic situation was in danger the peasants acted to protect their interests and sometimes their reactions resulted in land occupations or even

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[285] "Münasebetsiz bir hâdise", *Cumhuriyet*, 1 May 1946. "*Bugün şehrimizde "Demokrat Parti müteşebbis heyetlerine gönderilen ve resmî olmıyan hususî tebligattır" başlığı altında daktilo ile yazılmış beyannameler ele geçirilmiştir. Beyannamede: "Memleketin kalkınması için kurulan ve Türk köylüsü ve işçisinin haklarını koruyacak olan Demokrat Partinin kurucusu Celâl Bayarı tebrik maksadile yapılacak nümayişte seçimlerin geri bırakılması istenilecek. Bütün İzmir gençliğinin iştirak edeceği bu nümayişe sizin de taraftarlarınızla birlikte gelmenizi rica eder, selâmlarımı sunarım." denilmekte ve "Mustafa Rizeli: Kristal oteli, İzmir, Basmahane" imza ve adresi bulunmaktadır. Beyannamenin bir de notu vardır ki bunda Mustafa Rizeli malûmat isteyenlerden beş gün zarfında kendisine mektubla müracaat edene tahriren cevab vereceğini bildirmektedir.*"

[286] "Egede dağıtılan beyannameler", *Cumhuriyet*, 3 May 1946.

rebellions. Some of the political publications in the following period mention some of these events. For example, some of the land occupations are mentioned in the defense report on the case of *Türkiye İhtilalci İşçi Köylü Partisi (TİİKP)* [Turkish Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Party] as follows:

> In various places in Anatolia, land and freedom demanding peasants occupied the lands. They shared the land of the *ağa*s in between. The most important one occurred in Denizli. Shareholder peasants confiscated the Adacabir farm, which is hundred thousand *dönüm*. The peasants of Çeşmebaşı, Dönemenli, Ada, Aptal, Cabir, Döşeme, Küçükada and Halasbaşı villages shared the land.[287]

Similar information of this kind of land occupations can be seen in some of the Soviet and Bulgarian sources of the period.[288] The information on this kind of

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[287] *T.İ.İ.K.P. Davası-Savunma*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1992), pp. 216-217. "*Anadolu'nun çeşitli yerlerinde toprak ve hürriyet isteyen köylüler toprakları işgal ettiler. Ağaların topraklarını aralarında paylaştılar. Bu mücadelelerin en önemlisi Denizli'de oldu. 100 bin dönümlük Adacabir çiftliğine ortakçı köylüler el koydular. Çeşmebası, Dönemenli, Ada, Aptal, Cabir, Döşeme, Küçükada ve Halasbaşı köylüleri toprağı bölüştüler.*"

[288] For example, in Turkish History book written by the Soviet Union Academia of Sciences similar events are told as follows: "In August 1946, the correspondent in *Yeni Asır* writes that the peasants 'do not want to be silent anymore, it is even impossible to make them silent, they have nothing for this reason they have nothing to lose'. In November 1947, 90 villagers are being courted 'with the pretext of attending to rebellion against government' in Konya. During the spring of 1948 the peasants in Çatalca district conflicted with the police and gendarmerie. During the summer of the same year, when the peasants were sharing the lands of the landlord in Şekeroba village, they conflicted with the police and 36 of them died or wounded. In Balıkesir district, police have arrested 50 peasants in the same conditions. In 1949, peasant movements occurred in Kayseri, Samsun, Maraş, Artvin and in other districts. Only during the first half of the 1949, 323 incidents have been reported in 22 districts, such as occupation of lands owned by the *ağa*s, burning down of the wheat silos and animal stealing." "*1946 Ağustos'unda Yeni Asır gazetesinin muhabiri, köylünün 'artık susmak istemediğini, hatta onu susturmanın olanaksız olduğunu, hiçbir şeyi olmadığına göre yitirecek bir şeyinin de olmayacağını' yazıyordu. Kasım 1947'de, Konya'da 'hükümete karşı ayaklanmaya katıldıkları gerekçesiyle' 90 köylü yargılandı. 1948 ilkbaharında Çatalca bölgesinde köylüler polis ve jandarmayla çatıştılar. Aynı yılın yaz mevsiminde Şekeroba köyünde toprak ağasına ait toprakların köylüler tarafından paylaşılması sırasında polisle yapılan çatışma sonucunda 36 kişi öldü veya yaralandı. Polis Bandırma bölgesinde aynı koşullarda 50 köylüyü tutukladı. 1949 yılında Kayseri, Samsun, Maraş, Artvin ve öteki bölgelerde köylü eylemleri oldu. Sadece 1949 yılının ilk yarısında 22 vilayette ağalara ait toprakların köylüler tarafından işgali, buğday ambarlarının yakılması ve hayvanların çalınması şeklinde 323 olay kaydedildi.*" SSCB Bilimler Akademisi, *Ekim Devrimi Sonrası Türkiye Tarihi II*, trans. A. Hasanoğlu (İstanbul: Bilim Yayınları, 1978), pp. 51-52. Some of the events mentioned in this book can be confirmed. However, it will be wrong to assert that all of these events are rebellion-like incidents. In another source, Bulgarian literary critics explain the reasons for these land occupations as follows: "During these years, due to capitalism's gradually increasing oppression, land deficiency of the peasants became a social disaster and mobilized the peasants. Between the peasants land conflicts are seen and this caused various irregular mutinies in Anatolia." "*Bu senelerde Anadolu'da kapitalizmin köylüler üzerinde gitgide artan başkası neticesinde, toprak yetersizliği sosyal bir felaket halini alarak köylü tabakalarını harekete geçirmiştir. Köylüler arasında toprak kavgasına yol açmış, Anadolu'da birçok düzensiz ayaklanmalara sebep olmuştu.*" İbrahim Tatarlı and Rıza Mollof, *Hüseyin*

incidents derived from similar sources, and political motivations made the basis for the interpretations of these events. Due to that, some of the land conflicts between the peasants are interpreted as "occupation" or "rebellion" by these sources. However, the exact names and places are given in these sources. This means that some of these events were known and interpreted differently from how they are today during the period in question, at least in between some definite groups.

Although these sources are not very much dependable, there are some examples of rebellion-like incidents undertaken by the peasants against the oppression of the *ağa*s due to land conflicts. One of these incidents happened in Baladız village of Isparta in 1946. *Cumhuriyet* gives the news of this incident as follows:

> The hearings of the case on the murder of Abdullah Demiralay, who was one of the prominent rich residents of Isparta, by lynching by the people of Baladız village five months ago, continue in Isparta Criminal Court. The case of Abdullah Demiralay, who was killed with crushing his head with stone by the peasants that were indebted money to him but refused to pay back, aroused attention in the district, because he was also the head of the Democrat Party Isparta district branch.[289]

In a variety of sources this event is mentioned as important during the time of the incident. Such as, Ruhi Su, a prominent Turkish folk singer and poet, wrote a poem and song about the event.[290] Fakir Baykurt, while describing the relations of

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Rahmi'den Fakir Baykurt'a Marksist Açıdan Türk Romanı (İstanbul: Habora Kitabevi Yayınları, 1969), p. 251.

[289] "Köyde Linç Edilen D.P. Başkanı Davası", *Cumhuriyet*, 18 January 1947. "*Bundan beş ay kadar evvel, Baladız köyünde halk tarafından linç edilen Isparta zenginlerinden Abdullah Demiralayın ölümüne aid davanın görüşülmesine, Isparta Ağırceza Mahkemesinde devam edilmiştir. Kendisine borclu olan ve borclarını ödemiyen köylüler tarafından, başı taşla ezilerek öldürülen Abdullah Demiralay, aynı zamanda İsparta Demokrat Parti ilçe başkanı olduğu için, dava muhitte büyük bir alaka uyandırmıştır.*"

[290] The poem is titled as "An Epic Poem For Baladız" [*Baladız Destanı*]. The poem is as follows: "During the summer of nineteenfourtysix / The grains of Baladız are winnowed / In Demiralay's dust and soil / It is revolved as birds telling the time of death / The seizure of land dissolve the homes / Some of them want taxes some of them to interrogate / It became irresistible the people got tired of their lives / If it continues the iron becomes sharp / They said let's make peace he did not accept / There is neither justice in landlord nor patience in peasants / The news have arrived but the gendarmerie did not come / The black soil is kneaded with the blood of the landlord." "*Bin dokuz yüz kırk altının yazında / Baladız'ın harmanları savrulur / Demiralay toprağında tozunda / Ecel gelmiş*

the dominant classes in city and countryside with the state and governments, he mentions the event in his memoirs and asserts that during this period the peasants gained a kind of economic and political consciousness and they even began to rise against this status quo.

> As the feudal system in the villages continues, tomorrow our condition will be hard. I am worried about today. They have their men everywhere, their own deputies in the Assembly. They keep the ministry and the government under their strict control. They are holding it under control, for sure! But the ant is developing wings by the way. The peasants of Baladız, who have had enough, killed Abdullah Demiralay *ağa* by crushing his head with stones. It is an epic poem sold for five piaster.[291]

As can be seen, this incident was neither the result of the impetuosity of some "unconscious" peasants, who were acting as a result of a discontent with the RPP government and guided by the DP opposition, nor did it occur as a result of individualistic heroism or the discrete "madness" of the peasants. The Demiralay family was a prominent and dominant economic and political force in the region and had close relations with the state during both the DP and the RPP periods. Thirty six people brought to trial during this case, which proves that the incident was a collective action. Unfortunately, the final verdict of this case not provided in the newspapers of the period. But even this example is important to show that the period in question was filled with kind events of this kind that show a different side of the relations between peasants and politics. During this period, the peasants did not exist in the political sphere only within the framework drawn by the DP movement, but

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kuşlar gibi çevrilir / Haciz geldi ocakları bozuyor / Kimi vergi kimi sorgu yazıyor / Can dayanmaz kul canından beziyor / Böyle olursa demir kalmaz sivrilir / Sulh olalım dediler de olmadı / Beyde insaf kulda sabır kalmadı / Haber gitti jandarmalar gelmedi / Kara toprak bey kanıyla yoğrulur." Edip Akbayram, a protest-folk singer, sing that song in his album titled *33'üncü* published in 2002 as "The Requiem For Baladız" [*Baladız Ağıdı*].

[291] Fakir Baykurt, *Köy Enstitülü Delikanlı-Özyaşam 2* (İstanbul: Papirüs Yayınları, 1999), p. 148. "*Köylerde beyli düzen sürdükçe yarın işimiz zor olacak. Şimdiden kaygı çekiyorum. Her yerde adamları, Meclis'te milletvekilleri var. Bakanlığı, hükümeti baskı altında tutuyorlar. Tutuyorlar amenna! Ama karınca da kanatlanıyor. Canına tak diyen Baladız köylüleri, Abdullah Demiralay ağayı, başını taşla ezerek öldürdü. Destanı beş kuruş.*"

also became active participants in politics, which sometimes went beyond the limited political content of the DP.

During the 1946-1960 period, the most important subject related to the peasants' relation with politics was the voting behavior of the peasants. Voting behavior had a different meaning in the period after the Second World War from what it has today. Especially, after the "controversial" 1946 elections, as a result of the DP propaganda that emphasized the "sacredness" of the elections and votes, the peasants had gained a consciousness about protecting their right to vote, no matter what the cost. Before the 1946 elections, the majority of the peasants did not participate in the elections, which held in two phases, and in which the prominent people in the countryside were the only electors on behalf of the remaining majority. Consequently the participation rates were still very low. Within this framework, it may be asserted that the 1946 elections were first elections, in which the peasants in Turkey learned how to vote. The great majority of masses, who had not been aware of even the existence of such a political mechanism, gained the consciousness of affecting the process of politics by using the election mechanism. This happened especially as a result of the DP's propaganda campaigns. Due to that, the voting behavior after 1946, when compared to that of the previous periods' limitations on the participation mechanisms to politics, was perceived as a "revolutionary" tool to be used to change their existing condition in the eyes of the people. As an example, the voting behavior is described in the propaganda brochures of the DP as follows:

> We have got an atom bomb in our hands. This weapon is the ballot, which is held inside an envelope. When we use this, the People's Party and the oligarch mentality that leans on the military forces, the state's treasury and governmental administrators, will be only a part of history and the past at once. The next general elections will be the scene of a new period full of surprises in the Near East. No threat at all can daunt us. We will protect our voting rights just as we defended our

> independence at Dumlupınar with the same definiteness, determination and belief.[292]

The propaganda brochures of the DP feature instructive content which stresses the importance of the right to vote and the protection of this right. The voting right, which can be defined as a political right naturally gained as a result of being a citizen, was perceived as the most important tool for the peasants to affect politics. After the DP came to power in the 1950 elections, this perception of the peasants gained strength and was accepted by everyone. To show this instructive propaganda style of the DP, the following words in a propaganda brochure of the DP that was spread out during the 1946 elections in Gaziantep is a good example. The stress on "political rights" in this paragraph is an example of a typical discourse of the DP propaganda.

> Citizen: with the decision taken unanimously in the Great National Assembly the elections will be held in a direct suffrage system. The main characteristic of DEMOCRACY, which means the governance of the People, is the direct suffrage system and the foundation of Parties that will assure the equilibrium in the Assembly. For this reason, the domination of solely a single party will be called off. If you want to have a role in the elections on Sunday, 21 July 1946, which will create the new Assembly and the deputies that will constitute it, do not hesitate to use your votes. You have the political right to elect and be elected, just as you have the property right on your house and land, and it is only possible by using your votes. No one can touch this right of yours. You are totally free to use your vote without any hesitation and without the influence of any other person. If you remain under pressure from anyone insisting on directing your vote, apply to the Attorney Generalship; legal proceedings will be held for that kind of people. If any of our fellow townsmen come across with such a situation apply to our Party immediately, we will acquire necessary help for them.[293]

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[292] İhsan Yurdoğlu, *C.H.P.'nin Oyunları ve Demokrat Parti* (İstanbul: Rıza Koşkun Matbaası, 1948), p. 23. "*Elimizde atom silahı var. Bu silah bir zarf parçası içine sıkışmış bir rey pusulasıdır. Bunu kullandığımız zaman, silahlı kuvvetlere, hazineye ve idare amirlerine dayanan Halk Partisi ve zümre zihniyeti bir anda tarihe ve maziye karışacak, gelecek genel seçim, Yakın Doğuda sürprizlerle dolu yeni bir devrin açılmasına sahne olacaktır. Bizi hiçbir tehdit yıldıramaz. Dumlupınar'da, istiklalimizi nasıl müdafaa ettikse; rey haklarımızı da aynı kat'iyetle, azimle ve imanla koruyacağız.*"

[293] *Gaziantep'te Demokrat Parti'nin seçim propagandası yaptığı*, 12.5.1950, BCA 490.01/442.1830.2. "*Yurddaş; Büyük Millet Meclisi kararıyle Tek dereceli İntihaba ittifakla karar verilmiştir. DEMOKRASİ yani Halk idaresinin esaslı vasfı Tek dereceli intihap ve Mecliste muvazeneyi temin edici Partilerin kurulmasıdır. Bu suretle ancak bir tek Partinin hakimiyetine son verilmiş olunacaktır. Eğer sizler 21-Temmuz-946 Pazar günü yeni seçilecek Meclisin ve onu teşkil edecek Millet Vekillerinin seçiminde rol oynamak istiyorsanız, reyinizi kullanmaktan çekinmeyiniz. Nasıl eviniz, Tarlanız üzerinde bir mülkiyet hakkınız varsa ayni şekilde Seçmek ve Seçilmek gibi bir de Siyasi hakkınız vardır ki oda Reyinizi kullanmakla kabildir. Bu hakkınıza kimse dokunamaz. Reyinizi*

This kind of information to give political consciousness on the way to produce a voting behavior and presenting these instructions within the framework of "political rights" would lead to the establishment of a "rights demanding" perception in the peasants' political consciousness. During this period, the peasants were transformed from passive subjects to active components of politics. During this transformation, this stress on the rights and freedom were the main keywords that affected the creation of their political consciousness. In this way, the peasants obtained the chance to experience the processes of politics and understand what kind of political change they could achieve by using the election mechanism. Actually, some of the researchers, who were active during the period in question mention the importance of this point. For example, Behice Boran, who was a prominent sociologist and the leader of the Turkish Workers Party in the following period, explained the effects of the general political atmosphere of the period, which was based on this perception of rights and freedom, as follows:

> At the same time, the multi-party try at democracy during the 1945-1960 period … expedient too. It was not possible to deal with basic social and economic problems, to investigate internal and external policies from a class-based perspective and criticize them all. The repression of the leftist political movements to defend the working classes' rights and freedom never wavered, but political power, government, "our elders" were released out from being sacred and need to be repentant during this period. A tradition and habit of criticizing and opposition began to be formed. Within the limits of bourgeois-class ideology and even if everyone should strictly obey the dominant class definitions of rights and freedom, the political and parliamentarian rules of the multi-party democratic regime, the opposition's rights to criticize, audit and resist against the government, were discussed at length and defended during this period. … Another important point is that, during this period the Turkish people adopted their right to vote and brought the DP to power by going to the ballots in growing numbers like snowball and turned the plans of the RPP upside down. … The importance of the 1950 elections

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çekinmeden ve kimsenin tesirinde kalmadan istediğiniz kimseye vermekte tamamiyle hürsünüz, Rey hakınıza dokunarak reyinizi bize vereceksiniz diye zor karşısında kalırsanız Savcılığa müracaat ediniz, o gibilerin haklarında kanuni takibat yapılacaktır, bu gibi vaziyetlerle karşılaşan hemşehrilerimiz, hemen Partimize baş vursunlar kendilerine lazım gelen kolaylıklar gösterilecektir."

> was based not on the DP's winning of the power but mostly on the overthrown of the RPP by the people's votes. This incident was the first sign of the people's gaining a political consciousness, and the first resistance against the authoritarian, Jacobin state mentality.[294]

The questioning of the government power and widespread acceptance of the general opinion that all of the governments could be changed by the hand of the people, paved the way for the peasants to be active participants in politics. Within this framework, it will not be wrong to assert that from that time on the peasants did not perceive politics as unchangeable or far from themselves. This active participation of the peasants soon changed the general structure of politics in a way. Even the "state-party" of the single-party regime, the RPP, changed its organizational structure and political attitude in order to fit these changing conditions. In fact, this change also can be defined as the continuation of the transformation that was created when the peasants became involved in politics. Kemal Karpat describes this transformation as follows:

> The peasantry on the other hand, had acquired a sense of power and dignity and consequently felt confident that their status and freedom would be respected, regardless of which party was in power. They believed in their own power and in the system that had achieved it, and their allegiance to the Democratic Party consequently began to lose personal character. It was this change in the attitude of the peasantry which led many politicians in Turkey, including high-placed Republicans, to affirm that with proper leadership the peasantry was one

[294] Behice Boran, *Türkiye ve Sosyalizmin Sorunları* (İstanbul: Gün Yayınları, 1968), pp. 43-44. "*Bununla beraber, 1945–60 arasındaki çok partili demokrasi denemesi ... yararlı olmadı değil. Temel sosyal, ekonomik meselelere inmek, bunları ve güdülen iç ve dış politikayı sınıf münasebetleri açısından incelemek, eleştirmek mümkün değildi. Sola, emekçi sınıfların hak ve hürriyetlerinin savunulmasına karşı baskı hiç gevşemedi, ama iktidar, hükümet, "büyüklerimiz" tenkit edilemez, önünde sadece boyun eğilir varlıklar olmaktan bu devrede çıktı. Bir tenkit ve muhalefet alışkanlığı, geleneği oluşmaya başladı. Burjuva sınıfının ideolojisi sınırları içinde ve egemen sınıfların hak ve hürriyetlerine münhasır kalmak şartıyla da olsa, çok partili demokratik rejimin politik ve parlamenter kuralları, muhalefetin iktidarı tenkit, denetleme ve ona karşı koyma hakları bu devrede enine boyuna tartışıldı, savunuldu. … Çok önemli bir nokta da, bu dönemde Türk halkının oy hakkına sahip çıkması ve C.H.P.'nin hesaplarını altüst ederek sandık başlarına çığ gibi bir akışla D.P.'yi iktidara getirişiydi. … 1950 seçimlerinin sonucu, D.P.'nin iktidarı kazanmış olmasından çok C.H.P.'nin iktidardan halkın oyu ile düşmüş olması açısından önemlidir. Bu, halk kitlelerinin politik bilinçlenmesinin ilk etkin belirtisi, otoriter, tepeden inme devlet şekline karşı ilk direnişiydi*."

> of the major forces capable of establishing democracy on a permanent basis.[295]

The momentum which was created by the DP on the way to giving the peasants a political consciousness during its years of opposition resulted in the establishment of the perception that the peasants were an important component of politics. As can be seen in the words of Karpat, after a while, the peasants became aware of their power over politics, regardless of the political effect of the DP. This change in their attitude towards the politics soon changed the general content of politics, too. From that time on, the political parties had to change their political discourse and activities in order to gain the support of the peasants.

In the next section, in order to show this changing relation of the peasants to politics more clearly, an analysis of an important case will de presented. The perception of peasants on concepts such as rights demanding, freedom and rule of law and the use of these concepts during the political struggle of the peasants in the unique example of the "Arslanköy Case" will be analyzed in detail.

The Arslanköy Case and the Development of the Rule of Law

The RPP government took the decision of early elections, which was held on 21 July 1946, after the DP's foundation in January 1946 and before the DP got its branches open throughout the country. Although the DP objected to the election methods, the RPP won the elections. After the elections, the DP raised objections about the election process and asserted that the government in power oppressed the electorates and directly changed the votes. The complaints by the electorates as such and widespread rumors on irregularities made the results of the 1946 elections

[295] Kemal Karpat, "Recent Political Developments in Turkey and Their Social Background," in *Studies on Turkish Politics and Society* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004), p. 158.

debatable. After these elections, the provincial elections were held in September, but the DP protested the irregularities that had happened during the 1946 general elections and did not participate to the elections in 56 cities. From that time on, the main discussion was on the irregularities practiced during the elections by the RPP government, until the DP's coming to power in 1950. The most widespread complaint of the peasants was the oppression of the gendarmerie during the voting process.[296]

Until the DP came to power, the foremost discourse of the DP propaganda consisted of the suppression to the electorates and the "dictatorship" of the government, which did not respect to the rule of law. After the 1946 elections, the propaganda activities of the DP at all levels were shaped around the protection of voting rights, as shown in the examples given above. The Arslanköy incident took place during this tense political atmosphere and had a symbolic meaning as actual proof of the DP's accusations of the RPP government.

In a book written after the Arslanköy incident, Arslanköy village is described as follows:

> Arslanköy is a charming, heroic village that is located on one of the plateaus on the Taurus Mountains, 2000 meter above sea level, 19 hours far from the city of Mersin and has a population of 3000. Its residents are really smart and hardworking. Up to the present, there have been many great men who from the residents of Arslanköy, such as doctors, engineers, intellectuals and agriculturists. During the National Struggle, the "Etrenk" company was formed in this village, which contained the national forces that had saved İçel from the enemy. During that time, it was the warrior children of this village who shot the first bullet at the enemy. After the salvation from the enemy, the name of our charming village changed to Arslanköy, with the decision of the İçel provisional council, referring to the Etrenk Company.[297]

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[296] Eroğul, *Demokrat Parti*, p. 40.

[297] Mustafa Atalay, *Aslanköy Faciası* (Ankara: Güven Basımevi, 1954), p. 10. "*Arslanköy, toroslardaki yaylalardan birinin üzerine kurulmuş, deniz seviyesinden 2000 metre yükseklikte ve Mersin vilâyetine 19 sat uzaklıkta 3000 nüfuslu şirin ve kahraman bir köydür. Halkı gayet zeki ve çalışkandır. Şimdiye kadar Arslanköy halkı arasından Doktor, Mühendis, Alim ve ziraatçi gibi, pek çok sayıda büyük adamlar çıkmıştır. Kurtuluş savaşında İçeli düşmandan kurtaran millî kuvvetlerin*

The Arslanköy incident, the story of which is told even today is trimmed with the themes of "heroism" as quoted above, occurred as a result of the condition that were created after the 1946 elections. The incident happens during the provincial elections on February 1947. *Cumhuriyet* gives the news of the event as follows:

> During the provincial elections of 23 February, the residents of this village started a propaganda campaign to support the new village headman, Harun, for they did not want the old one. Thus, they gave their votes to Harun and his friends on the election day. The old headman realized this, went to the city, claimed that the people of Arslanköy had made irregularities during the election. Due to that, on the next day, the Private Administration Manager and a gendarmerie captain were sent to the village and came across the newly elected headman, Harun, on the way to the village. They asked Harun if they had the elections for the village headman, and he answered "Yes, we did, and I was elected as the new headman. I have the election protocol in may hand and am going to the city to register it." The Private Administration Manager and the gendarmerie commander did not disavow the headman, and said "Turn back to village, the elections would be renewed." This group arrives to the village, asked the people of Arslanköy the place of the ballot box. The villagers said that the elections were finished and the votes were classified and they refused to renew the elections. As a result, they used the gendarmerie to get the ballot box by force. The people of Arslanköy tried to obstruct this. During that time the villagers and the security forces began to struggle with each other and as a result this unfortunate incident happens.[298]

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barındığı bu köyde tarihi "Etrenk" bölüğü meydana gelmişti. O zaman düşman ilk kurşunu atan bu köyün cengaver çocukları idi. Bu şirin köyümüz, düşman işgalinden kurtulduktan sonra, içel genel meclisinin yerinde bir kararı ile, bu köyün ismi "Etrenk Bölüğü"ne izafeten Arslanköy'e çevrilmiştir." The older name of the village is written wrong the source quoted here. The true version has to be *Efrenk*. Although there is no information on the origin of the old name of the village, due to its similarity with the word *efrenc*, meaning "western" or "European", it may be asserted that the village was founded by the migrants coming from the western side of the country. As a result of the bravery that the residents of the village had shown during the National Struggle, the name of the village was changed with Arslanköy. See Arslanköy Tarihçesi, Available August 2009: *http://www.arslankoy.com/8_tarihce.asp* 12 February 2009. This historical reference will always be remembered and repeated constantly during the case.

[298] "92 Sanıklı Dava", *Cumhuriyet*, 4 September 1947. "*23 şubat muhtar seçiminde bu köy halkı eski muhtarı istemediklerinden yeni muhtar Harun lehinde bir propagandaya başlamışlardır. Nitekim seçim günü sandığa Harun ve arkadaşları adına rey atmışlardır. Bunu hisseden eski muhtar, vilâyete koşmuş, Aslanköylülerin usulsüz seçim yaptıklarını iddia etmiştir. Bunun üzerine ertesi günü idarei Hususiye müdürü ve bir jandarma yüzbaşısı bu köye yollanmış ve yolda köye yeni muhtar seçilen Harunla karşılaşmışlardır. Bunlar, Haruna köyde muhtar intihabı yapılıp yapılmadığını sormuşlar, o da, "Yapıldığı ve muhtar olarak ben seçildim. Mazbatam elimde, vilayete tasdike gidiyorum" cevabını vermiştir. İdarei Hususiye müdürü ile jandarma kumandanı muhtarı tanımamışlar, "Geriye dön, seçim yeniden yapılacaktır" demişlerdir. Bu heyet Aslanköye gelmiş, aslanköylülere rey sandığının nerede olduğunu sormuştur. Köylüler intihabın yapıldığını ve reylerin tasnif edildiğini söyliyerek yeniden bir intihaba girişmiyeceklerini söylemişlerdir. Bunun üzerine jandarmalar vasıtasile rey*

The incident grew worst when the old headman tried to use the power relations of the old single-party regime in order to intervene to the elections. As a result, the gendarmerie came to the village and used force against to the villagers. The villagers did not want to elect the old headman, due to that they did not want to give the ballot box to the state officials. When they refused to obey the commands of the state officials they tried to use force against them. But this time they stood up to the oppression of the state officials. During the fight between the soldiers and the villagers, the commander was injured from his head with a stone. The struggle between the villagers and the soldiers was told in the legal statement of some witnesses, which were later drawn back due to the witnesses' claim that the gendarmerie and local officers had forced them to give such a statement, as follows:

> Only the old headman and five witnesses said that the villagers had not given the ballot box to the captain and walked all over to the gendarmerie captain and the privates with stones and clubs. One of the witnesses, named Doğan, said that he had been seen one of the defendants, Hasan Yavuz, with a rifle in his hand and delivered it to the captain and some of the defendants who were standing on the top of the roof tried to roll a heavy stone present at the top of the roof on to the captain, but as a result of his warning the captain had escaped and survived. Most of the witnesses had asserted that the incidents were planned in their previous statements and by counting nearly all of the defendants names, claimed that they all had walked all over to the captain with stones and clubs and it was after that the captain used his weapon against them. During the hearings today, the witnesses did not accept their statements and claimed that these words had been added by the judge of interrogation.[299]

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sandığının alınmasına teşebbüs edilmiş, Aslanköylüler, buna mâni olmak istemişlerdir. İşte bu sırada köylülerle zabıta kuvvetleri arasında mücadele başlamış ve böylece müessif hadise vukubulmuştur."

[299] "Aslanköy Davası", *Son Telgraf*, 14 November 1947. "*Bunlardan yalnız eski muhtarla beş şahit köylülerin yüzbaşıya rey sandığını vermediklerini ve taşlarla, sopalarla jandarma subayının ve erlerinin üzerine yürüdüklerini söylediler. Bunlardan Doğan adında bir şahit, sanıklardan Hasan Yavuz'un elinde bir tüfek gördüğünü ve bunu yüzbaşıya teslim ettiğini söyledi ve damın üzerinde bulunan sanıklardan bir kısmının da damdaki ağır bir taşı yüzbaşının üstüne yuvarlamak istediklerini, fakat kendisinin ikazı üzerine yüzbaşının kaçıp kurtulduğunu söyledi. Şahitlerden çoğu evvelki ifadelerinde hâdisenin mürettep olduğunu bildirmiş ve sanıklardan hemen hepsinin isimlerini zikrederek bunların sopalarla ve taşlarla yüzbaşının üstüne yürüdüklerini ve ancak bundan sonra yüzbaşının silâh kullandığını söylemişlerdi. Bugünkü duruşmada şahitler bu ifadelerini kabul etmediler ve bu sözlerinin Sorgu hakimi tarafından ilave edildiğini iddia ettiler.*"

The first reaction of the government was to evaluate the incident as a rebellion against the state, based on the information gathered from the local officials. Hakkı Tümer, who was the Private Administration Manager of Mersin, investigated the incident at first hand and prepared a report in which the incidents called as a "rebellion." He wrote that the peasants cut the telephone lines and showed armed-resistance against the government forces. These practices were accepted as constituting a "rebellion" against the government. When the officials in the central government learned the incident, they also called it a "rebellion", and sent gendarmerie forces to Arslanköy to quell the rebellion.[300]

After the incident, 92 villagers, of whom 47 were arrested, became defendants in the case, accused of having been in relation with a "rebellion" attempt. They were put on trial on charge of "showing resistance against the state forces to obstruct their duty; inflicting battery and assault on the officials on duty and partial revolt against the armed forces of the state." The defendants were charged with the 258th, 271st and 149th articles of the Turkish Penal Law. "The mutiny against the state" was defined in the article 149.[301]

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[300] The official newspaper of the RPP government, *Ulus*, gives the news of the incident in the first days as follows: "The victory of the RPP candidates in the village headman elections in most of the Mersin villages impelled the democrats to some extreme propaganda activities. Even in some villages, it is told that some feckless people try to carry out various provocations. The Arslan Village is one of them. The governorship of İçel took all necessary measurements in order to restore the security." "*Mersin köylerinden pek çoğunda muhtar seçimlerini C.H.P. adaylarının kazanmış olması, demokratları aşırı birtakım propagandalara sevketmiştir. Hattâ bazı köylerde, sorumsuz bazı kimselerin çeşitli tahriklerde bulundukları da haber verilmektedir. Arslan köyü de bunlardan biridir. İçel Valiliği, inzibatı sağlamak üzere gereken bütün tedbirleri almıştır.*" "Mersin'de dün bir hadise oldu", *Ulus*, 27 February 1947. In the following days *Ulus* says that the incidents are being investigated by the state officials and "the telephone lines, which were cut down during the incidents by the democrats, are fixed at first." "Muhtar Seçimlerini C.H.P. adayları çoğunlukla kazandı", *Ulus*, 1 March 1947. During the court hearings, one of the witnesses of the incident, Osman, says in his statement that "the telephone lines were not cut down in the day of the event, they were already broken three days before and the lines are fixed personally by him." "*telefon tellerinin hâdise günü kesilmediği, ondan üç gün evvel de kesik olduğunu ve bu tellerin bizzat kendisi tarafından tamir edildiğini belirtiyordu.*" "Aslanköy davası karara kaldı", *Cumhuriyet¸* 5 February 1948.

[301] Arslanköy Hadisesinin Davası", *Yeni Sabah*, 9 October 1947. "*devlet kuvvetlerini vazifeden menetmek için mukavemet göstermek; vazifedar memurlara, vazifeleri sırasında müessir fiil ika etmek ve kısmen de devletin silâhlı kuvvetlerine karşı isyan etmek*"

The press and public showed a great interest in the trials and all phases of the trials were followed in detail. The DP was a party to the legal proceedings from the very first days and prominent attorneys of the period who were members of the DP, defended the villagers.[302] The place of the trials, which began on 8 October 1947, was moved from Mersin to Konya and this change was defined as a "cruelty" of the state against the villagers, who were mostly women and old people.[303] During their trip to Konya the defendants were met by the supporters of the DP at every station and when they reached Konya the DP members visited them and asked about their needs.[304]

During the trial, the villagers asserted that the old headman was responsible from the development of the events. They said that when the old headman realized that he was going to lose the elections, he misinterpreted the events to the

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[302] The attorneys, who declare that they will undertake the advocacy free of charge, are listed in the newspapers of the period as follows: "From İstanbul Kenan Öner, Emrullah Ültay, Süreyya Ağaoğlu, Fethi Tahin, from Ankara Hâmid Şevket İnce, Zühtü Veli Beşe, İsmail Hakki Evila, Osman Şevki Çiçekdağ, Samed Ağaoğlu,, Nihad Akpınar, Meliha Gökmen; from Konya Fahri Ağaoğlu, Tarık Kozbak, Muammer Abuz, Sedad Dikmen, Ahmed Efeoğlu, Halis Sungur, Ziya Göktürk, Mustafa Kıray, Mehmed Ali Apalı, Mehmet Emin Balay, Emin Agâh Ünver; from İzmir Osman Kapanî, Rauf Onursal, Şekib İnal, Muhiddin Erener, Pertev Aral, Nahid Özen, Emin Değirmen, Refik Şevket İnce, from Adana Said Nil, Kamil Tekerek, Mustafa Tunç, Memduh Bülbül, from Mersin, Yakub Çukuroğlu, Hüsrev Elde, Haydar Aslan, Mustafa Nuri, from Afyon Hasan Dinçer, Hazım Tuzca, Kemal Özçoban, from Antalya; Sırrı Hocaoğlu, Ömer Lütfi, Abdullah Fevzi, Fevzi Kurnal, from Samsun; Celaleddin Danışman, from Sivas, Hüseyin Fırat, from Isparta Şefik Seren, from Kayseri Kamil Günde, Fikret Apaydın, from Muğla Nuri Özsan, Necati Erdem." "Aslanköy davasına 8 Ekimde başlanıyor", *Cumhuriyet*, 17 September 1947.

[303] "A Heroic Tale" content of this case, which will be seen constantly during the case, will be repeated in the press during this transfer of the defendants to Konya. For example: "Two of the women defendants are pregnant and soon to be labored; some of the arrested defendants are holding their babies on their arms and regardless of being man or woman all of them are stuffed in an old wagon, which even does not have a toilet in it. 15 guarding gendarmerie private and one gendarmerie officer are put in the same wagon together. A few minutes before the move of the train several voices are rising in between the people, who are gathered in the station. The voices of 'We believe to God and the conscience of the judges; you have water to drink in Konya; you all go in peace! We have great faith in your acquaintance…' are echoing in the darkness of the night." "*Kadın sanıklardan ikisi doğurmak üzere; birkaçı da kucağı çocuklu olan mevkufların hepsi kadınlı erkekli helâsı dahi olmayan eski bir vagona doldurulmuşlar 15 muhafız jandarma ile bir jandarma subayı da aynı vagona yerleştirilmişlerdir. Trenin hareketinden birkaç dakika önce; istasyonda toplanmış olan halk arasında ayrı ayrı sesler yükseliyor 'Allaha ve hakimlerin vicdanına inanıyoruz; Konyada içecek suyunuz varmış; güle güle gidin! Beraet edeceğinize inancımız büyüktür…' sesleri gecenin karanlığı içinde yankılar yapıyordu.*" "Arslanköy hadisesinin sanıkları kara vagonlarla yola çıkartıldı" "Arslanköy hadisesinin sanıkları kara vagonlarla yola çıkartıldı", *Yeni Sabah*, 6 September 1947.

[304] "Arslanköy hâdisesi sanıkları Konyada", *Cumhuriyet*, 6 September 1947; "Konyada halkın beslediği 47 mevkuf", *Cumhuriyet*, 9 September 1947.

gendarmerie and as a result their "legal rights" were obstructed by them. The attorneys mostly objected to the claims of defining the incident as "rebellion" and tried to prove that the events had grown bigger as a result of the intervention of the military police commander, in cooperation with the old headman, and the misinterpretation of the private administration manager. During the hearings, the attorneys and the villagers mostly stressed the existence of their "political rights" and unlawful administration, which tried to obstruct the use of their rights. For example, during the first hearing one of the attorneys, Hâmid Şevket İnce, said the following words:

> You are face to face with a legal disaster here. There are important days in the memories of every nation's life. One day, the history of law will certainly write on the tragedy of this case. You have a grasp of the content of the file. This insight convinces us that you have reached your legal opinion. Our clients, I mean these innocent villagers sitting in that cage, are miserable people, whose political rights and freedom have been assaulted. A rebellion against to the state cannot arise in a village founded on the slope of the Taurus Mountains, 2000 meters above sea level. Rebellions arise from us, the intellectuals. We will go in deep and present the reasons of this case in detail while defending the real claims of this court. The document we have read presents a horrible decision of the judge of interrogation of a legal district to you, and as a result of this decision, these innocent men, these women with their babies in their tummies and on their hands have been groaning for months. The Turkish justice has been injured due to this disaster. You are going to heal it with your health-giving hands. By becoming aware of the permutation in the characteristic of this guilt, you are going to show maybe the most natural result of justice by releasing these aggrieved people and restoring their liberty. We are righteously insisting that you give such a verdict. Because it is the national will that is being undermined; it is the political freedom; it is the rights and justice. We came here at full speed, breathlessly, to protect these aggrieved people and to make these rights live. Yes, the people have undertaken a rebellion; but this rebellion is not against the state and the government, but against the old headman Tahir Şahin, under whose oppression they groaned for eight years.[305]

[305] "Aslanköy davasına dün Konyada başlandı", *Cumhuriyet*, 9 October 1947. "*Büyük bir adlî facia karşısındasınız. Her milletin hatırai hayatında ehemmiyetli günler vardır. Adalet tarihi, bir gün gelecek; bu vak'anın fecaatini muhakkak yazacaktır. Dosya muhteviyatına vâkıfsınız. Bu vükuf, hukukî teşhisinizi koyduğunuza bizi ikna etmektedir. Müvekkillerimiz, yani şu kafes içinde duran masum köylüler, siyasi hak ve hürriyetlerine taarruz olunan bedbahtlardır. Torosların yamacında 2000 rakımlı bir köyden bu devlete karşı bir isyan çıkamaz. İsyan, münevverlerden, bizlerden doğar. Esas davayı müdafaa ederken çok derinleşecek ve bu davanın doğuş sebeblerini tafsilen arzedeceğiz. Okuduğumuz evrak, adlî kazaya mensub bir sorgu hâkiminin feci bir kararını size sunmaktadır ki, bu*

During the trial process a new "epic tale" against the oppression was created around the notions of the "righteous struggle" of the villagers that was waged against the obstruction of the use of their political rights. During this creation, the name of the village and the bravery of the residents of the village during the National Struggle were connected with the incident. The presentation of the words of Ayşe Çelik, who was considered one of the leaders during the events, in the news, is a good example of that kind of narration of the events:

> There are older men and women among the defendants who are the residents of a village that has passed into history with its bravery during the National Struggle and who actually participated the National Struggle. One of them, "Çelik Ayşe," says: "During the National Struggle I carried ammunition to the soldiers on my back; I matryrized my mountainous sons in the name of this state. I am giving my blessings. But it takes to my heart now: They say that Çelik Ayşe had rebelled against the state. Does the man rebel against his father? They ripped me apart from my baby and brought me here. He has become an orphan."[306]

The attorneys of the defendants objected most to the accusations of "rebellion". They asserted that this accusation had been leveled against the villagers to suppress them and to lend credence to their oppression. They also claimed that this accusation proved the oppression of state officials in cooperation with the old village headman. In the following hearings some of the witnesses backed down from their first statements, in which the events had been defined as rebellion, and they also

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kararla şu masum adamlar, karınlarındaki ve bağırlarındaki yavrularile birlikte şu kadınlar, aylardan beri inlemektedirler. Yaratılan bu facia karşısında Türk adaleti yaralanmıştır. Siz, şifalı ellerinizle onu tedavi edeceksiniz. Bu suçun vasfındaki tebeddülü görerek, mazlumları derhal tahliye etmekle, onları hürriyetlerine kavuşturmakla adalet tezahürünün belki en tabii bir neticesini göstermiş olacaksınız. Böyle bir karar vermeniz için haklı olarak ısrar etmekteyiz. Çünkü baltalanan milli iradedir; siyasi hürriyettir; hak ve adalettir. Biz, mağdurları korumak ve bu hakları yaşatmak için buraya koşa koşa, nefes nefese geldik. Evet, halkın bir isyanı vardır; lâkin bu isyan devlet ve hükûmete karşı değil, ancak sekiz senedenberi elinde inledikleri eski muhtar Tahir Şahine karşıdır."

[306] *Vakit-Yeni Gazete*, 6 October 1947. "*Millî Mücadelede kahramanlığı ile adını tarihe geçirmiş bir köyün halkından olan sanıklar arasında o mücadeleye fiilen iştirak etmiş kadın ve erkek ihtiyarlar vardır. Bunlardan "Çelik Ayşe" şöyle demektedir: "Milli Mücadelede askere, sırtımda cephane taşıdım; dağ gibi evlâtlarımı bu devlet uğruna şehit verdim. Helâl olsun. Fakat şimdi ağrıma gidiyor: Çelik Ayşe devlet âsi oldu diyorlar. İnsan babasına isyan eder mi? Yavrumdan koparılıp getirildim. Öksüz kaldı.*"

claimed that the judge of interrogation had added some statements contrary to their will. These developments weakened the accusation of "rebellion".[307] The commander of the military police station in Arslanköy, corporal Fahri Tuna, claimed during the trial that the leader of the events had been the DP deputy of Mersin, Saim Ergenekon, and Muhiddin hodja, and that they were "guilty of making agitation in the name of Nakshibendi order." With this accusation he tried to relate the Arslanköy incident to a previous rebellion in Turkish history.[308] This accusation would be disproved with an official document, and later on the prosecution would not make a point of this. The defendants also tried to get rid of the rebellion accusations by citing the peculiar characteristics of the "Turkish Nation". For example, one of the defence attorneys, Abdülkadir Kemalî, who was also the father of the well-known novelist Orhan Kemal, said the following words during the trial:

> Mister captain!... The Turk knows only not to rebel against his own government, if there is a sign of rebellion in this case its agents are not those people. Mister Captain, who could only give us the best evidence, said that these defendants were unarmed. How can a rebellion be imagined without arms.[309]

After the statements of the defendants, the prosecutor of the case, Nusret Tunçer was convinced that the evidence was not enough to argue on a rebellion and asked for the release of the defendants. The words said by the prosecutor during his

[307] "Konyada Aslanköylülerin muhakemesi", *Vakit-Yeni Gazete*, 14 November 1947.
[308] "Aslan Köylüler Davası", *Vakit-Yeni Gazete*, 11 December 1947. Gendarmerie commander tries to relate the DP opposition with the previous rebellions in Turkish history. In this way, the tries to get the support of the single-party government.
[309] "Arslanköy hadisesinin suçluları tahliye edildi", *Yeni Sabah*, 10 October 1947. "*Yüzbaşı efendi!... Türk, yalnız kendi hükûmetine isyan etmeği bilmez, ortada bir isyan vârsa failleri bunlar değildir. En iyi delili bize verecek olan yüzbaşı efendi şu gördüğü sanıkların silâhsız olduğunu söylemiştir. Silâhsız olarak bir isyan nasıl tasavvur edilebilir.*" Abdülkadir Kemalî Bey, who was a prominent opponent since the first years of the Republic, returned back to the country, from where he was sent to exile for political reasons, in the first days of the DP opposition. He could not participate to the foundation of the DP due to his illness but instead he became an active attorney of the villagers during this trial. Meral Demirel, *Tam Bir Muhalif Abdülkadir Kemali Bey* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), p. 332.

demand for release are important to show the meaning of this case. The prosecutor Tunçer said the following words against to the rebellion claims:

> Just after that, the prosecutor Nusret Tunçer began to speak, apart from mentioning the decree, said that he will only touch article 149, which was wanted to be imposed in the case, and also pointed to a statement, which was accepted as a crime factor in the decree, and said: One of the suspects said that it is not made by God while mentioning that the ballot box was broken. The judge of interrogation in Mersin accepted these words as a crime factor. Article 149 explains that the crime of rebellion can only be made by weapons, gas and bomb. The incident happened exactly after the execution of the election. For that reason, how could the political maturity of the people become an element of crime.[310]

The prosecutor evaluated the behavior of the peasants from within the framework of political maturity and claimed that the peasants only had protected their political rights. This statement and the defence of the defendants during the trial show that the peasants were aware of their political rights and if someone tried to obstruct the use of these rights they would use even force in order to protect them. With the seventh and the last hearing on 23 June 1948, the case came to an end. The final verdict was as follows: "although the formation of any kind of rebellion in the incident did not exist, the defendants are proven guilty of beating and collective resistance against the officer on duty. Due to that, the defendants will be charged with a penalty according to the Turkish Penal Law."[311] As a result, some of the defendants were punished with partial penalties. As can be understood from the final verdict, the Arslanköy Incident was a sign of the peasants' direct intervention to the politics. When it was necessary to protect their political rights, the peasants did not

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[310] "Arslanköy hadisesinin suçluları tahliye edildi", *Yeni Sabah*, 10 October 1947. "*Müteakiben savcı Nusret Tunçer söz alarak kararnameden sarfınazar edip sadece sanıklar hakkında tatbiki istenen 149 uncu maddeye temas edeceğini ve kararnamede suç unsuru sayılan bir söze işaret edeceğini söyledi ve dedi ki: Bir maznun oy sandığının kırık olduğunu işaret ederken Allah yapısı değil ya demiştir. Mersin sorgu hakimliği bu sözleri bir suç unsuru saymıştır. 149 uncu madde isyan suçunun silahla, gazla ve bomba ile yapılabileceğini tasrih etmiştir. Hadise tamamen yapılmış bu seçimden sonra vukua gelmiştir. Bu bakımdan halkın gösterdiği rüsdü siyasî nasıl olur da bir suç unsuru sayılabilir.*"
[311] "Arslanköy davası karara bağlandı", *Vatan*, 24 June 1948. "*hâdisede isyan suçunun teşekkül unsurları görülmemiş ve ancak vazife esnasında topluca mukavemet ve dövmek mahiyeti görüldüğünden sanıkların Türk ceza kanununa göre cezalandırılması uygun görülmüştür*"

remain passive but the active components of politics from that time on. Although some loyal supporters of the single-party regime tried to present the incidents as rebellion, with this case, the people's freedom of the use of their political rights were guaranteed by the rule of law.

With this conclusion of this case, the rule of law became an important element in defining political activities. In every phase of the case the defendants and their attorneys expressed their respect and trust in the judges and the prosecutors of the state. For example, when the decision on the release of the arrested defendants was declared, the head of the DP Mersin branch Fahri said the following:

> The release decision of the noble Turkish judges, who kept to the path of justice and truth in concerning the innocent and blameless peasants of Aslanköy, left all of the people of İçel in eternal excitement of happiness. I present the gratitude and respect of the Democrats of İçel to the mature Turkish press, which embraced this trial in the name of truth and freedom.[312]

Similar to that, a columnist of *Yeni Sabah*, Ulunay, addressed the judges of the trial after the decision of release and celebrated the law as being the guarantee of protecting the political rights against oppressive governments:

> With this decision, you hanged the history-making hook of law on the noble flag of calm and grave struggle of revolution, which will lead the country to real democracy. Good for you! Thank you! O, you fair judges, who do not have any other concern in their heart other than god in order to deliver the justice! May God give you the scale of justice in your hands in the Day of Judgment, too. As you continue to be the protector of truth in this land, the cruelty will always be condemned to be fired and chased by the lightning whip of the justice. The owner of the rights did not return destitute and empty-handed before you. Your healing hands, which relieve the aggrieved, opened the gates of freedom heaven to them. You suddenly became the most honorable figures of the revolution of freedom; your name and picture are engraved to the chest of history and history-making nation. You not only manifested the Turkish justice with your decision, but also gave the most valuable freedom lesson to the world of humanity. By seeing, understanding and

[312] "Aslanköy sanıkları serbes bırakıldı", *Akşam*, 10 October 1947. "*Masum ve suçsuz Aslanköylüler hakkında adalet ve haktan şaşmıyan asil Türk hâkimlerinin tahliye kararı bütün İçel halkını sonsuz sevinç heyecanı içinde bırakmıştır. Bu dâvaya hak ve hürriyet uğrunda sarılan olgun Türk basınına İçel Demokratlarının şükran ve saygılarını sunarım.*"

> telling the behavior of the right owner villager, which was called a crime, as a "Political Maturity," you wrote the greatest motto of the Law of humanity on the horizon of the country which will enlighten with the sun of freedom! The Turk you have freed from cruelty is waiting at the front of the gate of freedom Heaven like the bird released from its cage![313]

Especially the groups that supported the DP attached great importance to the concepts of the rule of law and the superiority of the law. This was mostly due to the DP's political strategy of struggling against the single-party power with these tools. Füsun Üstel, who analyzed the change in the mentality of citizenship in the school text books on civics, defines the above mentioned change in the use of rule of law from a different level:

> The transition to multi-party life brought the redefinition of the citizen as being the actor of the "democratic" system in the *Civic* text books. In this redefinition process the transition from a paternalist, justice giving, protective but at the same time controlling state to the concept of the rule of law has an important place. As the sign of this transition, the emphasis on the expression "to maintain the rights of the citizens is the duty of the state too" shows that the duty-based representation of the citizen before the state changes through the right-owner citizen and the responsibilities of the state in this sphere.[314]

The transition to the multi-party system necessitated the transformation of the old single-party political foundations and understanding. The basic elements in this

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[313] Ulunay, "Hâkimlere", *Yeni Sabah*, 11 October 1947. "*Bu kararınızla memleketi hakiki demokrasiye kavuşturacak olan inkılâbın sakin ve vakarlı mücadelesinin şerefli bayrağına tarihe mal olan bir adalet çengeli taktınız. Varolun! Sağolun! Ey adaleti tevzi için yüreğinde haktan gayri endişesi olmıyan âdil hâkimler! Allah Mahşer gününde de adalet terazisini Sizin ellerinize versin. Sizler, bu toprakta hakkın koruyucusu oldukça zulüm, adaletin şimşek kırbacı önünde daima kovulmağa, kovalanmağa mahkûmdur. Hak sahibi, huzurunuzdan boynu bükük, eli boş dönmedi. Mazlumların yarasını saran şifa verici elleriniz onlara hürriyet cennetinin kapılarını açtı. Hürriyet inkılâbının bir anda en mübeccel simaları oldunuz; isminiz, resmîniz tarihin ve tarihi yapan milletin sinesine hakkedildi. Verdiğiniz kararla yalnız Türk adaletini tecelli ettirmiş olmadınız; insanlık dünyasına en kıymetli bir hürriyet dersi verdiniz: Hak sahibi köylünün suç diye adlandırılan hareketinin bir "Rüşd-ü Siyasî" olduğunu görmek, anlamak ve anlatmakla memleketin hürriyet güneşi ile nurlanacak ufuklarına insanlık Mecellesinin en büyük düsturunu yazdınız! Zülumden azad eylediğiniz Türk, kafesten kurtulan kuş gibi hürriyet Cennetinin kapısında sizi bekliyor!*"

[314] Füsun Üstel, *"Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde-II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), pp. 265-266. "*Çok partili hayata geçiş, Yurttaşlık Bilgisi kitaplarında "demokratik" düzenin aktörü yurttaşın yeniden tanımlanmasını gerektirmiştir. Bu yeniden tanımlama içinde paternalist, adalet dağıtan, koruyan ama bir o kadar da denetleyen devletten, hukuk devleti kavramına geçiş önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Bu geçişin ifadesi olan "Yurttaşlara ait hakları sağlaması da devletin ödevidir" vurgusu, yurttaşın devlet karşısındaki görev eksenli temsilinin giderek haklar taşıyıcısı yurttaşa ve devletin bu alandaki sorumluluğuna doğru kaydığını gösterir*."

new understanding were to abolish the old single-party domination in the state and the creation of the political rights sphere in the guarantee of the rule of law. It would not have been possible for the DP to become a major political force able to take the power, if making politics were not defined and guaranteed as a widespread and common right. This right could be realized and gained with the disintegration of the single-party political foundations.

In order to achieve "true democracy", the establishment of the concept of the rule of law was necessary. In addition, the unique dominance of powers other than the law had to be abolished. Ian Morley defines this process as follows:

> In order for a democracy to exist, criteria must be met. These include, by way of example, freedom of speech, human rights, the right to elect a government through free and just elections, the freedom of assembly, freedom from discrimination and, finally, the rule of law. Given these elements, it may be said that democracy is a means not only to promote social good and freedoms but also is a method to limit tyranny. That is, democracy is a means to limit the abuse of power as well as provide for fair government.[315]

As a part of the democratic process, the rule of law had to be established and this principle also was accepted as the leading element in democracy because it protected the continuation of the whole process. As in the words of Pietro Costa, "the rule of law, in other words, appears as a means to achieve a specific aim: it is expected to direct us about how to intervene (through 'law') on 'power' so as to strengthen individuals' positions."[316]

This principle, which can be defined as the basic tool to protect the political rights of the individuals, was used by the DP during its oppositional years and especially had an important place in the development of the political consciousness of the peasants. During the Second World War period, the military police was the

[315] Ian Morley, "Democracy," in *Encyclopedia of Politics: The Left and the Right; Volume 1: The Left*, ed. Rodney P. Carlisle (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005), p. 123.
[316] Pietro Costa, "The Rule of Law: A Historical Introduction," in *The Rule of Law-History, Theory and Criticism*, ed. Pietro Costa and Danilo Zolo (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), p. 74.

symbol of the oppressive government in the peasants' minds. The widespread complaints about the gendarmerie interventions to the voting process during the 1946 elections created a general understanding that the things had not changed after the transition to the multi-party system. However, with the political opposition movement which was popularized by the DP, a different understanding, such as the state cannot intervene to any people's use of their political rights, began to be established. The visible side of this change would be the lawsuits which were brought by groups of people about state oppression, bringing these lawsuits to the attention of the general public by the DP.

The period in which the DP was in opposition and the Arslanköy Incident happened can also be called "the period of the lawsuits." With the rising of the DP opposition these cases became the main area of interest in the public. These cases brought out discussions about and the questioning of the single-party establishments and understandings, which had not been open to questioning and even discussion before. Together with the Arslanköy Case, most of the lawsuits, which were followed by the public with great interest, passed through similar phases during this period. For example, as one of the best known incidents during the period, it is possible to observe the same process in the Senirkent case. The Senirkent incident was reported in *Vatan* as follows:

> The lawsuit, which has passed into Judiciary history as the "Senirkent case", has been concluded by the Antalya criminal court. This important case, which had 13 victims and 11 suspects, ended with the conviction of all of the accused ones by various degrees. It was asserted in the case that the suspects had brought the victim villagers to the police station on the pretext of drunkenness, beat them mercilessly, restricted their freedom and due to that the suspects abused their office.[317]

[317] "Senirkent davası sona erdi", *Vatan*, 24 May 1947. "*Senirkent davası" diye Adliye tarihine geçen dava, Antalya asliye ceza mahkemesince sona erdirilmiştir. Ve 13 mağduru, 11 de maznunu bulunan bu mühim dava, bütün muhakeme edilenlerin derece derece mahkûmiyetlerile neticelenmiştir. Açılan davada; mağdur köylülerin sarhoşluk bahanesile getirildikleri, kıyasıya dövüldükleri, hürriyetlerin*

The drunken villagers were also members of the DP and this gave the case political content. As was asserted by the attorneys of the case, the victims were treated inhumanely by the gendarmerie.[318] The main claims in this case were the irresponsible and arbitrary behaviors of the state officials. These legal processes brought not only the interrogation of the responsible ones but also that of the whole state system. For this reason the discussions during the trials were more important then the results of the cases. As a result, actually it was not the people who were on trial, but the "mentality of the government". As can be seen in the discourse of the attorneys of this case, similar to the Arslanköy case, the main goal was to maintain the control of the arbitrary state officials by law. This arbitrary mentality of the government was described by one of the attorneys of the Senirkent case, Şefik Seren, as follows:

> One day when simply sitting in the *kul oğlu* coffeehouse, the suspects Mehmet Deveci and Fehmi Kırbaç came and wanted to take him to the station. Although the victim asked for the reason, he could not get a convincing reply and asked if they would take him arbitrarily. I feel ashamed when repeating this great and thought provoking reply of those two privates of the law, who should not drop out of the law. Yes, arbitrarily.. The victim was brought arbitrarily to the station by dragging him and he was at first brought into the presence of the arbitrarily bringing privates' arbitrarily ordering stager sergeant Sadık Ertan and prepared for the beating with some patting and after that he was left to

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tahdit edildiği ve bu suretle suçlar işliyen maznunların vazifelerini suiistimal ettikleri ileri sürülüyordu."

[318] The lawsuit will be opened after the publication of the letter of the victim villagers in *Tasvir*. In this letter the villagers are exposing the full names of the gendarmerie privates and giving a detailed description of their inhumane treatment. For example: "Another example of torture and insult, which disgust ourselves from our humanity, is that they brought us to drink water from the basin like animals with making the gendarmerie privates ride on our back like animals by putting a bridle on our mouths or without bridle. … Another incogitable punishment of them is to force to wear our hats after urinating and defecating into them and even to force us to drink what is inside the hats." Şefik Seren, *Senirkent Faciası* (İstanbul: Çeltüt Matbaası, 1947), p. 6. "*Ağızlarımıza gem vurularak veya gemsiz olarak hayvanlar gibi üstümüze bindirilen jandarma erlerile çeşme yalaklarından hayvanlar gibi su imiye götürülmemiz bizi insanlığımızdan bıktıracak hakaret ve işkencelerin diğer bir örneğidir. … Şapkalarımızı başımızdan çıkarıp içini ufak ve büyük pisliklerle doldurduktan sonra şapkayı başa giymiye mecbur etmek ve hattâ şapka içindekilerini içirmek te akla gelmiyen cezalardan birisidir.*"

> the blood-dripping whip of the arbitrary station's arbitrary director Halil Altınay.[319]

The superiority of law constantly came into question in these cases as being the only means of protection for the individual against the cruelty of the state officials. In this manner, it was not "ordinary" people who were being sued in these cases, but mostly the people who represented the state and had been known as hitherto untouchable ones in the eyes of the peasants.

Another case example ends with a similar outcome, although it was in between the people in high posts of the state. The Hayrabolu Case in which the Hayrabolu gendarmerie commander senior captain Ali Ertan was sued for insulting Celal Bayar and Fevzi Çakmak during the 1946 elections period,[320] caused a similar effect. This case was closed with the conviction of the gendarmerie captain to two months ten days imprisonment and 900 liras to pay for mental anguish.[321] This conviction of the gendarmerie captain symbolized in the peasants' mind that every officials of the state could be sued and punished. Mehmet Nuri Alpay explains the meaning of the gendarmerie on the peasants' eye during this period and the place of the *Arslanköy* Case in the formation of this understanding, as follows:

> Do not underestimate the gendarmerie; whatever the place of yesterday's police was in the cities and towns, the gendarmerie corporal or the captain was more than that in the villages. Even today we come across with some of the traces of that mentality. His official uniform is accounted as a sign of immunity for himself, but for the people it is a sign of a privilege of practicing every kind of act such as cursing, beating and imprisonment. … Sometimes, it is said that the villagers have come against the police, attacked the police station in a village or

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[319] Ibid., p. 31. "*Birgün kul oğlu kahvesinde kendi halinde otururken sanıklardan Mehmet Deveci ile Fehmi Kırbaç gelerek kendisini karakola götürmek istemişler mağdur sebebini sormuş ise de ikna edici bir cevap alamadığından keyfi mi götüreceksiniz diye sormuştur. Kanundan ayrılmaması icap eden iki kanun erinin verdiği şu muazzam ve düşündürücü cevabı tekrarlarken bir hicab duyuyorum. Evet keyfi.. Mağdur itiraf veçhile keyfi olarak karakola sürüye sürüye götürülmüş ve orada evvalâ keyfi götürücü erlerin keyfi emirci gedikli çavuşu Sadık Ertanın huzuruna çıkarılarak ilk okşama tokatlarile dayak yemeye hazırlanmış ve sonra da keyfî karakolun keyfî idarecisi Halil Altınayın kırbacından kan damlayan ellerine terk edilmiştir.*"
[320] "Hayrebolu Davası", *Vatan*, 27 May 1947.
[321] "Hayrebolu Davası karara bağlandı", *Vatan*, 3 June 1947.

> town. Whereas, those events are mostly a fishy business. The people show great respect to the police as they do to honest and mature state officers. But if sometimes the police officers move with an inevitable desire gained from the love of tyranny and bring down the self-esteem of the people with a provocative manner, as happened in Arslanköy, then when the knifes lean upon their neck they start to give reaction to them and after that they raise hell by using the law and regulations and by giving different meanings to the events.[322]

Alpay briefly says that the peasants obeyed the rule of the state as far as possible, but also their obedience was not for good. Of course, the practices of the state and its officers had an effect on this rebellious kind of behavior of the peasants. Especially as a result of the political and economic practices in the Second World War period the hatred of the peasants for to the state increased and they began to express this hatred in different ways. During this period this hatred spilled out with the incidents of Arslanköy and such. The way that this hatred was shown, became a political attitude and rights demanding issue with the effect of the DP opposition and its use of the law as a political struggle tool. The insistence on the superiority of law by the DP and the peasants gained political content during this period and soon changed the political perception of the peasants.

The rule of law and the superiority of law had important places in the political propaganda activities of the DP. For example, during a DP meeting in Seyhan, the speaker stressed the importance of the struggle against the lawless practices of the government as follows:

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[322] Mehmet Nuri Alpay, *Köy Davamız ve Köyün İçyüzü* (Ankara: Örnek Matbaası, 1952), pp. 9-10. "*Jandarma deyip geçmeyiniz; şehir ve kasabada dünün polisi ne ise köyde de çok daha fazlasiyle jandarma onbaşısı veya subayı öyle idi. Bugün bile hâlâ o zihniyetin döküntülerine rastlıyoruz. Onun resmî üniforması kendisi için dokunulmaz, fakat halk üzerinde küfür, dayak ve hapis gibi her türlü muameleyi yapmak için imtiyaz alâmeti sayılır. … Bir köyde, bir kasabada bazen köylü zabıtaya karşı gelmiş, karakola hücum etmiş denilir. Halbuki o işin içinde çok defa bir kurt yeniği vardı. Halk dürüst ve olgun devlet memuruna olduğu gibi zabıtaya da son derece saygı gösterir. Fakat bazen tehakküm sevdasının verdiği kaçınılmaz bir arzu ile zabıta memuru harekete geçer ve tahrik edici bir tavırla halkın izzeti nefsini kırarsa tıpkı Arslanköyde olduğu gibi ve bıçak gırtlağa dayanmak kabilinden onlarda da bir tepki başlar ve artık kanun ve mevzuat alet edilerek ve hâdiseye de başka mâhiyet verilerek kıyametler koparılır."*

> We all know their tactics and how the vice Prime minister, who yells Law, Law, understands and organizes the law. From now on, it will not be possible to make the people accept the unjust and lawless practices that were held against the masses. … They pretend not to understand our goal. We will not condone the injustices and we will not wait any longer to raise our voices.[323]

As can be seen, the law and rights were the main discourse of the DP during this period. In this framework, it is proper to assert that these discourses had a direct impact on the formation of the rights demanding political attitude of the peasants. As in the words of Behice Boran, quoted above, mostly as a result of this political and juridical struggle the government in power was released from being an institution that was obeyed and transformed into a position that the peasants began to question, criticize and sometimes, as it happened in Arslanköy, resist against.

The Arslanköy incident appears in most of the DP propaganda even after the party came to power. How the Arslanköy incident appears in the discourse of the DP before and after it came to power is noteworthy. The difference between two periods reveals the change in the political perception of the DP. With the help of a few examples from the speeches of some prominent DP members the extent of this change will be seen clearly. Just as the trials began, Celal Bayar said the following on the Arslanköy incident during a meeting in İstanbul:

> Most of you know the incident of *Arslanlar* village. In this village the Gendarmerie Commander asked villager, whom he met outside of the village while going to the town to bring the election documents that certified the winning of the democrats, the party which had the elections. The villager said that the Democrats had won; hereon the commander said that this election had not happened we would do it again and sent the villager back. The residents of the village who had gathered accordingly say that we would not make a new election as it should be. As a result, the District Manager gives the order. The Gendarmerie

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[323] *Seyhan İl merkezinde, 21.07.1949 günü Demokratların Ünal Sineması'nda yaptıkları toplantı, bu toplantıda konuşanlar ve konuşulanlar.* 21/7/1949, BCA, 30.01/44.257.10. "*Kanun, Kanun diye bağıran Başbakan yardımcısının, kanunu ne şekilde anladığını ve tertiplediğini ve taktiklerini hepimiz biliyoruz. Artık kütlelere karşı haksız ve yolsuz muameleleri kabul ettirmek bundan sonra hiçbir şekilde mümkün olamıyacaktır. … Maksadımızı anlamamazlıktan gelmektedirler. Haksızlıklara daha fazla göz yumulmıyacak ve sesimizi çıkarmak için daha fazla beklemiyeceğiz.*"

> Commander gave the fire order. The villagers were dispersed. The incidents were transferred to the court. Many of our attorney friends followed this issue. A second example: in the villages of Afyon, I had made a poor citizen remove their socks, who had been beaten. I saw lots of bruises and blains under his foot. As a result, the Government is not getting these things done. We have to accept that the existence of a lot of senseless people in the government administration have caused these incidents.[324]

Here, Bayar especially tried to exclude the government from these incidents. In order make a total critique of the state authority, he stressed that these incidents were the work of some "senseless" people, who behaved in the name of the government on their own initiative. It is possible to see that this discourse differentiated during the years that the DP was in power, especially during the election times and when the DP began to be criticized harshly. The DP used the Arslanköy incident to defend itself against the criticisms of the RPP. This time the DP was accused of making oppression by using the state power. Against the accusations that the DP had created a "partisan" administration, Adnan Menderes said the following during a speech in Mersin:

> The partisan administration is the government of the people who fired bullets on Turkish citizens and women in Arslanköy, who brought the democrat citizens to police station and got the gendarmerie to sit on their backs and bridled on our mouths while making them blow down the ground, who had made all the people of a village in Çubuk run the gauntlet by the gendarmerie and district governor one night and who sent the district governor that practiced this to America for three years as a reward. The residuals of a tyranny, that is responsible for all of these,

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[324] *Demokrat Parti'nin İstanbul'da tertip ettiği toplantılarla ilgili İçişleri Bakanlığı'na verilen bilgiler*, 6/4/1948, BCA, 30.01/66.408.6. "*Arslanlar köyü hadisesini çoklarınız bilirsiniz. Bu köyde demokratların kazandığına dair seçim evrakını nahiyeye götüren köylüyü köy dışında karşılayan Jandarma Komutanı köylüden hangi partinin kazandığını soruyor. Köylüde Demokratların diye söylemesi üzerine bu seçim olmadı. Yeniden yapacağız diyerek köylüyü geri çeviriyorlar. Toplanan köylünün haklı olarak tekrar seçim yapamayız demeleri üzerine de Nahiye Müdürü emir veriyor. Jandarma Komutanı ateş açtırıyor. Köylü dağılıyor. Hadise mahkemeye intikal etmiştir. Bir çok vekil arkadaşlarımız, bu işi takip etmektedirler. İkinci bir misâl; Kütahya ve Afyon köylerinde dövülen zavallı bir vatandaşın çorabını çıkarttırdım. Ayağında şiş ve yara gördüm. Vakıa bunu Hükümet yaptırmıyor. Hükümet idaresinde bir çok şuursuz insanlar bulunması, bu hadiseler sebebiyet verdiğini kabul etmek lazımdır.*"

> dare to become plaintiffs now by slandering our administration by saying partisan without shame.[325]

In a similar speech, which was made by the Minister of Internal Affairs of the period, Namık Gedik, he replies to the accusations of the RPP opposition on the political and administrative oppression that is said to have been done by the DP with the examples of Arslanköy and Senirkent incidents:

> In the period, when the political oppression was practiced harshly, Senirkent was not left alone, Arslanköy and such incidents followed each other, but in spite of all kind of oppression they could not find a chance to change the results as they wished. Although they were continually repeating the change of a city's status by law as being an example of political oppression during our period, is it possible to erase the most disastrous examples of political oppression and cruelty of their times from the mind and memories of this nation? Who were responsible for the Senirkent disaster? Were they the ones who mediated the practice of cruelty? Or were they the ones who encouraged and represented this mentality? How could those who were in charge during that period and were the mediators of the government, dare to mention political and administrative oppression in the squares, even if he is in a responsible position in the opposition party where he has been elected and even if he is wearing the armor of parliamentarian immunity?[326]

During the DP government, the Arslanköy incident was used as a tool to establish the political legitimacy of the DP. In this way, the DP tried to present its political attitude during the Arslanköy incidents as a proof of its political perspective. They tried to assert that they could not apply such political and administrative

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[325] *Ayın Tarihi*, no: 239, 1-31 October 1953, p. 82. "Partizan idare, Arslanköy'de Türk vatandaşlarına ve kadınlarına kursun sıkan, Senirkent'te de demokrat vatandaşları karakola getirerek dörtayak yere yatırıp gem vuran ve sırtına jandarmayı bindiren, Çubuk'ta ise bir akşam bütün bir köyün halkım kaymakama ve jandarmaya sıra dayağından geçirten ve bunu yapan kaymakamı da mükâfat olmak üzere üç sene için Amerika'ya gönderen insanların idaresidir. Bütün bunların mesulü olan müstebit artıkları, şimdi de sıkılmadan karşımıza çıkın idaremize partizanlık iftirasında bulunarak davacı olmağa yeltenmektedirler."

[326] *Ayın Tarihi*, no: 261, 1-31 August 1955, p. 97. "*Siyasî baskının şiddetle tatbik edilmiş olduğu bu devirde Senirkent yalnız bırakılmamış, Arslanköy ve benzeri hâdiseler birbirini tevali etmiş ve fakat bütün baskılara rağmen neticenin arzu ettikleri şekilde değiştirilmesine imkân bulunamamıştı. İktidarımız zamanında, bir vilâyetin kanunla değiştirilen hüviyeti siyasî bir baskı numunesi olarak her yerde tekrarlana dururken siyasî baskı ve zulmün zamanlarına ait en fecî misallerini, bu milletin hafızasından ve hâtırasından silmek mümkün müdür? Senirkent faciasının mes'ulleri kimdi? Zulmü tatbike vasıta olanlar mı? Yoksa bu zihniyeti temsil ve teşvik edenler mi? O devirde idarede vazifeli olup, iktidarın vasıtalığını yapanlardan birisi bugün intisap etmiş bulunduğu muhalefet partisinin mes'ul kademesinde ve mebusluğun teşrii masuniyet zırhına bürünmüş olsa dahi meydanlarda siyasî ve idarî baskıdan bahsetmeye nasıl cesaret edebiliyor*?"

oppression methods due to their political attitude during the incidents. At the same time, they accused the RPP opposition of hypocrisy. Briefly it can be asserted that the DP discourse on the Arslanköy incident during its government was used as a political tool against the opposition.

The Arslanköy Case is remembered frequently even today. Although the content of remembrance of the case mostly differs from its actual meaning, this case remains an important subject to mention, especially for the people who are on the right wing of the politics.[327]

The Arslanköy incident and case offer some important hints about the formation of the political consciousness of the peasants during the period that the DP was in opposition. In the Arslanköy incident, it is possible to assert that the peasants tried to change their lives by trying to change the local power that they accused of being responsible for their local problems. By using the suitable political atmosphere created with the DP opposition, they presented a political behavior of electing someone they desired to the place of another that they did not want. Although this political behavior can be accepted as an ordinary kind of politics today, it was perceived as a tool for change and active political struggle in 1947 for the villagers of Arslanköy. The peasants tried to gain respect for their political preferences and will by refusing to deliver the ballot box to the gendarmerie and as a result they achieved that. In this manner the peasants were directly involved in politics as active political agents.

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[327] Especially the conservative cycles in Turkey still apply to the *Arslanköy* and *Senirkent* incidents as a tool to remember the oppression during the single-party period. See Mustafa Armağan, "Seçim Sonuçlarını Açıklıyorum," *Zaman Pazar* 22 July 2007, p. 6; Dr. Tahsin Tola, Available August 2009: *http://www.risale-inur.org/10.htm*, 22 January 2009. Another kind of remebrance of the events is to stress the role of the women in the *Arslanköy* incidents. In an article in *Sabah* the *Arslanköy* incident is defined as "the first village women movement". Meliha Okur, "Mezar Kazıcılarının 30 Milyarlık Otomobilleri!" Available August 2009: *http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2007/07/03/haber,B7832F2270CA4E44971808CBB0137100.html* 22 January 2009.

On the juridical side of this incident, the mentality of the rule of law was the main discussion point and developed the rights-demanding approach of the peasants. The rule of law, as a sphere of political struggle, had an important place during this period by eliminating the unquestionable power of the single-party government. As a result of the trial process it was no longer the superiority of the governments, but the rule of the law which was stressed. The political power, which had been expected to be obeyed only by the people in the previous times, came under question during this period. The Arslanköy incident and trial had an important role in the creation of this questioning process. The perception that the governments could be changed by elections and this was a "right" guaranteed by the "law" became common among the public with the pursuance of the Arslanköy case by the public opinion. The case, referred to even today as an example of the oppressive practices of the single-party regime, has an important place in Turkish history for understanding the active participation of the peasants in politics and development of their political consciousness.

Another consequence of the Arslanköy Case was to show the transformative force of the peasants in politics. The peasants, who constituted the majority of the population, proved that if they moved with the directions of a certain political consciousness they had the power to directly affect politics. This transformative power was realized by not only by the peasants themselves, but also by the central forces of the politics, who realized that if they wanted to be effective in politics they had to gain the support of the peasants.

This section analyzed the relation of peasants to politics through a discussion of the Arslanköy Case. In the next section how this relation of the peasants to politics changed when the DP was in power will be examined.

The Peasants and Politics during the DP Government

The process of the DP's coming to power was achieved mostly with the support of the peasants. During in opposition years, the DP had been subjected two basic problems: To gain the majority of the votes in order to obtain power and to achieve that to obtain the political participation of the majority of the masses on a desired level. The participation of the peasants in politics could only be achieved by persuading them that they could change their living conditions by using political tools. As was shown in the previous section, in this period, the peasants accepted politics as a way of changing their living conditions and became part of politics by using it. One of the main factors that helped the DP come to power was the peasants' belief in the DP as a mediator of politics that would change their living conditions. In this section, focus will be given on how the relation of peasants to politics continued during the DP government. Together with analyzing the ways that the peasants established their relations with politics during this period, the meaning of the differentiation in defining the peasants' role in politics by the political power will be examined.

During the first years of the transition to the multi-party system, there was a dynamic political atmosphere shaped by the existence of the DP opposition. The DP's accession to power, at least on the peasants' front, slowed this dynamic political sphere. It can be observed that the peasants did not prefer direct confrontation with the administrations of the political power, which had been encountered during the years the DP was in opposition. Instead of this "peasant activism", the effect of the DP's accession to power was seen in the change of the

political discourse on the role of the peasantry in politics. The previous periods' discourse on the peasants was based mostly on the ideologically created "peasants are the masters of the nation" motto, which defined the peasants as an imagined entity. After the DP's accession to power, this discourse changed into a definition of peasantry in which the peasants "actually" existed and "actually" owned the political power. For example, during the hearings on the Village Law in the National Assembly, Kayseri deputy Mehmet Özdemir said the following:

> Some of our friends have stated some wrong expressions while trying to define the peasants in law, which can created an ambiguous situation. Our peasants, Thank God, are neither blind, nor deaf. Besides it is wrong to see and recognize the peasants as an unknown enigma anymore. Because the Turkish peasants, who created the revolution of May 14, gained the great honor of it, are inside of this Assembly in person. In this respect, it is wrong to describe the peasants as another thing, show them as an unknown enigma. As I said before, the peasants are in this Assembly in person.[328]

This discourse was stated not only with the concern of an ideological legitimacy in high politics, during this period, the peasants also started to consubstantiate themselves with politics. During this period the peasants were conscious that they held the power of political transformation in their hands. In some of the popular sociological studies, which are appear in the early village literature genre, it is possible to understand that the peasants saw themselves as the key to the transformation. For example, Yalçın Dağlar presented this perception of the peasants with their own words, as follows:

> A peasant in Göçbeyli said: -Sir, the government official is our servant. If he does not charge his duty and make us crawl in town and city for days, we do not love them too… One of the Democrat villagers in Kocaömerli who was talking on the village headman elections that will

[328] *TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, 15.5.1953, B: 83, O: 1, p. 268. "*Bâzı arkadaşlar bu kürsüden köylüyü kanunu tasvire çalışırlarken iltibasa mahal verece derecede yanlış ifadelerde bulundular. Köylümüz Hamdolsun ne kördür, ne sağırdır. Bununla beraber köylüyü artık meçhul muamma olarak görmek ve tanımak hatalıdır. Çünkü, 14 Mayıs inkılâbını yaratan, onun büyük şerefini ihraz eden Türk köylüsü bizzat bu Meclisin içerisindedir. Bu itibarla köylüyü başka bir şekilde tasvir etmek meçhul muamma olarak göstermek hatalıdır. Arzettiğim gibi, köylü bizzat bu Meclisin içerisindedir*."

> be held in the following day, says: What happened when we became Democrat? We brought the Democrats to power; they are not keeping their word, too… What is the use of it if I cannot cut any trees that I need from the mountain? If they continue like that I will enter the Nation Party and give my vote to it in the next elections…[329]

From then on, the relation of the peasants to politics can be defined as a relation of transformation. The peasants knew that they could change the existing situation and they had the power to achieve that. Although this attitude gained strength after the DP's accession to power, it can be seen before the DP power and independent from its affection. A prominent Turkish journalist and writer, Nadir Nadi, expressed this change in peasant behavior as follows:

> The Esteemed Chairman, who walked every inch of the country before the 14th May elections, heard the following words from an old citizen in a village that he had stopped by: -We don't know how will you work and what will you do. But we will give our votes to your party. If we don't like you, we may change your place. It is a known fact that it is easy to rip off the young sapling. The national reality that is being revealed with these basic words is incandescently bright. A Turkish peasant presented us a reality in a few words with all of its nakedness, which our important writers, famous elders could not tell through hours of effort.[330]

After the DP's accession to power, the peasants that had supported the DP showed some behaviors which resulted with political fights. The people that had supported the DP taunted the remaining RPP supporters, which mostly led to fighting. This kind of behavior can be defined as the "vengeance" of the DP supporters from the old regime. These incidents mostly resulted in the decomposition

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[329] Dağlar, *Köylerimizden*, p. 101. "*Göçbeyli'de bir köylü: - Efendi, memur bizim hizmetçimizdir. O vazifesini yapmaz, bizleri bucakta, ilçede günlerce süründürürse, biz de onları sevmeyiz… dedi. Kocaömerli'de ertesi günkü muhtar seçimlerini görüşmekte olan Demokrat köylülerden biri: Demokrat olduk da ne olduk? Demokratları iktidara getirdik, onlar da sözlerini yerine getirmiyorlar… Ben, dağdan, ihtiyacım olan ağacı kesmedikten sonra, bunların ne faydası olacak? Böyle giderlerse gelecek seçimde Millet Partisine gireceğim ve ona reyimi vereceğim… diyordu.*"

[330] *Ayın Tarihi*, no: 199, 1-30 June 1950, p. 90. "14 Mayıs seçimlerinden önce karış karış yurdu dolanan Sayın Başkan, uğradığı bir köyde ihtiyar bir vatandaştan şu sözleri duymuştur: —Sizin nasıl çalışacağınızı neler yapacağınızı bilmiyoruz. Fakat reyimizi partinize vereceğiz. Beğenmezsek dört yıl sonra sizi değiştiririz. Malûm ya, taze fidanı sökmek kolaydır. Bu basit sözlerin açığa vurduğu millî realite göz kamaştıracak derecede parlaktır. Değme yazarlarımızın, ünlü büyüklerimizin saatler harcıyarak anlatamıyacakları bir gerçeği bir Türk köylüsü bir kaç cümle içinde bütün çıplaklığı ile önümüze serivermiştir."

of the villages' social structure, which had, in fact, begun to loosen.[331] On this subject İbrahim Yasa says that "the politics in the village will result in the unsettling of the solidarity tradition in the villages, which have also begun to be weakened".[332] With these words he referred to the transforming or abolishing effects of politics on the existing social structures. If we define politics as being the arena of contesting thoughts and perceptions, it is natural to come across this kind of political struggle. In order to create more "peaceful" political atmosphere, a different kind of "democracy culture" must be developed. When closed political structures get acquainted with politics the corruption of the existing system may be accepted as natural. The political activation in the Turkish countryside, in which politics had not been very apparent and important in the previous periods, taken together with the economic transformation, changed the existing structure and mentality.

Within this framework the structural transformation during this period needs to be considered together with the effects created by the politics. As a result, the

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[331] In the lawsuit petitions of the RPP supporter peasants, which contain the fighting and affronts of this kind, the "heavy" language that the DP supporter peasants had used after the DP's accession to power can clearly be seen. One of these petitions is as follows: "The content of the crime: When Ahmet Güreşçi was sitting in the coffeehouse, he saw that Ömer Avcı enters from the coffeehouse with wearing the six arrows badge on his collar and asks him to come nearby, and says: I slapped in your face in the previous days and you have courted me, you are poor and upright kid. Do not wear and walk with this six arrows badge on your collar, throw it out. And (by returning to the people sitting in the coffeehouse) look at me my friends when you saw someone who supports the people's party beat him with a club. (…) his wife and mother, even kill him, we are the power now, come to us. We will save you. We will turn your headman's feet upside down too, we will (…) his mother. The communist whoremonger Rascal İsmet İnönü, who is the chief general Secretary of the people's party, (…) his wife and mother too.' To say such insulting words." "*Suçun mahiyeti: Ahmet Güreşçi kahvede otururken, yakasında altı oklu rozet bulunan Ömer Avcının kapudan kahveye girdiğin görüp yanına çağırarak: Ben sana geçenlerde tokat atmıştım sen de beni mahkemeye vermiştin sen fakir ve namuslu bir çocukmuşsun. Sen yakanı bu altı oklu rozeti takıp gezme onu çıkar. Ve (kahvede oturan halka dönerek) bakın arkadaşlar halk partili kimseyi gördünüz mü verin odunu. Karısının, anasını (…..) hatta öldürün biz iktidardayız, bize gelin. Biz siz kurtarırız. Muhtarınızın da bacakları aşşağa gelecek onun da anasını (…..) halk partisinin genel Başkanı şefi olan Namussuz İsmet İnönü kominist kârhaneci onun da karısını anasını (….) gibi hakaretamiz sözler sarfetmek."Balıkesir Mebuslarının Teftiş Raporlarının Genel Sekreterliğe Sunulduğu*, 19.9.1950, BCA 490.01/624.52.1. This kind of words, of which the peasants would hesitate to say during the single-party period, although include some insulting sayings, show that the peasants are related with the politics so directly than before and they are not trying to hide their political perceptions anymore.

[332] İbrahim Yasa, *Sindel Köyü'nün Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Yapısı* (Ankara: TODAİE Yayınları, 1960), p. 90. "*köyde siyaset köy topluluğunun zaten zayıflamakta olan dayanışma geleneğini daha da sarsmakla sonuçlanıyor*"

politics not only changed the political perception of the peasants, but also effected the material conditions in which the peasants lived and reshaped their living space. The spatial transformation that the politics created in the village will be shown in the section in which the development of the village coffeehouses is going to be analyzed below. But it may be asserted that the entrance of politics to the villages not only changed the general characteristics of the high politics but also affected the general structure of the villages. This transformative effect of politics must be reconsidered when trying to understand the 1945-1960 period in general.

In the first years of the DP government, the peasants became richer due to the developments in economy, especially the increases in agricultural production and prices. Different from the previous periods, the peasants were able to sell their products for higher prices as a result of a boom in world agricultural prices. These developments would also increase the peasants' support and confidence in the DP government. It is possible to see a direct reflection of these developments in the words of the peasants of the period as follows:

> "How could not I be a member of the DP? It brought water to our village, built a fountain. It took away the gendarmerie and tax collector from over our heads; they left us not without credit. They also built bridges for our roads"[333]
>
> "Previously we were bartering for coffee with eggs, now we can drink our tea in the morning with biscuits."[334]
>
> "They are saying that life is expensive. In their time, our money was not enough to buy shoes that were 150 piasters, we were wearing clothes made from sugar sacks. But now we are buying fabric clothes and smoke *Gelincik* cigarettes. We wear European made boots on our feet, and tour with motor cars."[335]

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[333] Cenap Ozankan, "Köylüler Arasında Bir Yolculuk", *Cumhuriyet*, 27 April 1954. *"Nasıl DP'li olmayayım? Köyümüze su getirdi çeşme yaptı. Başımıza jandarmayı, tahsildarı aldı, krediyi de eksik etmiyorlar. Yollarımıza da köprü yaptılar.*"

[334] Mazhar Kunt, "Trakya Köylüsü Borçsuz ve Hayatından Memnun", *Cumhuriyet*, 27 April 1954. "*Evvelce yumurtaya karşılık kahve içerdik, şimdi sabahleyin çayımızı bisküvi ile içiyoruz.*"

[335] Mazhar Kunt, "Tekirdağ Demokratları CHP'ye Hücum Ediyor", *Cumhuriyet*, 20 April 1954. "*Hayatın pahalı olduğunu söylüyorlar. Onlar zamanında 150 kuruşluk pabucu almaya paramız yetmiyordu, şeker çuvalından elbise giyiyorduk. Şimdi ise kumaştan elbise alıyoruz ve Gelincik sigarası içiyoruz: Ayaklarımızda Avrupa malı çizmeler var, motörlerle geziyoruz.*"

Naturally it was not the same in every region of the country, especially in the regions where the increase in agricultural prices did not directly affect the peasants' income due to the seizure of the surplus by the *ağa*s and sheiks, who held the economic and politics hegemony of the region in their hands. In these regions the extent of the politics had a direct relation to the local hegemonic powers' attitudes. In these regions, the peasants could not benefit from the system for their economic development because their relations to the political system occurred on different level. For example, the following statements of the peasants, which were made during the elections in 1954, show the difference plainly:

> "I have to follow the way of the *ağa,* because the *ağa* gives me the land and animals. But I want to say that the DP promised to reduce the price of cigarettes and cloth, but it has not. The villager will not become rich only by lifting the animal tax. If money entered my pocket, I would not be reluctant to pay the tax. There is no difference in our livings when compared to the RPP period."[336]
>
> "Everything has become worse than before. Only the gendarmerie of the DP is absent. If it existed, everything would be worse than the old People's Party... The Democrat Party would be nothing for us, if the sheik would stand alone and not support the DP. It does not matter if the Democrat Party brings here its Adnan Menderes. But there is no solution; there stands the sheik again on the DP side... The DP members of Ağrı rely on the protection of their sheik; they are neither working nor doing anything else. To win in the elections is a sure thing for them. The DP members are not moving even their fingers for now."[337]

In the section in which the Arslanköy Case was discussed how the peasants used the concepts of the rule of law and the superiority of law as a part of a political transformation and defined these concepts in the framework of a "rights demanding"

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[336] Cenap Ozankan, "Diyarbakır Halkı Arasında Bir Anket," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 April 1954. "*Ben ağanın gittiği yoldan yürümeye mecburum. Çünkü araziyi de, hayvanı da bana ağa veriyor. Ama şunu da söyleyeyim ki, DP sigarayı, bezi ucuzlatacağını vaat ettiği halde yapmadı. Hayvan vergisini kaldırmakla köylü zengin olmaz. Cebime para girerse ben vergiyi ödemekten çekinmem. Yaşayışımızda CHP zamanından fark yoktur.*"

[337] Yaşar Kemal, "Doğuda Seçmenler Ne Düşünüyor?" *Cumhuriyet*, 18 April 1954. *"Her şey eskisinden kötü oldu. DP'nin bir candarması eksik. O da olsa eski Halk Partisinden bin beter olur... Demirgırat Parti dediğin bizim karşımızda hiçtiir. Şeyh şöyle bir kenara dursun, Demirkırat Parti isterse Adnan Menderes'ini getirsin vız gelir. Ne çare karşımızda gene şeyh var... Ağrı DP'lileri sırtlarını şeyhlerine dayamışlar ne çalışıyorlar ne bir şey. Seçimde kazanmak onlar için çantada keklik. DP'liler burada parmaklarını bile oynatmıyorlar şimdilik."*

perception was examined. The relation of the peasants to politics developed in this rights demanding framework during the DP's opposition years. Politics, for the peasants, was defined as getting what they had the right to do, above all else. This perception has a content that can be widened from the right to speak to getting their share from the economic development. The peasants demanded the use of their political rights freely during the period until 1950. After 1950, they did not give up demanding this, only the content of their demands changed. During the DP period, the peasants developed a kind of behavior demanding many things that they thought they had the right to demand from the government in power. The DP gave an important place to the peasants in its discourse every time, as the primal force of their political success. In response to that, the peasants pressured the DP government constantly to get the DP meet their needs. The peasants were aware of their transforming power and due to that they were able to threaten the government with this power. The peasants clearly stated that they could use this power to overthrow the government as they had while giving their support, as seen in the examples above. During the period in which the economic conditions of the peasants improved, the relation of the peasants with the DP government continued at a normal level and there was mutual satisfaction between them.

The results of the 1954 elections, in which the DP received greater support than it had in the 1950 elections, also manifests this mutual satisfaction. However, after the 1954 elections, due to the general breakdown in economic conditions and the decrease in world agricultural prices, the imported input in agriculture decreased and as a result the general income of the peasants decreased to lower than the first period of the DP power. These effects of the economic crisis would lead the DP government to take some protection measures and the government would back down from some of

the practices which had been in favor of the broad masses. The reapplication of the National Protection Law, which had been widely used during the Second World War period, affected the consumption patterns of the peasants, which had changed in the first half of the DP power due to the enrichment of the peasants. As a result, the peasants raised their objections to these changing conditions and demanded the privileges that they thought they had acquired in return to their "support of the government." The peasants expressed these demands through the use of a kind of political language, a typical example of which can be seen in a petition written to the Premiership of Goca village of Zonguldak:

> The Democrat Party took its first steps in the 1946 elections in the famous Goca village, which is connected to Center of Zonguldak. Our villages stood up against to the oppressions for the development of our Democrat Party. Our requests have not been taken in consideration although these people have shown their respect and love of our Party.[338]

As can be seen in this petition, the peasants behaved according to the principle of "reciprocity" in their relation to the government in power. They sought the material equivalent of their political support. The peasants were aware that the people in government had obtained this power as a result of a political struggle in which the peasants had played a key role. They knew that the party in power was the creation of this struggle; because of this they did not hesitate to raise their own demands and push the government to give them what they felt they deserved. In this period, the peasants were promoted to a "reciprocal" position and began to "demand" everything they thought they deserved as being their rights from the government. In this manner, the peasants saw themselves not as outsiders to politics, but as direct agents of it. The

[338] *Zonguldak'ın Goca köyünün ihtiyaçları*. 24/8/1956, BCA, 30.01/117.740.3. "*Demokrat Parti 1946 seçimlerine ilk adımlarını Zonguldak'ın Merkez'e bağlı meşhur Goca köyünde atmıştır. Köylerimiz baskıyı dinlemiyerek Demokrat Partimizin kalkınması için göğüs germişlerdir. Bunların Partimize gösterdikleri saygı ve sevgilerine rağmen arzularımıza hiç alaka gösterilmemiştir.*"

general "questioning" and "rights demanding" peasantry attitude can also be observed here, which was a dominant understanding all through the 1945-1960 period.

The peasants, while defining themselves as political elements that had "resisted against the oppression" and brought the DP to the power, began to see themselves as above all of the groups in Turkey. During the single-party period, the peasants had thought that the "city dwellers" were favored by the government. During its opposition years the peasants had seen that the DP was mostly on their side. Because of that, they thought that this difference between the villagers and city dwellers would be lost as a manifestation of the difference between the DP and the RPP governments. However, when the economic difficulties began to affect the political preferences of the DP, this perspective would change. Especially in the distribution of sugar the government determined different ratios for the villages and cities. So, the peasants began to question the meaning of this decision. Two petitions can be presented as examples of this questioning as follows:

> Our dear Prime Minister Adnan Menderes. During the 1954 elections many posters hung in the coffeehouses, village rooms and public streets which said that the Democrat Party was the party of the villager, there was no difference between the villagers and the townsmen, the Democrat Party was at the service of the villager, but now 500 grams of sugar per head for a week is given to the townspeople, 200 grams of sugar per house for a month is given to us, the villagers. In addition, in the coffeehouses, the keeper of the shop, serves black coffee when he is unable to find any sugar from the black market. 200 grams of sugar per house for a month cannot meet the foodstuff; in addition to this it is clear that it will not be sufficient to brew coffee. We, the villagers, request that you [not] deprive us of this kind of foodstuff. We send our endless greetings and shake your hands.[339]
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> Although this situation has been told to the related offices a number of times, they have pretended not to hear. Some of them say that this is the condition of those that gave their votes to the DP. Did you ask us while

[339] *Düğrek köyünden Adil Yıldırım ve arkadaşlarının köylüye dağıtılan şekerin yetersiz olduğuna dair şikayetleri*. 16/2/1955, BCA, 30.01/112.707.13. "*Sayın başbakanımız adnan menderes. 1954 seçimlerinde demokrat parti köylü partisidir köylü ile şehirli arasında fark yoktur demokrat parti köylünün hizmetindedir diye kahvelere köy odalarına umumi caddelere afişler yapıştırılmışdı. Fakat şimdi ise şehir halkına nüfus başına haftada 500 gram şeker verilmekte biz köylülere ise ayda hane başına 200 gram şeker verilmektedir*."

> giving your votes and even some taunting words such as do the Villagers eat sugar. These rumors are told by the people. Are the villagers and townsmen not equal in their Citizenship rights? Poor villagers are giving 2.5-3 liras of travel fee from their 10-12 hours far villages to get 1 kilo of sugar. The townsmen are selling sugar ration cards for 70 piaster, due to having plenty of sugar. As a result we are buying 1 kilo of sugar for 515 piaster. We became obliged to report this situation to you our elders in order to prevent this misconduct.[340]

When the content of the demands is not considered, it is possible to see that their demanding style became more open and clear during this period. The peasants saw themselves as being an important component of the politics and due to that they could use a more "demanding" and "questioning" language towards the government which they had hesitated even to come across in the previous periods.

This transformation in the peasants' attitudes changed the general political discourse on peasants. Although the peasants had had an important place in the ideological foundation of the state discourse, they had not been actually visible in the previous period. During the period in question the peasants became visible in every side of the social structure and this was mostly due to their intervention to the political sphere.

This visibility of the peasants changed the ideological imagination during this period. During the single-party period the peasants had been defined in relation to the populist peasantist ideology.[341] After the Second World War period, this romanticist peasantist approach was replaced by another understanding, that was adaptable to the political and economic developments of the 1946-1960 period. The transition from

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[340] *Afyon'un Osmaniye köyünden Salih Demirbaş'ın şeker dağıtımında belediyenin yolsuzluğu olduğuna dair mektubu*. 22/2/1955, BCA, 30.01/112.707.15. "*Bu vaziyet alakadar eden makamlara defalarca söylendiği halde duymazlıktan geldikleri, bazıları da D.P.ye Rey verenlerin hali işte böyle olur Rey atarken bizemi sordunuz ve daha ileri giderek Köylüler şeker yirmi gibi alaylı sözler söylüyorlar. Halkın ağzında bu şayialar dolaşmaktadır. Şehirli ile Köylüler Vatandaşlık hakkında müsavi değilmidir? Zavallı Köylüler 1 Kilo şeker için 10-12 saatlık Köyünden 2,5-3 lira yol parası veriyor. Şehirlilerde Şeker bol olduğundan 70 Kuruşa şeker karnesi satıyorlar. Böylece 1 Kilo şekeri 515 Kuruşa almış oluyoruz. Bu kötü idarenin önüne geçilmesi için siz büyüklerimize vaziyeti bildirmek mecburiyetinde kaldık.*"

[341] See Karaömerlioğlu, *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta*.

single to multi-party system and the change in the economic policies towards a more outward-oriented and agriculture based production were the basic factors that affected the ideological definition of the peasants in this period. At the same time, the romanticist peasantist approach was associated with the totalitarian mentality of the Second World War period, which would be difficult to sustain in the ideological regeneration of the post-War period.

During the single-party period, efforts were made to hold the peasants under control due to their potential to create social disorder. With the depeasantization process the peasants were able to move to the cities, which deepened the class differentiations in the cities. Due to that, the single-party politics sought to keep the peasants in their villages and to educate and develop them where they lived. This perspective was still dominant at the beginning of this period and was accepted by the majority of groups that made up the Assembly. It is possible to pursue this continuity on the ideological perspective in the Assembly proceedings. For example, during the proceedings on the Law for the Distribution of Land, the Erzincan deputy, Şükrü Sökmensüer, stated the dominant general understanding on the peasantry as follows:

> In between our villages, which always have been the source of the clean Turkish blood that makes the majority of our population, there are many villages which groan under the ache and pain of landlessness and their injury is deep. Our great and revolutionary duty is to find and smear the healing ointment onto the injury of our citizens. To get them enough land and to have them possess their own homes are the ointment itself. By binding the landless people to the land we will increase the protection of this land on the one side and on the other side we will increase the homes that will give birth to much more children. So we will lay the strongest foundation for the more populated and secure future for what we long.[342]

[342] *TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, 17.5.1945, B: 56, O: 1, pp. 146–147. "*Nüfusumuzun büyük çokluğu olan temiz Türk kanına daima kaynaklık eden köylerimiz arasında topraksızlığın sızıları ve acıları arasında hala inim inim inliyenler pek çoktur ve yaraları derindir. Büyük ve inkilâpçı ödevimiz bu vatandaşların yaralarına onayıcı merhemi bulup sürmektir. Onları yeter toprağa ve kendine ait bir yuvaya sahip kılmak merhemin ta kendisidir. Topraksızları toprağa bağlamakla bu vatanın*

In order to maintain security in the general public, it is thought that the peasants should stay in their villages and be improved there. Efforts were made to strengthen the necessity of keeping the peasants in their villages by giving the examples of the opposite conditions. The Kütahya deputy, Besim Atalay, described the situation of the peasants that had migrated to the cities as follows:

> I know a village in Eskişehir. It is not Sunnite. There was a famine seven, eight years ago, they dispersed, and came here, too. They live near Samanpazarı, wake up in the morning. They, all women and children, scratch like the chicken at the back of the Harbiye School. We have to do whatever we can in order to endear being peasant to the peasants to make sure the peasants do not get rid of their peasantry.[343]

The DP opposition also accepted this dominant ideological discourse of the peasant definition. Although the DP members were ideologically close to this understanding, they always tried to stress that the "development of the peasantry" should be accepted as the primary factor in defining the peasants. The Eskişehir deputy, Hasan Polatkan, said the following during the budget discussions of the Ministry of Agriculture:

> The peasants are the majority in our population. Due to this, we should seek the foundation of the Turkish Nation in village. Our peasants, who are devoted to their lands with great love and took up arms by leaving their ploughs when the country was in danger, work hard day and night, they give some of their products as tax when necessary as has had happened during the passed war years, and some of their products to the Government for a price lower than the market. Different from the cities they pay village tax, they cannot escape from drudgery which is forced in the name of *imece* (collective work). As a result, they can only live from hand to mouth with dry bread. Here today, we are going to discuss the Budget of the Ministry of Agriculture, the administration that will look after this group and help their development. But it will be proper to reveal the small amount of money that has been left for the Ministry of

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koruyucularını bir taraftan çoğaltacağız ve bir taraftan da çok çocuk yapacak yuvaları artırarak özlediğimiz çok nüfuslu ve emniyetli bir istikbale en sağlam temeli atmış olacağız."

[343] *TBMM Tutanak Dergisi,* 1.6.1945, B: 67, O: 2, p. 46. "*Eskişehir'de bir köy tanırım. Sünni değildir. Bundan yedi sekiz sene evvel bir kıtlık olmuştu, dağılmışlar, buralara da gelmişlerdir. Samanpazarı civarlarında otururlar, Sabahleyin kalkarlar. Harbiye Okulunun arkasında kadın, çolukçocuk tavuk gibi eşelenirler. Hiçbir veçhile köylüyü köylülükten vazgeçirmemek için, köylüye köylülüğünü sevdirmek için elimizden gelen gayreti yapmalıyız."*

> Agriculture from the general budget that exceeds one billion 136 million liras. In a country in which the 81 percent of its population is peasant, if the money that is left for the Ministry of Agriculture is less than the money that is left for the General Directorate of Security, this is a real disappointing point.[344]

As was related in the previous chapters, the overall change in the economic policies transformed the rural structures during the 1945-1960 period. The dominant economic policy was shaped by the outward-oriented agriculture-based development understanding in this period. The abandonment of the previous period's inward-oriented industry-based economic approach brought the disintegration of the rural structures. Due to that, the "keep the peasants in their villages" approach of the single-party regime was not be proper for the newly chosen economic development of the post-War period. While the rural structure was transforming, it would be hard to keep the peasants in their villages and obstruct their migration to the cities. In order to obstruct the migration of the peasants, some severe political measurements had to be taken. The DP government could not apply such political tools to the peasants, because he did not dare to risk losing their support. Is is obvious that such measurements would end the support of the peasants, who were a necessity for the DP to continue its power.

The DP used the "developing peasantry" discourse during the period instead of the populist peasantist discourse of the single-party period. This discourse were also used against the RPP opposition often for criticizing the practices of the single-

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[344] *TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, 27.12.1946, B: 25, O: 1, p. 610. "*Nüfusumuzun büyük bir çoğunluğunu teşkil eden zümre çiftçidir. Onun için Türk Milletinin temelini köyde aramak lâzımdır. Toprağına büyük bir sevgi ile bağlı olan, vatan tehlikeye düştüğü zaman sapanını bırakarak silâha sarılan köylülerimiz gece gündüz çalışırlar, geçirilen harb yıllarında olduğu gibi mahsullerinden bir kısmını icabında vergi şeklinde, bir kısmını da piyasa fiyatından daha ucuz bir bedelli Hükümete verirler, şehirlerden farklı olarak köy salması öderler, imece namı altında angaryeden kurtulamazlar. Sonunda da yalnız kuru ekmekle karınlarını doyururlar. İşte bu zümre ile ilgilenecek ve onun kalkınmasına yardım edecek bir teşkilâtın, Tarım Bakanlığının Bütçesi bugün huzurunuza gelmiş bulunuyor. Fakat Umumi yekûnu bir milyar 136 milyon lirayı geçen bir bütçede Tarım Bakanlığına ayrılan paranın azlığını tebarüz ettirmek yerinde olur. Nüfusunun yüzde 81 i çiftçi olan bir memlekette Tarım Bakanlığına ayrılan para, Emniyet Umum Müdürlüğüne ayrılan paradan daha az olacak olursa bu, hakikaten üzülmeğe değer bir noktadır.*"

party period. This discourse was also used as propaganda material for gaining the support of the peasants when the DP was in power. A typical example of this discourse can be seen in the speech of Sadettin Karacabey, the deputy of Bursa, made during the budget discussions in 1956:

> My friends; I have spent three-fourths of my life in the village. In the previous times, we had to choose between the villages, the ones that we could eat its bread, the ones that we could sleep in its bed. But now, thanks to God, no matter which village you go, there is no need to choose, they are in good condition to give you food and bread to eat and a clean bed to sleep on. My friends by telling these we are not saying that the Turkish peasants are incredibly improved or gained every kind of material facilities and are living in wealth and happiness. We do not make such a claim. But our claim is this: Most of the Turkish peasants who were walking barefoot yesterday are wearing shoes today. (From the left side, the voices of, all of them, all of them) Yesterday, two people were coming together to buy a *köylü* (peasant) cigarette, but today any peasants can buy cigarettes at will. We no longer see the Turkish peasant woman and children waiting with egg baskets on their back. My friends, from time to time they say that the cost of living in this country has gotten higher. The price of butter, cheese and eggs and other goods that the peasants sell are increased. My friends from this time on, they will be a bit higher. Because in the past, 18 million peasants were working for the welfare of the ordinary citizen. Today they sell some of their production and eat some of them. They became the consumers of the product they sell. In this manner there will be no free butter, egg, as it was in the past.[345]

As can be seen in this speech, the peasants were defined with an understanding that accepted welfare as the most important factor. The increasing importance of welfare and development was related to the newly adopted economic

[345] *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 27.2.1956, I: 46, C:3, p. 1029. "*Arkadaşlar; ben ömrünün dörtte üçünü köyde geçirmiş bir insanım. Evvelce köylerde gezerek hangi köyün ekmeği, yemeği yenir, hangilerinin yatağında yatılır diye seçme yapmak mecburiyetini duyardık. Şimdi ise Allaha şükür hangi köye gitseniz tefrik yapmaya lüzum yok, size yiyecek ekmek ve yemek ve yatacak temiz bir yatak verecek durumdadırlar. Arkadaşlar bunları anlatmakla biz demiyoruz ki, Türk çiftçisi fevkalâde terakki etmiş, bütün maddi imkânları temin etmiş; bugün refah ve saadet içindedir. Böyle bir iddiamız yoktur. Yalnız iddiamız şudur: Dün birçok bölgelerde yalınayak olan Türk köylüsünün çoğu bugün ayakkabı giyiyor. (Soldan, hepsi, hepsi sesleri) Dün iki kişi bir araya gelip ancak bir köylü sigarası alırken bugün istiyen köylümüz istediği kadar sigara alabiliyor. Dün arkasında yumurta küfesiyle bekliyen Türk köylü kadınını ve çocuğunu bugün artık görmüyoruz. Arkadaşlar, zaman zaman diyorlar ki, bu memlekette hayat pahalılaşmıştır. Çiftçinin sattığı yağ, peynir ve yumurta ve diğer maddelerin fiyatları yükselmiştir. Arkadaşlar bundan sonra biraz yüksek olacaktır. Çünkü 18 milyon köylü, muayyen vatandaşın refahı için çalışıyordu. Bugün istihsalinin bir kısmını satıyor, bir kısmını yiyor. Kendi istihsal ettiği malın müstehliki olmuştur. Bu itibarla artık eskisi gibi bedava yağ, yumurta yoktur.*"

perception of the government. When the National Assembly Proceedings are explored, it is easy to see the change in the ideological discourse of the government. According to that, the romanticist peasantist ideology, which also could be seen in the first years of the period in question, was soon transformed into the development-based perception as such. After that time, the understanding to keep the peasants in their villages and to have them develop their cultural and economic living conditions in their own world would be changed to "wealthy" peasants who were integrated with the country as a whole. The "greatness" of the peasants would be measured not by their "cultural" values, but by the improvement degree of their "material conditions". Ahmet Tokuş, the DP Antalya deputy, defined the improved "living conditions" of the peasants during the 1957 budget proceedings as follows:

> I wonder, what is the meaning of improving the living conditions? I wonder, do the peasants eat better than before? They are eating better, they are clothed better. In the old times, not only the poor ones, but also the rich ones in the village only wore their shoes while going to the city and when they left the city they took the shoes off and held them in their hands. But now there is no peasant that does not have shoes. The peasants have radio, too; the peasants eat both American and Turkish wheat. … There are some villages that own radio receivers; some of them sometimes go to the city by jeep to the cinema. If our friend Mustafa Ekinci excuses me, our peasants do not live in miserable condition. This is injustice and its time has passed already. If you desire the living standards of the American peasantry, that does not exist even for the city dwellers of Europe. However, our future is clear, our Turkey is the candidate to be a second America and it will be. [346]

In defining the peasants, the most effective and dominant discourse was created with the concept of "rural/peasant development" during the DP years in power. The romanticist peasantist approach was abandoned not as a conscious

[346] *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 27.2.1957, I: 48, C:2, pp. 1048–1049. "*Hayat standardını yükseltmek acaba ne demektir? Acaba köylü daha iyi yemiyor mu? Daha iyi yiyor, daha iyi giyiyor. Eskiden değil fakirler, bir köyün zenginleri dahi şehre giderken ayakkabılarını giyer, şehirden çıkınca ayaklarından onları çıkarırlar, ellerine alırlardı. Şimdi ayakkabısız köylü yoktur. Köylünün radyosu vardır, köylü Amerikan buğdayını da Türk buğdayını da yemektedir. … Öyle köyler vardır ki, radyosu vardır; bâzen jipine binerek şehre sinemaya bile gelenler mevcuttur. Mustafa Ekinci arkadaşımız beni mâzur görsünler köylümüzün acınacak durumu yoktur. Bu haksızlıktır ve bu zaman da çoktan geçmiştir. Arzu ettiğiniz Amerikan köylüsü hayat seviyesi ise bu Avrupa'nın şehirlisinde bile yoktur. Mamafih istikbalimiz açıktır, Türkiye'miz ikinci bir Amerika olmaya namzettir ve olacaktır*."

political preference of the DP, but due to the preferred economic policies that were adopted during this period. The ideological attitudes of the old times were not very in the period when the migration to the cities increased. Every kind of political and cultural thought began to flow into the villages and the peasants had direct relations with the world outside of their villages. Due to that, the most important factor in leaving the romanticist peasantist approach was not the change in the political preferences of the politicians, but that it was no longer functional for the new era. As will be shown when analyzing the relation of the peasants to anti-communist thoughts in the following sections, the peasants continued to be defined with a discourse similar to that of the romanticist peasantist approach. But the function of the peasants in the state's ideological foundation changed.

Kemal Karpat writes that the peasants expressed their belief that the city dwellers had lived comfortably on the backs of the peasants as a result of the economic preferences of the government during the previous twenty years; from that time on, they wanted to live in comfort. As the reflection of this attitude, the peasants became more interested in politics and they did not hesitate to express their thoughts on the current political problems.[347] Their economic development provided them with a more independent political movement capacity. In this way, the development gave way to an increase in the level of interest of the peasants in politics.

As is shown in this section, the peasants created more direct relations with the government during the years that the DP was in power. In the creation of this relation, the economic development of the peasants had a direct effect. More important than that, the "rights-demanding" perception that the peasants had gained during the opposition years of the DP continued in this period as well. They

[347] Karpat, "Social Effects," pp. 97, 99.

developed a new political approach based on demanding their reciprocal rights and the peasants even forced the government to remunerate in return, as their right for supporting the DP government. As has been shown by the examples above, the peasants were aware of their power, which had brought the DP to government or, in other words, which was capable of changing even the governments. Different from the previous periods, the peasants were promoted to a level in which they could raise their demands loudly by using this force. As their voice became that much louder, they had to be accepted as an undeniable "reality."

At the center of the politics, the ideological romanticist peasantist approach was replaced with the discourse of a "developing peasantry," which removed the peasants from the position of being only an ideological construction and manifested them as the basic element in the economic development. Against the opposition of the RPP, the DP showed that the lives of the peasants were improved during their government, and stressed the importance of the peasants in the economy. This newly created economic discourse brought the peasants up to a more "concrete" level, which they had never experienced before. In this way, they moved away from being an ideologically imagined entity and were defined as more tangible, concrete, visible and a "real" element that had direct effects on the whole social sphere.

In the next section how political activity was spatially organized in the villages will be discussed by analyzing the role of the coffeehouses. Thus, after analyzing the overall transforming effect of the peasants on politics, how the politics transformed the villages will be seen.

The Village Coffeehouse as a Political Space

With the transition to the multi-party system villages became acquainted with politics. This changed not only the relations with the political center, but also the spatial organization in the villages. The most repeated complaint at the end of the DP period and after the coup was the separation of the coffeehouses and even the mosques between rival parties as a result of the spread of politics in the villages. The National Unity Committee (NUC) publishes a series of brochures after the 27 May 1960 coup to create legitimacy for itself to the public and to explain the pretexts of the coup to the people. The first of these brochures was *Köy Kahvesinde 27 Mayıs* (27 May in the Village Coffeehouse).[348] This brochure presents the political pretexts of the coup to the villagers. This publication proves that the peasants were accepted as important components of the political process and they needed to be persuaded and won over in the new political conditions.

This spatial differentiation in the villages that occurred after the entrance of politics to the villages was the main discourse in criticizing the DP period as a whole in later years. As for the ideological view that had realized the coup, the political practices of the DP had brought "enmity" to the village, which was accepted as an "indivisible entity". Although this discourse is applicable to the period after the coup, it must be noted that this change in the villages did not occur only as a result of the

[348] M.B.K. 27 Mayıs İnkılabını Yayma ve Tanıtma Komisyonu, *Köy Kahvesinde 27 Mayıs* (Ankara: DSİ Matbaası, 1961). The titles of other books that were published in this series were as follows: *Hak ve vazife yolunda köylülerimizle başbaşa* [Together With Our Peasants On the Way of the Rights and Duty]; *Köylülerimiz ve anayasa* [Our Peasants and the Constitution]; *Anayasa yarenliği* [Friendly Chat on the Constitution]; *Anayasa konusunda köylü kardeşlerle sohbet* [Conversation with peasant friends on the Constitution]; *Okullarda 27 Mayıs* [27 May at the Schools]; *Yeni anayasamızın hukuki esasları* [Juridical Principals of our new Constitution]; *Türk basınında 27 Mayıs* [27 May in the Turkish Press]; *Çalışma konuları yönünden yeni anayasa* [New Constitution on the Labor Issues]. As can be seen from the titles, these brochures mostly dealt with giving information to the peasants on the new changing conditions of politics. It is apparent that, the NUC accepted and was aware of the power of the peasants that was created and acknowledged in the 1945-1960 period and tried to affect on the political perception of the peasants.

DP's political practices. It may be accepted as a "natural" result of the politics in the villages. The separation of the coffeehouses between the people supporting different political perspectives represents the political manifestation of the people's political choices. In short, this situation may be defined as politics in itself. For example, the separation of the mosques between the RPP and DP supporters can also be understood as the manifestation of the DP supporters' protest against the policies of the RPP period on religious practices. The DP supporters may have protested against the RPP supporters by separating "their" places from that of the "others." The report of RPP Bursa inspector and Kars deputy Şerafettin Karacan, dated 8 January 1949, is an example of the "protest" character of this spatial differentiation:

> It has been heard that in some villages the democrat villagers can develop some hostile attitudes, which would never fit to the requirements of citizenship, against our party members, such as not allowing ours to enter their coffeehouses, pasturing their animals separately from the general herd of the village, etc. It has been heard that they practice some regretful behaviors, which also make us painfully think on the future of the country. Is it possible for a real patriot not to feel sorrow about this lamentable scene of a Turkish village in which its people sit in different coffeehouses, its animals pasture in two different herds with the protection of the shepherds of their own party. The democrats who heard our grieving, instead of trying to find solutions to this degenerate flow of partisanship, which gave birth to enmity between the citizens, almost seemed to be pleased by this situation and did not hesitate to say that "You are responsible for this too. You sow the wind, praise be that you are reaping the whirlwind."[349]

[349] *Bursa Mebusları'nın teftiş raporlarının bürolara gönderildiği.* 21/9/1950, BCA, 490.01/633.87.1. "*Bazı köylerde, demokrat olmuş köylülerin, partililerimize karşı, yurtdaşlık icaplarına aslâ yakışmıyacak hasmâne durumlar aldıkları, meselâ bizimkileri kahvehanelerine sokmamak, hayvanlarını köyün umumî sürüsünden ayırarak ayrı otlatmak... ilâh. gibi esef edilecek ve hattâ memleketin âtisi bakımından acı acı düşündürecek hareketlere tevessül ettikleri işitilmektedir. Halkı ayrı kahvehanelerde oturan, hayvanları kendi partilerinden çobanların muhafazasında iki sürü halinde otlayan bir Türk köyünün bu yürekler acısı manzarası karşısında hakikî bir yurtseverin elem duymaması mümkün değildir. Bu ıztırabımızı duyan demokratlar, particiliğin yurtdaşlar arasında düşmanlık doğuran bu müstereddi akışına bizimle beraber çare arayacakları yerde bu durumdan âdetâ memnun görünerek (Bunun da mes'ulu sizsiniz. Rüzgâr ektiniz, şükredin ki yine rüzgâr biçiyorsunuz.) demekten geri kalmıyorlar.*"

As the coffeehouses can be defined as being places of this kind of protesting, during this period they developed mostly as alternative political places in which the opposition organized itself.

Süheyl Ünver points to this political segregation in the development of the village coffeehouses by saying that "many written or oral sources are accumulated on the coffeehouses in which old class differences in Anatolia became like Party differences."[350] He, however, does not exactly define these sources. Although the statement on the separation of the coffeehouses is repeated frequently, it is not possible to find much evidence on the political functions of the coffeehouses in this period. In this section, the coffeehouses will be presented as political spaces in the village in relation to the DP's political approach to organize in the villages. In order to understand the meaning of the coffeehouses in the villages some local sources will be analyzed and how the political meaning of the coffeehouses is defined in these sources will be shown. However before all of this, some preliminary information on the development of coffeehouses is necessary.

Coffeehouses, as social gathering centers, soon after the foundation of its first examples in the Ottoman Empire,[351] spread to Europe and then the rest of the world from the Ottoman Empire .[352] The main reason for the rapid spread of the coffeehouses lay in the characteristics of these places. Coffeehouses are an alternative to any other public place in which especially men can gather easily and talk. First of all, coffeehouses were different from any state owned public places as

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[350] Süheyl Ünver, "Türkiye'de Kahve ve Kahvehaneler," *Türk Etnografya Dergisi*, no. 5 (1962), p. 81. "*kahvehanelerimizin de Anadolu'daki eski sınıf farklarını Parti ayrılıkları haline getirdiğine dair yazılı ve sözlü birçok sermaye birikmiştir*"

[351] It is told that the first coffehouse was opened in İstanbul/Tahtakale in the years between 1553–1554 by two people named as Hakem from Aleppo and Şems from Damascus. Talat Mümtaz Yaman, "Türkiye'de Kahve ve Kahvehaneler," *Karacadağ (Diyarbakır Halkevi Mecmuası)* 5, no. 53 (September 1945), p. 671; Ünver, "Türkiye'de," p. 44.

[352] The first examples of the coffeehouse in Europe were seen in Venice and Marseille in 1645, nearly a hundred years later than in the Ottoman Empire. Ulla Heise, *Kahve ve Kahvehane* (İstanbul: Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, 2001), p. 111.

being private initiatives. As they were not under the direct control of state, the people who frequent them can behave more freely. Coffeehouses were also different from other private-owned public places such as taverns and pubs in which people mostly drink alcoholic beverages. In coffeehouses, people drink hot drinks which were less expensive and communicate with each other more easily due to being awake. They were also acceptable places by Islamic standards. As a result, it is asserted that, the coffeehouses were places that were mostly preferred by the poor sections in the Islamic societies. In the Ottoman Empire, the alternatives to the coffeehouses were taverns, *bozahane*[353] and *hamam* (steam baths). Due to their distinctive character, the baths were mostly preferred not by men but women as gathering places. The taverns could not hold the place of the coffeehouses, because of the prohibition on alcohol in Islamic societies most of the people did not prefer, or hesitated to go to these places for gathering. Except from these places, the most important place for men was the mosques, especially during the month of Ramadan and Fridays.[354] However, the religious characteristic of this place did not allow free gatherings and interaction. For these reasons, coffeehouses were widely accepted in both western and eastern countries as being places in which people could gather in contentment, communicate with each other and at the same time drink a beverage that was religiously and morally proper.

The coffeehouses also were places of social communication and information. All kinds of people frequented the coffeehouses. Due to this, information from different sources could be gathered and communication between different people was facilitated. Especially in the European examples, many local and foreign newspapers

[353] *Bozahane* was a place in which *boza*, a kind of traditional Turkish beverage made of slightly fermented millet, was sold.
[354] Ralph S. Hattox, *Kahve ve Kahvehane-Bir Toplumsal İçeceğin Yakındoğu'daki Kökenleri* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), pp. 107-111.

could be read for free in the big coffeehouses. In 1887, 6500 newspapers were being published in Germany alone and many of them were made available in coffeehouses.[355] Without the mediation of the coffeehouses most of the people had no access to these newspapers. Due to lower rates of literacy the effects of the reading practices in the coffeehouses were different during the Ottoman period. The delayed development and state-controlled characteristics of the newspaper publication meant that communication via newspapers was less than in Europe in the Ottoman period. For of all these reasons, the coffeehouses of the Eastern countries developed another characteristic. While regional and state-based information was traded between the people that came to the coffeehouses from the different parts of the country, literate men read books out loud or the elders of the region told folk tales and epic stories to all of the people in the coffeehouse. As in the words of Enver Naci Gökşen:

> …these people bring their hand-written books on the anonymous subjects of their times in their pockets and climb to a higher place and read. This behavior, when the literate people were fewer and printing was not known, was as important as the radio of today at that time. It is supposed to be those times that the coffeehouses began to be called '*kıraathane*' (reading house).[356]

With the entrance of the radio to the coffeehouses, this communication aspect of the place grew more intensive. Access to radios was limited to public places due to expense in the single-party period. Soon after, the radio become an indispensible appliance of coffeehouses, to much an extent that they were associated with it. Especially, for the countries in which written media was not that much developed

[355] Heise, *Kahve ve Kahvehane*, p. 149.
[356] Enver Naci Gökşen, "Kahvehaneler Nasıl Kuruldu ve Ne Oldu?," *Yeni Adam* 12, no. 460 (21.10.1943), p. 9. "*bunlar zamanın anonim konularile yazılmış el yazması hikaye kitaplarını ceplerinde kahveye getirirler ve yüksekçe bir yere çıkarak okurlardı. Okur yazarın pek az bulunduğu, matbaasının bilinmediği devirlerde bu hareket, o zaman, bugünkü radyo kadar önemliydi. Kahvehanelere 'kıraathane' denilmesi bu çağlara rastlansa gerektir.*"

such as Turkey, the importance of the coffeehouses grew bigger as the place of communication.

Coffeehouses also developed as places of business and patronage relations. With the transition to the multi-party system in Turkey, patronage relations between various economic groups began to be held in the coffeehouses.[357] Also, in Europe, with the development of the coffeehouses business relations began to be executed in the coffeehouses instead of the taverns and pubs, which had been the favored business places before the coffeehouses.[358]

With the increase in the number of the coffeehouses, the increasing levels of communication and the gathering of the people was watched by the state authorities, both in Europe and the Ottoman Empire. The coffeehouses began to be prohibited on pretexts of a similar nature in both regions. The main reason of the prohibition of the coffeehouses by the state during the Ottoman period was, as Hattox says, "their potential to transform to a forum, a political 'club', in which the people got the news of and express their complaints and opinions about the state related business; the ones that had common discontent against the order could organize a common activity with the help of this potential".[359] Heise, also, states a similar reason for the prohibition of the coffeehouses in Europe: "The coffeehouses were shut down … due to the reasons of being 'the home of the rebellion' and as being the places in which the ones that prepared conspiracy met and the ones that threatened the public order gathered".[360] Some of the emperors that cared about public control, such as

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[357] Kıray, "Değişen Patronaj," p. 295.
[358] Steve Pincus, ""Coffee Politicians Does Create": Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture," *Journal of Modern History* 67, no. 4 (Dec., 1995), p. 818.
[359] Hattox, *Kahve Ve Kahvehane*, p. 90. "*halkın devletle ilgili haber, görüş ve yakınmalarını açığa vurduğu bir forum, siyasal bir 'kulüp'e dönüşme potansiyeli taşıma(larıydı); düzene karşı ortak bir hoşnutsuzluğu olanlar bu potansiyele dayanarak ortak bir eyleme girişebilirlerdi.*"
[360] Heise, *Kahve ce Kahvehane*, p. 137. "*Kahvehaneler 'isyan yuvaları', komplolar düzenleyen kişilerin buluştukları, kamu düzeninin tehdit eden kişilerin toplandıkları yerler oldukları gerekçesiyle …. kapanmak zorunda kalmıştır.*"

Abdülhamit II, tried to bring these places under their control, instead of prohibiting the coffeehouses. They regularly sent their spies to the coffeehouses to gather information about the issues talked about inside the places, and about any activities against their power and later arrested the people.[361]

The development of the coffeehouses during the single-party period was very limited. The main reason was that every kind of space other than the private ones during the single-party period was accepted as being identical with the political space and as a result was accepted as being within the limits of state's authority, especially in the countryside.[362] The elites of the Republic considered the public sphere as a tool for the creation of the new citizen type. They worked to establish new spaces, especially to shape the rural population, such as People's Houses and Rooms, and Village Institutes. Although there were some other free spaces for townsmen in the cities, most of the places in the countryside were controlled by the local powers, which had organic relation with the state, which did not allow the chance for the peasants to gather freely. This lack of places in the countryside would also effect on the political attitudes of the peasants. These state-controlled spaces were designed as the places to put into practice the central project of modernization in the countryside and were seen by the peasants as the symbols or the agents of the modernization practices. The village headman or *ağa*, who was accepted as the agents of the modernization in the villages, gained new legitimate spaces with the establishment of these state-controlled places. The administrators of these places, which were also founded as the provincial organs of the RPP, would act as the agents of the modernization practices.[363]

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[361] See Cengiz Kırlı, "Kahvehaneler ve Hafiyeler: 19. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Osmanlı'da Sosyal Kontrol," *Toplum ve Bilim* 83 (Kış 1999/2000).
[362] Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar*, p. 194.
[363] Esat Öz, *Tek Parti Yönetimi ve Siyasal Katılım* (Ankara: Gündoğan Yayınları, 1992), p. 29.

The coffeehouses spread throughout the country during the Republican period with respect to the Ottoman period. The administrators, who had a clear understanding on the importance of these places in social life, developed some projects to take these places under their control as they did the other public spaces. Some of them even recommended the nationalization of the administration of the coffeehouses.[364]

The development of the coffeehouses in the villages occurred in the late Republican period. The economic welfare of the peasants was not enough to support the existence of such places financially. The financial accumulation of the peasants was not enough to spend money for a drink outside of their houses, until the change in the economic circumstances in the post-War period, by which the peasants would get richer. Until the 1950's the village coffeehouses were limited in number, but their numbers increased afterwards. Other places in villages that necessitate an increase in economic welfare, such as groceries or bakeries, would be established during this period. Although this development in the villages can be accepted as an important aspect of the economic transformation, the social and political role of the village coffeehouses has not been analyzed, except for in one article published in 1970.[365]

In a survey prepared by the State Institute for Statistics in 1945 that included all of the villages in Turkey, the number of the villages which had no kind of gathering place was 53.4 percent of the total number of villages. Coffeehouses, village rooms and people's rooms are included in this number. Only 4,447 of the total 34,063 villages had coffeehouses; this makes the 12.5% of the total number of

[364] "Anketlerimiz-Ankara'da Kahvecilik-Kahvelerin Sosyal Yaşayışta Büyük Yeri Vardır-Bunlardan Nasıl Faydalanabiliriz?", *Ulus*, 25 Sonkanun 1935. A recent research conducted by Serdar Öztürk gives a primilimary and detalied analysis of the coffeehouses during the single-party period. The analysis of Öztürk mostly focuses on the control and inspection process of the coffeehouses by the single-party power. Serdar Öztürk, *Cumhuriyet Türkiyesinde Kahvehane ve İktidar (1930-1945)* (İstanbul: Kırmızı Yayınları, 2006).

[365] Brian W. Beeley, "The Turkish Village Coffeehouse as a Social Institution," *The Geographical Review* 60, no. 4 (October 1970).

villages.[366] As can be understood from these statistics, in 1945, the places in which peasants could gather were few. When the places that were under the control of the state and local authorities are discarded, the non-existence of gathering places for the peasants in the villages can be seen clearly. Some of these coffeehouses also may have been places under the control of the local landlords or village headmen. Considering this factor, the situation might have been even worse than before.

In 1960, the State Institute for Statistics prepared another village survey for the purpose of comparison with the 1945 survey. The increase in the number of gathering places is clear. In 1960, the number of the villages that had no gathering places decreased to 42.2%. Then, it can be asserted that the increase in the number of the establishment of new gathering places in the villages was 11.2% during the previous fifteen years. This increase was mostly due to the development of coffeehouses in the villages. In 1960, the total number of villages that had a coffeehouse increased 16.8%, making 29.3% of all villages in the country. At the end of the period, 10,370 villages of the total 35,121 villages in the country owned at least one coffeehouse.[367]

Regional differences were also important in the development of the coffeehouses in the villages. The main difference was between the eastern provinces, in which regional power relations were dominant and western provinces, in which the peasants could behave more freely due to their economic independence. The eastern *ağa*, as the leader of the provincial power relations, organized all kinds of communication and establishment of organizations under his control. With respect to the western villagers, the dominance of the *ağa* in the eastern provinces was very high and as a result of this situation the center of communication was the "room of

[366] *1945 Köyler İstatistiği*, (Ankara: D.İ.E., 1948), pp. 122-123.
[367] *Köyler İstatistiği-1960 Anket Sonuçları*, (Ankara: D.İ.E., 1963), p. 35.

the *ağa*". The development of the coffeehouses in this kind of village was late due to this dominance of the provincial powers. The room of the *ağa* could sometimes be the village room or the village guest room, but most of the time it was the branch of the party in power. With this room, the *ağa*s were able to establish direct relations with the party in power. As a result of this situation, the *ağa*s were able to detect all of the information that would effect on the peasants.[368] It can be asserted that it was not possible to establish coffeehouses in the eastern part of the country during this period. In the 1945 survey, the results are also presented on the provincial basis. The survey distinguishes nine different regions and gives detailed information on the existence of public places in every region.

The survey results also support the above mentioned difference between the eastern and western provinces. Accordingly, in 3,948 villages of the sixth region, which contains cities such as Bingöl, Muş, Bitlis, Van, Hakkari, Siirt, Mardin, Diyarbakır and Urfa, there are only 32 coffeehouses. This result shows that, the percentage of the coffeehouses in that region is only 0.8%. When we look for the results in the third region, which contains cities such as Bursa, Kocaeli, İstanbul, Tekirdağ, Kırklareli and Edirne, there are coffeehouses in 1,272 of the total 2,436 villages, which was the 53% of the villages in that region.[369] In the 1960 survey, there is no such classification. However, when we calculate the results of the same cities as they existed in the 1946 classification, it is possible to see an increase in the number of the gathering places of the peasants. While 5% of the cities in the first region, which contains Ankara, Kırşehir, Yozgat, Çorum, Çankırı, Bolu, Eskişehir, Bilecik and Kütahya, are listed as having one or more coffeehouse in their villages in the 1945 survey, the ratio increases to 20.5% in the 1960 survey.

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[368] İsmail Beşikçi, *Doğu Anadolu'nun Düzeni (Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Etnik Temelleri)* (İstanbul: E Yayınları, 1970), p. 327.
[369] *1945 Köyler İstatistiği*, pp. 80-90.

In order to understand the regional differences, a closer analysis of Hakkari province as an example will be meaningful. When the statistical results of the two surveys are investigated the limited development in the gathering places can be seen. In the 1945 survey, Hakkari had only one People's or Village Room between the 110 villages that were connected to it. When we compare the results with the 1960 survey, there was a coffeehouse in only 5 of 131 villages of Hakkari; in addition to that only 9 of them had a village room.[370] As can be seen from these statistics, while the number of gathering places increased in the western part of the country during this period, the eastern provinces could not achieve the same rate of development due to the obstructions of both the provincial power relations and lack of economic welfare. The increase in the welfare degree of the peasants did not happen independently from the previous period's power relations. The western provinces of the country had taken the advantage of economic development in the previous periods too, but the eastern cities had not. The economic development in this period was carried out between the provincial and central power relations and the peasants as a direct relation in the western regions. However, the provincial powers, which were dominant in the eastern regions, seized the surplus created by the economic development and prevented the peasants from living in different social and economic conditions than the previous years. This relation type between the provincial powers and the peasants obstructed the development of the coffeehouses, as free gathering places, in the villages of the eastern provinces.

The most important fact underlying the effect on the organization of the coffeehouses as free alternative political places lay in their specific character of being private enterprises. As mentioned before, these places differed from the other

[370] *Köyler İstatistiği-1960*, p. 34.

kind of political places in Republican history as being founded autonomously from the state and accepted as private initiatives. During the 27-year long single-party regime the non-existence of places in which the peasants could gather without the intervention of the central political elements obstructed the development and the organization of opposition in the villages. During the transition to the multi-party system, the opposition made itself a place in especially economically developed villages and its party branches were first founded in the coffeehouses in these villages. During the process of the organization of the opposition in the villages, while the coffeehouses were transformed into party branches in the villages, the new party branches would be opened also as coffeehouses. The necessity of the common political space during the development of the political opposition was overcome with this transformation of the coffeehouses into party branches in the first years of the opposition movement.

The village coffeehouses also had an important role in redefining the social order. In the use of the village or guest rooms the strict hierarchical traditions continued. The younger and more radical people sometimes found them unacceptable. The coffeehouses solved this problem. The young people also gained a new place for their gatherings which are freed from the social control of the village traditions. The political preferences of the young generation of peasants mostly supported the opposition. For that reason, the development of the coffeehouses in the villages gave both to the opposition and to the young generation peasants a political place to gather freely. It may be asserted that in this way the social order in the villages was reshaped by the coffeehouses with the effect of the political opposition.[371]

[371] Beeley, "Village Coffeehouse," p. 481.

As stated by Kerem Ünüvar, "the aspect that gives birth to public sphere is the self-legitimatization and self-exposition of the opposition that objects to the creation of unique and holistic establishments by the privileged few."[372] According to that, every kind of communication tool that had been controlled by the *ağa* or the village headmen before and had been gained as a privilege of being in power, was presented to the others in a limited way. When the opposition did occur, the political struggle reflected on the historical enmities and class differences. As a result of this newly created political atmosphere, the previously delimited public places would be gained back. The opposition would create its own tools to struggle against the old power relations. This separation of the coffeehouses between the different parties was a symbolic manifestation of this struggle. In the western villages, the coffeehouses were used as party branches and helped to the spread of the oppositional thoughts by creating a communication space in which every kind of information was gathered. With the effect of the new oppositional media, these places were the public spheres of active political interaction between the peasants. This interaction was articulated with the DP's political training campaigns, by which the peasants gained political consciousness and information on the voting process. These coffeehouses and party branches in the villages were used as "party education schools" for all of the supporters of the opposition. In the previous period, the people had not been that much involved in politics. Due to that, the DP had to educate the people, especially the villagers, on how to use their political rights. As a result, it can be asserted that, one of the important agents that would end the 27-years old single-party regime by elections in a mostly peasant society would be the coffeehouses and

[372] Kerem Ünüvar, "Osmanlı'da Bir Kamusal Mekan: Kahvehaneler," *Doğu Batı* 2, no. 5 (November-December-January, 1998-1999), pp. 189.

the consciousness-giving policies of the DP with organizing the opposition in the coffeehouses by using this alternative political space, a "party-school."

The political education role of the DP, by which the peasants learned about and practiced the voting process, was discussed above. During this process, the local and central administrators of the party defined the most suitable place for this kind of education as the party *ocak* (hearth) organizations. These branches could be founded in every small district or neighborhood. With these branches the people that supported a certain political perspective could participate more actively in politics. In addition, as communication centers, these branches were used as the consciousness-giving places for the parties during the period. İhsan Yurdoğlu, one of the most important local leaders of the DP, defines how the *ocak* (hearth) organizations will be used in the local politics as follows:

> THE *OCAKS* ARE THE CRADLES AND THE WATCHMEN OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM... It means nothing if the most ideal general committee or the provincial administrative committee do not depend on the strength, existence, emotion and dynamic actions of the *ocaks* in the democratic system. The *ocaks* resemble the boiler room of a ship. If a ship cannot produce steam, even the most powerful command or conducting committee cannot get that ship to float. For that case, we had to intensify our center of heaviness- on the *ocaks* and in the revival of these places. The people should come continually to these places, like believers going to the temple.[373]

As can be understood from these words, according to the policy of the DP, which can be called "the politics of *ocak*s," the most important goal was to establish a gathering place for its supporters and to make the people adopt the importance of

[373] Yurdoğlu, *C.H.P.'Nin Oyunları*, p. 52. "*OCAKLAR HÜRRİYET VE DEMOKRASİNİN BEŞİĞİ VE NÖBETÇİSİDİR... En ideal bir genel kurul, yahut vilayet idare heyeti demokrasi sisteminde ocakların kuvvetine, varlığına, heyecanına ve dinamik faaliyetine dayanmazsa hiçten ibarettir. Ocak bir geminin kazan dairesine benzer. Bir gemi istim tutmazsa, o gemiyi dünyanın en iktidarlı bir kumanda ve sevk ve idare heyeti dahi yürütemez. Bunun için bütün sıklet merkezimizi ocaklarımızda ve buraların canlandırılmasında teksif etmeliyiz. Halk buralara mabede giden bir mümin gibi devam etmelidir.*"

these places. After the creation of such places, the political consciousness that would be given was considered in detail by the same administrators as follows:

> For now our most important step to achieve is to assemble and talk about the political cases in the hearth, subdistrict and districts and to increase the intensity of the struggle against the People's Party. Prior to everything, we should tell the people and the villagers that the People's Party is the foremost enemy of democracy, the people and justice; we should tell them that a minority oligarchy that has usurped human rights and political freedom governs the country with the assistance of the armed forces, and convince them that they wanted to use the real masters of the country, the people and the villagers, as slaves and captives, and a struggle of a matter of life and death is taking place between them. The scope and the true nature of the case should be explained to the people and the villagers should be told that the war going on today is directly their own case.[374]

This "politics of *ocak*s," which was clearly stated in the words above, shows how the political consciousness was given to the people in the struggle against the RPP government and what kind of discourse was used during this process. Especially with the distinctive stress on the peasants struggle against the government, the DP practices tried to convince the peasants that this struggle was nothing but their struggle to survive and become free. This discourse can be accepted as the main starting point in the creation of the political base for the resistance against the RPP government. The widespread foundation of coffeehouses in the villages can be evaluated within this framework. The coffeehouses also acted as party branches in the villages. In this respect, they cannot be thought of apart from the "politics of *ocak*s" of the DP. All of the functions that were defined for the party *ocak*s were also the functions of the village coffeehouses. In most of the villages, the party organizations were held in the coffeehouses or the coffeehouses were all kinds of

[374] Ibid., pp. 46-47. "*Şimdilik en ehemmiyetli tedbirimiz ocaklarda, bucak ve ilçelerde toplanarak siyasi davaları görüşmek ve Halk Partisine karşı mücadeleyi şiddetlendirmektir. Her şeyden evvel halka ve köylüye Halk Partisinin bir numaralı demokrasi, halk ve hak düşmanı olduğunu; insan haklarını ve siyasi hürriyetleri gasbeden küçük bir zümrenin milleti ve memleketi silahlı kuvvete dayanarak idare ettiğini anlatmak ve memleketin hakiki efendisi olan halk ve köylünün köle ve esir gibi kullanılmak istendiğini ve halk ile zümre arasında ölüm kalım mücadelesi cereyan ettiğini onlara telkin etmek lazımdır. Halka ve köylüye davanın şümulü ve mahiyeti izah edilmeli, bugünkü savaşın doğrudan doğruya kendilerine ait bir dava olduğu anlatılmalıdır.*"

party branches in the villages. Within this framework, the development of the coffeehouses in the villages, as alternative political spaces, functioned as a tool to develop the political consciousness of the peasants, by which the DP rose to the power.

In the newspaper *Demokrat Afyon*, which was published to support the DP in Afyon province, some of the articles mention this kind of use of the coffeehouses. In this newspaper, articles written under the title of "The Council in the Coffeehouse," all of the kinds of propaganda techniques that Yurdoğlu mentions were used. In the political dialogues under this title, the discussions were held in order to give the citizens a consciousness on the voting process. Some of the discussions that took part under that title can be summarized as follows: To persuade the people not to believe RPP propaganda such as "if you do not give your vote to us, uneasy days are waiting for you," spreading the conscious reply: "there is now law and justice that will obstruct these lawless efforts" and free the mind of the DP supporter peasants from the fear of the hegemonic power of the RPP government;[375] to make the people not demand the practices of the RPP, such as giving money to the ones that would vote for the RPP during the elections, by saying that to accept that kind of money was dishonest, impudent and cheated the people of their rights;[376] to reveal the situation of the people, which was the result of the oppression of the government to the people supporting the opposition, by saying that the DP members had been exposed to pressure and beatings from the police and gendarmerie;[377] to attract the attention of the people by telling the unlawful actions of the prominent RPP members of the region;[378] and to assert that the deputies were living in good conditions and only

[375] "Kahvede Konsey," *Demokrat Afyon*, 2 April 1947.
[376] "Kahvede Konsey," *Demokrat Afyon*, 2 April 1947-7 May 1947.
[377] "Kahvede Konsey," *Demokrat Afyon*, 7 May 1947-1 October 1947.
[378] "Kahvede Konsey," *Demokrat Afyon*, 5 November 1947.

thought of themselves, while the people lived in poverty, by criticizing the increase in salary that the deputies voted to themselves.[379]

All of these titles give us some hint about what topics were discussed in the village coffeehouses. In the end, all of these statements were part of the propaganda discourse of a provincial oppositional newspaper. However, the important point here is that the consciousness-giving campaigns that the DP carried out through its *ocak* branches continued similarly at the local level and this discourse was mostly expressed within the framework of the village coffeehouse form.

Another consciousness-giving practice that is seen in that newspaper appears under the title of "Fireside Chats." In these articles, someone outside of the village visits a village coffeehouse and talks with the people gathered around the fireplace. They mostly talk on the elections and practices of "democracy." The importance of the elections of *ocak* and district party branches was stressed by saying "Yes Tahir Aga. Democracy begins with you."[380] As can be understood, this discourse is coherent with the general policy of the party and in this way a general understanding of being an active agent of politics was given to the peasants. The main goal of the discourse was to give the political knowledge of the gaining of government power to the peasants, who had never been involved with politics before. A typical example of this discourse is: "The Democrats will not win the elections. The sovereignty of the people will win."[381]

After the 27 May coup, the *ocak* organizations of the political parties were prohibited. After that time, there were no such organizations in the villages and neighborhoods. This decision of prohibition can be evaluated as the result of being

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[379] "Kahvede Konsey," *Demokrat Afyon*, 31 December 1947.
[380] "Ocakbaşı Sohbetleri," *Demokrat Afyon*, 2 April 1947. "*Evet Tahir Aga. Demokrasi sizden başlar*"
[381] "Ocakbaşı Sohbetleri," *Demokrat Afyon*, 7 January 1948. "*Seçimi Demokrat kazanmayacak. Ahalinin hakimiyeti kazanacak.*"

anxious about the politicization of the peasants during this period. This prohibition was supported by the RPP administration, which had failed to organize in the villages during these years, and by the widespread post-coup discourse, which said that politics had separated even the coffeehouses of the peasants in the villages. This prohibition also shows how politics was perceived by some political circles. The general understanding of defining politics as an elite-based business and asserting that politics can only bring disorder to the villages or among the uneducated ones would create this discourse on the village coffeehouses. This political perception also defines the village as a unified and undistinguishable body. The entrance of politics to this "glorified" body could only bring chaos and disorder. However, as was stated above, the disorder that the politics had created in the villages was not as a result of the entrance of politics to the countryside. The multi-party politics only accelerated the visibility of the previously created but hidden social and economic problems and relations that existed in the rural structures. The multi-party politics made them only more visible and disturbing.

The non-availability of the existing place and tools of the government in power necessitated the creation of new places and to allow the political opposition to spread its political perspective to the masses. The most important one of these places was development of the coffeehouses in the villages in relation with the *ocak* policy of the DP. The coffeehouses were one of the most important places for political practices in the period under discussion. Efforts were made to prohibit them or take them under control at different times, and this shows the importance of the political functions of these places. In the 1945-1960 period, the coffeehouses would be spread throughout the country with the effect of economic development and the increase in the welfare of the peasants. This increase in the number of coffeehouses would give

the DP opposition a new political place in which to organize in and to spread its political thoughts. As a result, the center of the politics in the villages moved to an alternative place, by removing itself from the state-controlled spaces. The regions in which the coffeehouses were most developed and greatest in number were also the regions where the opposition was strong.

With the development in broadcasting tools and with the widespread access to the radio and newspapers, politics would also pass through a spatial change during this period. As a result, the politics in the countryside would not only effect the consciousness of the peasants, but also the spatial organization of the villages. The development of the coffeehouses in the villages was the most basic and the most grumbled sign of this situation.

In the next section, the newspapers that the peasants most frequently read during the period in question will be analyzed, as important tools that shaped their political consciousness. The importance of anti-communism, which was the most obtrusive factor in these newspapers, in the development of the political consciousness of the peasants will be shown.

The Peasants and Anti-Communism

Anti-communism was the most widespread component of the politics in the post-War period, both in Turkey and the world. Although anti-communism had existed before the Second World War in Turkey, the difference of this period's anti-communist tendencies would be their execution as a component of politics. The anti-communism in this period would be accepted as a state policy and new tools would be developed to practice that kind of policy. The general characteristics of the anti-

communist practices in all non-Soviet countries can be defined as systematically taking under control all kinds of practices and thoughts that could give way to communism and not only prohibit and control such practices and thoughts but also to create a kind of political atmosphere in which all of the individuals should behave as the spies of the state to inform on all kinds of "suspected" communist practices.

The anti-communist discourse mostly coincides with the application sphere of the modernization theory in the articulation of the nationalist discourse. In this way, while the "national pride" discourse was articulated with the modernization theory through nationalism in the newly founded nation-states, every kind of possible danger that could threaten the national unity was to be defeated through nationalism. For that reason, the communist practices that were seen in that kind of countries, of course in Turkey too, would mostly be intertwined with nationalism.

Anti-communism mostly fed the fears and anxieties of the society. The spread of this thought to all countries was possible only by directing the people to an "other" as the enemy. To encourage the acceptance of anti-communism by the general public, it was necessary to make the people believe that they were living in a "dangerous period." The "danger" had to be proven in order to make the people voluntarily waive some of their rights and freedom. A threat that concerns most of the people in a society could only be realized when this threat attacked the "life style" of the majority of the people. In all kinds of anti-communist discourse, no matter how it is defined, the main component of the discourse is to prove this attack on the "life style." An assault on the foundations of the existing social and political order, which can be defined on the axis of welfare, status and power relations, would create discomfort and a kind of anxiety about an insecure future.[382]

[382] Corey Robin, *Fear: The History of a Political Idea* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 19.

Anti-communist thought mostly leaned on the existence of a kind of "conspiracy" against the existing social and political order. Conspiratorial thought mostly leaned on the assumption that if a structure, which was accepted as "good" in substance, moved in a "bad" direction, the reason behind this had to be a "badness" which did not want the "good" to be realized. The words of David Halberstam are meaningful to understanding the period in question. According to him, during the Cold War period, the dominant foreign policy stance of the United States could be stated with the saying, "if events in the world were not as we wanted them, then something conspiratorial had happened."[383] According to this conspiratorial anti-communist understanding that was mostly dominant in the foreign policy discourse of the Cold War period, some people or groups of people who are supported by and directly took their order from some "foreign forces" attempted to weaken the state by operating against the goodness of the nation and the state. Anti-communism also was used as a tool to make people support some practices, especially in the foreign policy, that they would never have supported voluntarily under normal conditions. For example, the legitimatization tool of the Korea and Vietnam Wars was the anti-communist discourse. In this matter, anti-communism was a directive factor that used the protective needs of the people by making them believe that they were living in an unsecure world and it was also used both in domestic and foreign policy making. Communism, in the anti-communist discourse, was defined as a scapegoat that was the source of every kind of problem, and with this definition anti-communism became an ideological legitimatization tool.[384]

The anti-communist discourse seeks the support a of strong state and also popular support and cooperation. To control and pay attention to all social and

[383] David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Villard Books, 1993), p. 53.
[384] David S. Painter, *The Cold War: An International History*, The Making of the Contemporary World (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 19.

political structures was the work not only of the state and security services but all the "duty" of all citizens "who love their country and nation;" this is the essence of the functioning of the anti-communist policies. In fact, within this framework, anti-communism can be defined as maintaining the auto-control of the society in order to create a counteraction against the factors that are defined as "harmless" to society.

Anti-communism became a politics of maintaining social control and holding people in between the limits determined by the state authorities by limiting the political activities in society. In addition to that, anti-communist practices created a new group of people who are willing to cooperate with the practitioners of these policies. These people, who actually were not so respected in their society, would act as the voluntary spies of the state authorities to reveal the "hidden agenda" of the "enemies." Anti-communism became a means of money making for the people that were willing to benefit from political patronage. The main factor which created the tragic-comic incidents that occurred during the years in which anti-communism was dominant would be the effect of this conspiratorial mentality. Naom Chomsky and Edward S. Herman define this effect of anti-communism as follows:

> It should be noted that when anti-Communist fervor is aroused, the demand for serious evidence in support of claims of "communist" abuses is suspended, and charlatans can thrive as evidential sources. Defectors, informers, and assorted other opportunists move to center stage as "experts," and they remain there even after exposure as highly unreliable, if not downright liars. Pascal Delwit and Jean-Michel Devaele point out that in France, too, the ideologues of anticommunism "can do and say anything".[385]

In fact, according to the practitioners of anti-communism, "the enemy" bears similar characteristics, as is said by Chomsky and Herman. The enemies of the state and the nation "can do and say anything" for them, too. In addition to that "the enemies of the nation" is not clearly defined by these people. They are always

[385] Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2002), p. 30.

defined as known, but always remain in suspense. One of the main characteristics of the anti-communist practices is this ambiguous definition of the enemies of the state. By leaving this definition ambiguous, everyone can be seen as suspicious and this will justify the necessity of taking the whole society under strict control. In this framework, anti-communism was used as a tool to mobilize society against to the Soviet Union and communism by creating an ideological front during the Cold War years. In the following paragraphs, the instrumental redefinition of the peasantry as an important part of the anti-communist practices will be examined.

After the Second World War, in the newly founded nation-states, which the modernization theory called "underdeveloped countries," the main problem was to control the peasantry's development and behavior with the transformation of the rural structure after the modernization process.[386] As will be shown in this section, one of the most important tools of this controlling and inspection process was the anti-communist discourse and its practices. After the Chinese Revolution in 1949, the threat that the peasants could create in an "underdeveloped country" became clear. Not only the working classes but also the peasants came to be seen as part of this revolutionary process, which grew in strength after the Chinese Revolution. This result also necessitated the tight control and inspection of the peasantry in the underdeveloped capitalist society. During this inspection process, the peasants would be taught to avoid from communism by using some pedagogical tools. The most important one of these pedagogical tools was press.

During the post-War period, the press in Turkey was more active than it had been in previous periods, with a great increase in the number of newspapers. In addition to the newspapers and magazines at the national level, there was a great leap

[386] For details on the modernization theory see Chapter One.

forward in provincial publishing. Frederick Frey calls this period a "communication revolution" for Turkey in his study on the relation of the peasants to mass media. [387] According to Frey's calculations the total number of daily newspapers published in the 1945-1960 period quadrupled with respect to the previous periods. Other kinds of publication also doubled during this period.[388] As can be seen in Nilgün Gürkan's study, while the number of publications increased, the discussions in the newspapers intensified and discussion topics became varied.[389] With the increase in the peasants' purchasing power, the peasants began to access these sources more intensely and easily. The peasants became more aware of the country's problems and the political discussions and this awareness strengthened their ties with the society in which they lived. As İbrahim Yasa says, "the most important effect of the information and transportation to politics can clearly be seen in the development of pressure groups. People who have common interests and due to that have common behavior and reactions in a society constitute the pressure groups."[390] The peasants followed the same path. With the effect of the widespread media tools, they became aware of their political existence and power, and in the end they began to put pressure on the politics, as told above in detail. In short, the media became an effective tool in the creation of the self-consciousness of the peasants.

Gavin Brockett mentions the importance of the provincial media in the creation of a national identity in his research that covers the provincial press in Turkey between 1945-1954. Apart from an elitist perception of the creation of the national identity, he asserts that a new widespread and maturing public opinion was

[387] Frederick W. Frey, *The Mass Media and Rural Development in Turkey* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Center for International Studies, 1966), p. 170.
[388] Ibid., p. 169.
[389] Nilgün Gürkan, *Türkiye'de Demokrasiye Geçişte Basın (1945-1950)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1998).
[390] Yasa, *Türkiye'nin Toplumsal Yapısı ve Temel Sorunları*, p. 88. "*siyasal yönden haberleşme ve ulaştırmanın en büyük etkisi, baskı gruplarında açıkça görülmektedir. Bir toplumda ortak çıkarları ve bu nedenle ortak davranışları ve tepkileri olan insanlar bir çıkar grubu haline gelirler.*"

created with the help of the provincial press and this newly created public watched not only the creation of the new national identity, but also contributed to its creation.[391] To reach that conclusion, Brockett analyzed more than fifty different provincial newspapers. However, some of the sources, which are important mostly for the present study not included in his study. The importance of these missing sources is that these newspapers were the ones read by the peasants most.

Peasants did not read every kind of newspaper during those times. They preferred the most loved ones in between the other alternative media sources. İbrahim Yasa, in his monographic study on Sindel village, which is close to Bergama, states that the peasants preferred and read some distinguished newspapers instead of reading other sources. These newspapers were mostly published for the peasant audiences.[392] The most preferred ones were *Karagöz*,[393] *Köroğlu*,[394]

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[391] Gavin D. Brockett, "Betwixt and Between: Turkish Print Culture and the Emergence of a National Identity 1945-1954" (PhD., University of Chicago, 2003), pp. 31, 78.

[392] Yasa, *Sindel*, p. 88. İbrahim Yasa also repeats this assertion in his study on *Hasanoğlan* village, as follows: "The mostly read newspapers in the coffeehouses are *Köroğlu* and *Keloğlan*:" "*Kahvelerde sık sık okunan Köroğlu ve Keloğlan gibi gazetelerdir*." İbrahim Yasa, *Hasanoğlan Köyü'nün İçtimaî-İktisadî Yapısı* (Ankara: TODAİE Yayınları, 1955), p. 48. It is possible to confirm this information with the documents found in the State Archives. For example, in a document titled "*CHP Aydın İli Parti Teşkilâtının I.I.1949 tarihinden 30.VI.1949 tarihine kadarki durumu gösterir birinci Altı Aylık Çalışma Raporu*" (Six-Months Period Working Report on the Aydın Party Branch of the RPP, covering the dates between I.I.1949/30.VI.1949), there is a question in page 25 asking for the names of the newspapers published in the region and the names of the mostly read ones. The answer is as follows: "The humorous newspapers such as *Karagöz*, *Köroğlu*, are the most preferred newspapers nowadays. Other humorous newspapers, which are published in this category, could not substitute these two newspapers." "*Karagöz, Köroğlu gibi mizah gazeteleri elyevm köylünün tuttuğu gazetelerdir. Bu kategoride çıkan bir çok mizah gazeteleri bu iki gazetenin yerini tutamamışlardır.*" *Aydın Mebuslarının teftiş raporlarının 2.Büro'ya gönderildiği*. 20/9/1950, BCA, 490.01/623.45.1. It is very hard to get the circulation numbers of the newspapers of the period. These numbers can only be acquired from the Chamber of Commerce offices. An example on the designation of the circulation numbers can be found in the Assembly Proceedings. Bülent Ecevit, a parliamentarian and a journalist of the period, directs a parliamentarian question to the Prime Minister on 16 January 1958 on the circulation numbers of the newspapers as follows: "I, with your mediation, request with my respect the written declaration of the Prime Minister the average monthly circulations of the daily newspapers and political and humorous magazines in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir, for the year 1957." "*Ankara, İstanbul ve İzmir'deki gündelik gazetelerle siyasi ve mizahi dergilerin 1957 yılındaki aylık satış ortalamalarını Başvekilin yazılı olarak bildirmesi hususunda tavassutunuzu saygılarımla rica ederim*." This question was answered on 24 February 1958 as follows: "According to the Trade Law, these numbers are related with the professional and commercial private of each enterprise, these numbers should be kept in the Ministry folder unless the related enterprise permits them to be released." "*Bu rakamlar, Ticaret Kanununa göre her müessesenin meslekî ve ticarî mahremiyetine*

Karadayı,[395] *Kelkahya*.[396] The publishing formats of these newspapers were similar to each other. Their size was that of half of a daily newspaper and printed in big font sizes. Caricatures and photos were published more often than in the average newspaper.

The most important aspect of these newspapers was their names. All of these newspapers defined themselves as "people's newspaper." "People" was preferred here in the place of "peasant." Although they mostly were preferred by peasants, the

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taallûk ettiğinden alâkalı müessesenin müsaadesi alınmadıkça bu bilgiler Bakanlık dosyasında mahfuzdur." *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 24.2.1958, İ: 45, C: 4, pp. 564–565.

[393] Under the title of this newspaper the content is described as: "Publishes every Monday and Thursday. The oldest humorous political People's Newspaper." "*Pazartesi ve Perşembe günleri çıkar. Türkiye'nin en eski siyasi mizahi Halk Gazetesi*" The establishment date of the newspapers is written as 10 August 1908. According to the research of Erol Üyepazarcı, the exact date of the establishment of *Karagöz* is unknown. Although it is true that it is the oldest of this kind of newspapers. The newspaper policy was mostly in line with the government in power. Although it supported the government in power, its establishment and management is independent from the center of the politics. After an economic crisis in 26 January 1935, the newspaper is sold to the RPP. Although the RPP handed over the publishing rights of the newspaper to Sedat Simavi for a while, Simavi left the newspaper after 14 May 1950. After that time, the newspaper would be a propaganda tool of the RPP opposition and its main audience would mostly be the peasants. For a detailed investigation on *Köroğlu*, see Erol Üyepazarcı, "Uzun Soluklu Bir Halk Gazetesi Karagöz ve Kurucusu Ali Fuad Bey," *Müteferrika*, no. 19 (Yaz 2001).

[394] Under the title of the newspaper the content is described as: "The most read newspaper of Turkey. Publishes every Wednesday and Saturday. Political independent people's newspaper." "*Türkiye'nin en çok okunan gazetesidir. Çarşamba ve Cumartesi günleri çıkar. Siyasi müstakil halk gazetesi*"This one was founded by Burhan Cahit Morkaya, a well-known auteur of the period, after Morkaya's leaving from *Karagöz* and have a similar format with *Karagöz*. During all of the issues used in this research the editorial office of the newspaper was directed by "Vâlâ Nureddin". After the DP's accession to power, this newspaper would be the official propaganda tool of the DP in order to reach the peasant audience.

[395] *Kara Dayı* was published as "Independent political People's Newspaper" "*Tarafsız siyasi Halk Gazetesi*". The paper was owned by Fethi Özsoy an F. Ş. Yersel. The editorial office was directed by Mustafa Yersel. This newspaper uses the most closer language to the peasants. As being an example to the usage of "peasant language", the newspaper tells its reason to be published in its first issue as follows: "Greetings to *Karadayı*s: *KARADAYI* is the newspaper of the brave and proud ones, who do not prostrate himself before any force but God, who disown any effendi other than his nation. *KARADAYI* gets its voice from the people and its light from the truth; addicted to rightness, enemy to crookedness. The main goal to be in this arena of press is for being duty to the country. O, you bluffing *Karadayı*s of the Turkish country! Greetings to all of you from us!" "*Karadayılara Selam: KARADAYI Tanrıdan başka hiçbir kuvvetin önünde eğilmiyen, milletinden başka hiçbir efendi tanımıyan, yüreği pek, kafası dik babayiğitlerin gazetesidir. KARADAYI, sesini halktan, ışığını hakikatten alır, doğruluğa tutkun, eğriliğe düşmandır. Basın meydanına çıkışının tek amacı da yurda hizmettir. Ey Türk ülkesinin tok sözlü Karadayıları! Bizden cümlenize selâm!*" No: 1, 27 March 1948.

[396] The content of this newspaper is described under its title as "Political, humorous, Neutral, Nationalist Newspaper-Weekly" "*Siyasî, mizahî, Tarafsız, Milliyetçi Gazete-Haftalık*". After the 57th issue, it would be the official peasant newspaper of the Nation's Party and change its title to *Milletin Sesi* [The Voice of the Nation]. Its owner and general director was Rıza Koşkun and Daniş Remzi Korok was the director of the editorial office.

poor and uneducated people in the cities also preferred these newspapers.[397] Due to that, the font sizes of these newspapers were bigger and more easily readable with respect to other kinds of newspapers. The language had a more humorous style, as all of them used this word to define themselves. In this manner, they might have thought that they could attract the attention of the majority of people. Each one of them took its name from a humorous historical or fictional character. These characters also wrote in the newspapers and mostly criticize or commented on the daily political happenings in a vulgar tongue.

This humorous approach, which was the main characteristics of these "people's newspapers," could be investigated from the first appearance of this kind of publication in Turkish history. In the research of Erol Üyepazarcı on *Karagöz* newspaper, he states that the first publisher of *Karagöz*, Ali Fuad Bey used this kind of language as early as 1908. He also says that this kind of approach to newspaper publishing was first used in *Hayal* (Dream) magazine, which was published by Teodor Kasap. The language used in *Karagöz* by Ali Fuad Bey was inspired from Kasap's *Hayal*.[398]

In these kinds of newspapers, the news and comments were mostly presented in the form of poems. These poems were mostly in folkloric literature forms and the critiques and comments are given in a humorous and satiric language. Religious matters and histories of the prophets were other topics that appeared in these newspapers. In addition to all of these, the most important aspect of these

[397] Communist Party of Turkey (TKP-*Türkiye Komünist Partisi*) would also try to use this kind of newspapers as a propaganda tool. During the last months of the RPP government, the TKP would publish another "political humorous newspaper" named *Nuhun Gemisi* (Noah's Ark). Every kind of publishing stereotypes that were used in other newspapers can be seen in this newspaper, too. It had a title character named *Nuh* (Noah) and a humorous motto as "*Nuh der Peygamber demez*", a Turkish idiom that corresponds to "dig one's heel in" in English, but also a humorous saying meaning that *Nuh* can say everything even the things that the *Peygamber* (prophet) cannot say. *Nuhun Gemisi* was published only 31 issues. The first issue was published on 2 November 1949 and the last issue was soon after the DP's accession to power, on 31 May 1950.
[398] Üyepazarcı, "Karagöz," p. 31.

newspapers was that all of these newspapers were used intensely as anti-communist propaganda tools.

In all of these newspapers anti-communism was presented in various degrees, which differed according to the changing relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey. The anti-communist discourse appeared not in broad discussions and descriptions on the topic, but mostly in poems and caricatures, as the general characteristics of these papers. How the anti-communist discourse functioned in these papers will be discussed below.



Figure 1. Caricature from *Kara Dayı*



Figure 2. Caricature from *Köroğlu*

As a general preference, the first pages of these newspapers featured half-page caricatures. In these caricatures the most current political issues were presented and the main characters, after which the papers took their names, appeared in these caricatures and commented on that political issue. For example, in a headline caricature in *Köroğlu*, a girl representing the "East" hugged a Turkish soldier and

asked for his protection from the communism threat. The "World", cheering behind the girl, has already given this duty to "*Mehmetçik*" (the synonym for the Turkish plain soldier) and due to that trusts his power.[399] Just under this caricature Minister of National Education states that they will not hesitate to spend money on the education of the peasants in teaching them to distinguish between the truth and wrong, in order to protect the peasants from the communism threat.[400]

Yet another example can be given from the *Kara Dayı* (Black Uncle) newspaper. In this caricature, "*Kara Dayı*" talks to plain soldier, who is protecting the borders from the "communism snake" that is trying to swallow up the whole world.[401] In all of these newspapers, communism is defined through the metaphors of Soviet expansionism and the "defence of the fatherland", as can be seen in the examples. In most of these definitions, communism is defined as an "enemy" against which all of the citizens have to be mobilized against for the protection of the country. The power that will eliminate this enemy is defined as the army, which is the savior of the "Turkish nation", and the *Mehmetçik* as the symbolic representation of the army. With this newly gained mission, the plain soldier also represents the need of the world for the power of the Turkish nation and Turkey for protection from the communist threat.

This discourse and the definition of the communism were mostly created with the help of the notions of nation and nationalism. The most used motives in the creation of the anti-communism in people's newspapers was the "national pride" and being the "protector" of the nations in the world. The male peasants usually got acquainted with the world outside of their own living space during their military service. Most of the peasants recounted their military service stories with honor. Also

[399] *Köroğlu*, 11 January 1950.
[400] "Köylünün Hakkını Yiyemeyiz", *Köroğlu*, 11 January 1950.
[401] *Kara Dayı*, 31 March 1948.

their military service was one of the places for the peasants to acquire the "integrating" national identity. The *Mehmetçik* motif, which took place in the communism propaganda materials, had a special meaning with which the peasants could identify themselves. Due to that the *Mehmetçik* motif was repeated frequently in these newspapers. Richard D. Robinson, who was a sociologist during the 1950s and 1960s and prepared many studies on the transformation of the peasantry in Turkey, wrote a series of letters to The Institute for Current World Affairs, and spared one of them to the relation of peasants with military service and its relation with anti-communism. In his letter titled as "Communism in the Villages," Robinson says the following on the relation of peasants with communism and nationalism:

> First what does communism mean to the villager? The answer to that one is simple and definite. It means domination by Russia, destruction of family organization, denial of his religion, and confiscation of land titles. I believe these points to be well implanted in the village mind during the compulsory military service through which all able-bodied villagers must pass. (…) €But what really does nationalism mean to the villager? The glib answer would be "defense of the fatherland". I can say "fatherland" here rather than "village" because the peasant does, in fact, identify himself as a "Turk". His term of military service has done that for him. But for what positive ideals would he fight? To protect his traditional way of life? But the villager is far from complacent right now with his lot. An ever-widening vista of the world – via radio, cinema, newspaper, improved transport, and village school– it is making the villager more and more aware of the shortcomings of his own surroundings. It is my guess that if the active fear of foreign domination were eliminated, the concept of nationalism as an active force would rapidly fall by the wayside in the villages.[402]

In this framework, a kind of anti-communism shaped by the "defence of the fatherland" was defined as the unique element that would maintain national unity among the peasants. In this way, anti-communism would undertake the ideological function of maintaining the social unity among the various groups in society by means of nationalism. As can be seen in Robinson's words, this function could

[402] Richard D. Robinson, "38-Communism in the Villages (September 25, 1949)," in *Letters from Turkey* (Robert College: Reprinted for the Peace Corp by Permission of The Institute for Current World Affairs, 1965).

mostly be achieved mostly by the means of compulsory military service. As a result, military service would have the role of uniting the concepts of homeland defence, nationalism and anti-communism together.

Another concept that is underlined in Robinson's definitions is to protect the "way of life" of the peasants. In this instance, when defined through materialism and atheism, communism would be understood as a threat to the world of the peasants, which was shaped by strict conservative and religious rules. As Brockett says, "by fighting in the Korean War Turks were playing a crucial role defending the Islamic world against not only imperialism but also atheism."[403] During the Korean War, the peasants were fighting also to protect their way of living and by doing that so to protect Islam, as being the *Mehmetçik.* Against the destructive force coming from the outside world, the Muslim-Turkish peasant image, which protected the values of the "East," would be strengthened and in a way would become the overwhelming way of the peasants' defining themselves.

As can be understood from the caricatures given above the communism that was presented to the peasants was like a snake trying to infiltrate to the country by devious means. In this way they wanted to show that the communists inside the country were supported by other "enemy" states. These accusations were used frequently in the anti-communist discourse. The practitioners of the anti-communist discourse asserted that the communists were fed by other countries both financially and ideologically and were part of an international organization that sought to ruin the country.[404]

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[403] Brockett, "Betwixt and Between", p. 396.

[404] In most of the anti-communist discourse communism is defined as an "alien ideology". The reply to this assertion is mostly given as if nationalism or democracy is also not an alien ideology fort the Turkish society. Fuad Köprülü answers this comparison in his example of anti-communist discourse, as follows: "Some small or big communist groups, which are still connected to the Third International in Moscow, are trying to operate hidden or openly for the success of this second front. In Turkey,

In spite of all of these negative propaganda on communism, these newspapers warned their audiences that not every kind of rights demanding practices could be defined as communism. Especially, together with the general characteristics of the period in question, the rights demanding practices of the people were distinguished from communism. For example, in a poem titled "Our Workers Cannot Be Communist," which was written by "*Köroğlu*," both the rights demanding and becoming aware of the communist propaganda were recommended to the workers.

> One should be neither bottle holder nor disciple of communism./ However not everyone who asks for his rights can be labeled as "Communist!" / How can it be: Oppress this and that with charging them for being "Communist!" / We will not get lost in confusion, we do not want any play. / Let the black sheep, white sheep become apparent![405]

These newspapers also undertook a pedagogical role in both cultural and political matters. In addition to teaching the peasant an intensely anti-communist discourse, they also taught them how to use and demand their rights, as can be seen in the poem above. Another example of this pedagogical function of these newspapers can be given from *Karagöz* newspaper. In the caricature given below,

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again connected with the same organization, the existence of hidden and small operation centers are know by everyone. This is what is meant by the expressions of 'alien' and 'rooted outside'. … The only target of this sinister propaganda, which hides in order to hunt pure and innocent people under various masks changing time to space sometimes as the follower of the sharia, sometimes as being reformer, sometimes as being the lover of freedom, sometimes as being nationalist and even as racist, is to demolish this country from inside and thus to create a ground for the invasion desires of Muscovite imperialism." "*Moskova'da Üçüncü Enternasyonale hâlâ bağlı kalan küçük büyük komünist grupları bu ikinci cephenin muvaffakıyeti için gizli veya açık faaliyetlerde bulunmaktadırlar. Türkiye'de de yine aynı teşkilâta bağlı gizli ve küçük faaliyet merkezleri bulunduğu herkesin malûmudur. İşte "kökü dışarıda" ve "yabancı" tâbirleri ile kastedilen mâna bundan ibarettir. … Sâf ve mâsum insanları kandırıp avlamak hususunda, zemin ve zamana göre, türlü türlü maskeler altında gizlenen, kâh şeriatçı, kâh inkılâpçı, kâh hürriyet âşıkı, kâh milliyetçi ve hattâ ırkçı görünen bu meşum propagandanın tek hedefi, bir memleketi içinden yıkmak ve böylece Moskof emperyalizminin istilâ emellerine bir zemin hazırlamaktır.*" Fuad Köprülü, *Demokrasi Yolunda*, ed. T. Halasi-Kun (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964), pp. 248, 690.

[405] *Köroğlu*, 8 February 1950. "*Bolşevikliğe olmamalı ne yardakçı, ne çömez. / Lakin her hak arayana "Komünist!" de denmez. / Bu nasıl iş: Şunu bunu "Komünisttir!" deyip ez. / Gürültüye gelemeyiz, istemeyiz biz oyun. / Belli olsun apaşikar kara koyun, ak koyun!*"

"Karagöz" sits with the peasants in the village coffeehouse and discusses and criticizes current political matters with them in humorous dialogs.[406]



Figure 3. Caricature from *Karagöz*

As can also be seen from this caricature, the publishing policy of these newspapers was mostly to create a political perception in the peasants according to their political perspective. Thus, they used the language and cultural perception patterns of the peasants, but did not try to change or affect this private sphere. Due to that, these journals were the most preferred and read news sources for the peasants.

Although these newspapers used a kind of "folksy" language, they were always in a student-teacher relation with their audience. While making the peasants aware of the political development in the country, at the same time they had the duty of "modernizing" and saving the peasants from their bad habits. From within this framework this approach in the newspapers coincided with the general approach of the intellectuals of the period to the ordinary people. Levent Cantek analysis the

[406] *Karagöz*, 22 June 1953.

developments in the everyday life during this period in his research and he defines the intellectuals of this kind as the member of a "supervisory generation":

> The method that the *supervisory generation* follows in every discussion is to define (criticize) every fact that they oppose to as corrupted, dangerous and alien and to transform this to a discourse, which closes down on itself and accepted as indisputable. It is accepted that the truth lies at the base of this discourse and due to that the narrator (bureaucrat-journalist-auteur) talks with a higher language that transmits the truths.[407]

The representatives of this generation asserted that they owned the key of the "truth" and everything other than what they said was accepted as made up or a deception or mostly created as a result of gaining a political benefit. In a way these elites used the language of "modernization" and, as can be seen in the modernization theory, too, they had a world of judgment created only through the dualities of good and evil. Fuad Köprülü, who can be accepted as a the member of this "supervisory generation," said the following:

> The Turkish nation, who appreciates the benefit of the country today better than the ones that want the unnecessary tutelage of himself, has become mature enough to not pay attention to every kind of propaganda that will not fit to this benefit and he will meet them with disgust. The Turkish characteristics, which are always objective and realistic, have reached at to the level of using all of its political rights consciously after at least a half century long political education and many experiences. No matter which mask they wear, we will sure be an eyewitness to the befooling of the ones that will try to deceive him.[408]

This pedagogical language also could be presented in a depreciatory and humiliating language style during the struggle against communism. This depreciatory

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[407] Levent Cantek, *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı-Gündelik Yaşama Dair Tartışmalar (1945-1950)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), p. 28. "Denetleyici kuşağın *hemen her tartışmada izlediği yöntem, karşısına aldığı (eleştirdiği) olguyu yozlaşmış, tehlikeli, yabancı saymak ve bunu kendi üzerine kapanan, tartışılmaz bir söyleme dönüştürmektir. Bu söylemin temelinde hakikat olduğu için anlatıcı (bürokrat-gazeteci-yazar) doğruları aktaran bir üst dille konuşur.*"

[408] Köprülü, *Demokrasi Yolunda*, p. 71. "*Bugün memleketin menfaatini, kendisine fuzuli vasilik etmek istiyenlerden çok iyi takdir eden Türk milleti, bu menfaate uymıyan her türlü propagandalara kulak vermiyecek ve onları nefretle karşılayacak kadar olgunlaşmıştır. Daima objektif ve realist olan Türk karakteri, en az yarım asırlık bir siyasi terbiyeden ve birçok tecrübeden sonra bütün siyasi haklarını şuurla kullanacak bir seviyeye gelmiş bulunuyor. Onu, her ne maske altında olursa olsun aldatmağa çalışacakların nasıl aldanacaklarına elbette şahit olacağız.*"

language was chosen specially in some instances. In this way communism would not be a political preference for the peasants to embrace. Also due to the fear of being humiliated the peasants would not be curious about its real meaning, because, the possibility of being a communist was not only defined as a dangerous attempt, but also as "idiocy." In these people's newspapers the examples of this kind of humorous and humiliating language can be seen. For example, the news of the arrested communists in Istanbul was given in *Kara Dayı* as follows:

> Some *perverts* and *idiots* in Istanbul, whose number reaches 53, tried to establish a communist party clandestinely. These ones got arrested while trying to start the business. They immediately were sent to the court. Their first trial was held on the 30rd of March. We do not know what was said and told inside, because the trial was held close to the press. The ones that want to plant the seeds of separation to the country would of course be slapped by the justice.[409]

Adjectives such as "pervert" and "idiot" might be the most interesting ones that used in defining communists. These adjectives definitely were used to present the communists as clumsy, sinister and perverted. As a result, communism would go from being a political approach, which the peasants could take as an example for themselves, and to being a humiliation and disdainful object. It is possible to define this style of narration as "emasculation by making ludicrous." It may be asserted that, this kind of approach lies under the similar use of narration in all of the people's newspapers under analysis here. The portrayal of the events to the peasants and the average people with this more humorous and depreciatory language depreciated the portrayed event in the eyes of the target audience and in a way lessened the possible political effect of the alternative approaches. In this way, the communist political

[409] "Komünist Partisi Kuracaklarmış", *Kara Dayı*, 7 April 1948. Emphasises are mine. "*İstanbulda sayısı elli üçü bulan bazı sapık ve salaklar el altından bir komonist partisi kurmaya kalkmışlar. Bunlar daha işe başlamak isterlerken yakayı ele verdiler. Hemen mahkemeye gönderildiler. Martın 30nda, ilk duruşmaları yapıldı. Duruşma kapalı geçtiğinden neler soruldu, ne cevaplar verildi bilmiyoruz. Memlekette ayrılık tohumu ekmek isteyenler elbette adaletin tokadını yiyeceklerdir*."

preferences were politically "emasculated" and would not be taken into "serious" consideration by the peasants.

As Chomsky and Herman noted above, anti-communist practices create some opportunist people and these people use the suitable political atmosphere to their own benefit most of the time. Some similar examples can be seen in the peasants' relation with politics during the period in question. Communism would be used as an accusatory tool by some people to solve their private problems. Mihri Belli, a well-known communist, says the following words on this kind of use of communism in between the peasants:

> It became a tradition to sneak the people as being communist by the ones who bore enmity to the others under the sway of intense propaganda that presented communism as being a Russian spy. On one day or another we might see the news of this sort in the newspapers: "In the x village that is tied to such sub-district of such district of such city, a peasant named Ahmet came to the village coffeehouse and, hitting the table, yelled 'I am communist! Long live Stalin!' The Peasant Ahmet, who was sneaked by the village headman, was arrested and the investigation was begun". By the time the Peasant Ahmet (if he can) told the real reason of the sneak was the land fight between the village headman and himself, he stayed in jail for month and years. Sometimes, although the real reason that lay behind the sneak is understood, the officials, who had become afraid of their own shadows in the hysterical atmosphere that had been created, could not dare to release the victim.[410]

Finally it can be asserted that during this period the peasantry was redefined by anti-communism. As can be seen in the words of Köprülü, quoted above, comparisons between communism and national characteristics were made frequently.

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[410] Mihri Belli, *Mihri Belli'nin Anıları-İnsanlar Tanıdım 2* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 1999), p. 57. "*Komünizmi Rus casusluğu olarak gösteren yoğun propagandanın etkisinde insanların hasım bildikleri kimseleri komünist diye ihbar etmeleri artık âdet olmuştu. Gün geçmez gazetelerde şuna benzer haberlere rastlar olmuştuk: "Falan vilayetin, filan ilçesinin filanca bucağına bağlı x köyünde Ahmet adındaki köylü içkili olarak köy kahvesine gelmiş ve masayı yumruklayarak 'Ben komünistim. Yaşasın Stalin' diye bağırmaya başlamıştır. Köy muhtarı tarafından ihbar edilen Köylü Ahmet tutuklanarak hakkında kavuşturma açılmıştır." Köylü Ahmet ihbarın asıl nedeninin kendisi ile muhtar arasında tarla kavgası olduğunu anlatana kadar (o da anlatabilirse) aylar yıllar hapiste yatıyordu. Bazen de ihbarın asıl nedeni anlaşıldığı halde, estirilen o histeri havası içinde gölgesinden korkar hale gelmiş olan yetkililerin mağduru salmaya cesaret edemedikleri oluyordu.*" A similar incident is found in one of the documents found in the State Archives during the research. However it could not become possible to reach at the details of the incident. *Siirt'te bazı makamlara (Yaşasın Komünizm, Kahrolsun Cumhuriyet) gibi gönderilen mektuplar hakkında takibat*, 17/9/1948, BCA, 30.01/66.410.1.

The anti-communist discourse mostly leaned on the "natural characteristics" of the people, nation or some distinguished groups as being the proof of not being supporters of communism. A similar discourse was made up in defining the peasants of the period, too. Richard D. Robinson tries to define the peasants and their relation with communism by leaning on the peasants' so-called "natural" characteristics. Except for religion, nationalism and the anti-Russian attitudes of the peasants, which were also defined in the letter of Robinson given above, Robinson tells the reasons for the Turkish peasants for not being communist as follows:

> The Anatolian villager is an individualist. I have found the Anatolian to be very much inclined against cooperative enterprise. He wants to be on his own. … The Anatolian villager is a capitalist. … The Anatolian villager is a cynic. … The Anatolian villager is afraid. … A communist protagonist would find it hard sledding to convince a villager as to the advantages of any type of centralized control, however temporary it might be pictured. The villager has learned to fear those who would do too much for him. …The Anatolian villager is suspicious.[411]

The anti-communist discourse was developed as an important consciousness-giving element for the peasants during the period in question. When especially the newspapers which were mostly read by the peasants are examined it will not be wrong to assert that anti-communism was the main ideological mobilizer for this group. During this period, when the peasants became an active political element, they had to be protected from the "poisonous" effects of communism. The anti-communist practices during this period were designed in various forms differing according to the characteristics of the target groups. Here, when the relation of peasants with politics increased, it was used as a controlling mechanism. While the peasants were gaining a kind of political consciousness, which were mostly framed by the use and the protection of their rights, the practitioners of anti-communism tried to control this development and tried to keep the peasants from going to the

[411] Robinson, "Communism."

"extremes". Although anti-communism was the dominant ideological perspective during the period in question, when the people's newspapers are being analyzed, it becomes possible to assert that anti-communism was also presented as being an component of democratic development. Thus, during the peasants' participation in the democratic processes, their "level" of participation would be in control. While trying to determine if the peasants by nature were inclined to communism, some pedagogical practices were introduced in order to prevent any kind of possible tendencies towards communism. By doing that, some "destructive" influences which could be created with the peasants' participation in politics would be balanced by using anti-communist practices. Thus it can be asserted that while the peasants were becoming an active component of politics during this period, their limits were also being defined by various mechanisms. Anti-communist practices can be accepted as having been one of them.

This chapter discussed the development of the relation of the peasants to politics through various examples and practices. When the common themes in this process are repeated it will be easier to see the overall development of this relationship. First of all, it can be asserted that the relation of the peasants to the state passed through a kind of educational process during this period. This educational process had a broad content, which included an emphasis on political rights in the DP's propaganda practices and also the anti-communist practices as can be seen in the people's newspapers of the period. Although they had an important place in the political discourse of the previous periods, the peasants actually had not been an active element in politics. Due to that, this educational process was necessary for the adaptation of the peasants to the new political atmosphere.

This educational process was realized not only with the propaganda practices and publications, but also as a result of the peasants' own experiences that took place while creating their relation to politics. The peasants, as can be seen in the Arslanköy Case, began to learn how to access politics by themselves. As the peasants' effect on politics and became an increasingly active component of it, they also began to understand the connection between politics and their living conditions. Within this framework, politics would be a process that was being learned by the peasants through their own experiences.

The peasants became aware of their rights during this period. This may be accepted as the most important development of the period for them. The peasant would also put into practice the relation of politics to the law again by their own experiences and, with the help of this, they would develop a political behavior on the way of protecting their political rights. The "rights-demanding" approach would be developed during this period and would be a settled understanding in all kind of relations of the peasants in all phases of politics. As a result of the DP's propaganda activities realized during its oppositional years, this "rights-demanding" approach would be developed and would continue during its power years, too. From that time on, the peasants would no longer be the passive recipients of politics, but a questioning, demanding and active component of politics.

The most effective element in the creation of this process was the increasing awareness of the peasants of their own political power, which also continued after the DP's accession to power. In becoming aware that they could *even* change the government in power, the relation of the peasants to politics changed. In the previous periods the peasants had tried to stay away the state business as far as possible. However, during this period they would directly got in touch with the state and

government. This kind of relationship reveals some hints about defining the peasants as not passive elements, which is mostly repeated in the research on this period, but mostly as a "demanding" and compelling component in politics. This relation of peasants with the state and the government brought the peasants' increasing interest in the political and economic problems of the country. As a result, the peasants began to identify themselves with politics.

While these developments had direct effects on the peasants' political consciousness, there were some changes as a result in the center of politics. The peasants were defined in ways different from the ideological definitions of previous times. The peasants were not be only an "imagined" entity in the ideological discourse of the state, but mostly a "real" element in politics. The increase in the visibility of the peasants by showing their power and their effect on politics made them a power, which the transition to multi-party politics required. This visibility changed the discourse into one that accepted the peasants as a party in political struggle. Within this framework, this activity of the peasants changed the way politics was practiced.

It would be better to define this process as being not the direct creation of the peasants, but mostly as a mutual interaction. It would not be appropriate to define the peasants as being the direct "agents" in political development during this period. However, this does not obstruct the definition the peasants as of having been an active component of politics. During this period, the peasants effected and changed the scope of the political system's relation with the masses. The increase in the political visibility of the peasants raised the value of the peasants. As a result, the peasants reached a new consciousness level, in which they learned about making politics by experiencing it and began to demand their rights from politics. This

consciousness level maybe was not as high as it was “desired” as it is stated in some of the research dealing with the period in question. As was shown above, the peasants developed a new political consciousness which would help them acquire an important place in politics for themselves.

CHAPTER V

THE MAKING OF THE "VILLAGE LITERATURE"

> The peasant is a creature that grows and dies like grass.[412]
>
> Sülman Aga was sleeping. He had no knowledge on the power of his hands. He was peaceful as he was going to awake to happy worlds, his face was shining… The ants were walking on the top of his hands… They were there like the priceless treasures of the human power… If I wanted to describe my village to someone, I would show these dirty, scratched hands… I experienced altogether the aches of their lands, the burn of their hearts, their desperation, their bandy range when I looked at them… Doesn't our future depend on the value we give to them? I was burning with the desire to cradle and kiss these hands gently…[413]
>
> [Kemal Tahir] A man who loves me well, who loves me extremely well, who extremely depends on me, who would not hesitate to give his life for me if necessary and who faces many pressures for me. Even though he is a native of Çorum and he is extremely curious about reading novels, he does not understand a thing about the novel I wrote about Çorum. Do you know what he does not understand? He does not understand why am I writing such simple things.[414]

Kemal Karpat, like every intellectual that tries to analyze the social values and transformation of society, says that "literature should be the first strong source for anyone who is going to write the social history of Turkey."[415] He especially emphasizes the importance of literature in the analysis of the 1945-1960 period. Literary works and discussions on literature can also be said to be a space for the

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[412] Reşat Enis, *Toprak Kokusu* (İstanbul: Örgün Yayınevi, 2002), p. 8. "*Ot gibi biten, ot gibi ölen bir mahlûktur köylü*."

[413] M. Başaran, *Aç Harmanı-Çarığımı Yitirdiğim Tarla* (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınevi, 1973), p. 77. "*Sülman Aga uyuyordu. Ellerinin gücünden haberi yoktu. Mutlu dünyalara uyanacakmış gibi rahattı, pırıltılıydı yüzü... Karıncalar geziniyordu ellerinin üstünde.. İnsan gücünün eşsiz gömüleri gibiydiler orada... Birine köyümü anlatmak istesem, bu kirli, çentikli elleri gösterirdim... Toprakların ağrısını, yüreklerin yanıklığını, çaresizlikleri, yumruklaşmış öfkeleri birden yaşıyordum onlara baktıkça... Onlara vereceğimiz değere bağlı değil miydi geleceğimiz? Sokulmak, usulca bu elleri öpmek isteğiyle yanıyordum...*"

[414] Fakir Baykurt et al., *Beş Romancı Köy Romanı Üzerinde Tartışıyor* (İstanbul: Düşün Yayınevi, 1960), p. 68. "[Kemal Tahir] *Beni çok seven, beni son derece seven, bana son derece bağlı olan, icabında benim için hayatını feda etmekten çekinmeyen ve türlü kuvvetleri göze alan adam. Çorum'un yerlisi olduğu halde ve son derece de roman okumağa meraklı olduğu halde, Çorum hakkında yazdığım romandan hiçbir şey anlamıyor. Neyi anlamıyor bilir misiniz? Şeyi anlamıyor. Bu kadar basit şeyleri niye yazıyorsun?*"

[415] Kemal H. Karpat, *Çağdaş Türk Edebiyatında Sosyal Konular* (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınevi, 1962), p. 10. "*Türkiye'nin sosyal tarihini yazacak olanların ilk sağlam kaynağı şüphesiz ki edebiyat olacaktır*."

intellectuals in which they define or criticize the socio-political developments of their times. As every political and economic transformation in a society creates its own literature, the literary works and discussions try to affect the direction of these developments. The men of letters or the authors and their works, in order to have an influence on the readers, have an important function in society as effective tools in the creation of social perception and consciousness. Within this framework, it would not be wrong to say that literature, society and politics have mutual effects each other. While the political and economic developments of the period affect the development of the literature, the literary works also have the potential to affect them. This affect of literature on political developments has been seen in many societies at various times. Especially during crises and transition periods, both of which could result in similar consequences, the duty of being a social stimulant for the social perceptions and feelings is undertaken most of the time by literature, and the authors become the representatives of a particular mission in this way. At similar historical turning points, men of letters, mostly due to being the major elements in the intellectual perception of society, have used literature as a tool to spread their political and social thoughts to the wider society. Within this framework, literature can be described as an efficient tool for intellectual thinking and practices.

Due to that, when especially Turkish literature is taken into consideration, literary texts mostly have been used as tools for spreading ideas to society in literature form shaped according to the ideological perceptions of the authors. Accordingly, many important authors in Turkish intellectual history have been literature writers, or during their lifetimes most of them have felt the “necessity” to write or deal with literature. This peculiarity in Turkish intellectual history also

shows how important it is to analyze literary in detail during social history research on Turkey.

Literature is not "just" literature. The footprints of the Ottoman-Turkish modernization adventure can be traced by studying only the literature texts of the period. During the Ottoman and Republican periods, and even today, writers and literature have been important elements of the political and social movements in Turkey. In this respect, mostly, literature can be described as the "relatively free space of oppositional thoughts and movements." Therefore, literature is a space in which one can trace both the opposition of the intellectuals and the suppression and hegemonic endeavors of the state that are practiced against the intellectuals and to the literature space in general. The political attitudes and the "precisions" of the state can be understood with the investigation of the many literature discussions that took place during the Ottoman and Republican periods.

The "village literature" genre, which is the main subject of this chapter, will be analyzed here not only as a literary happening, but also through its effects on the social, cultural and political spheres of the period in question. As the main question of this thesis, the creation of the "reality" of the peasants in the literary texts and in the perception of society through the literary texts will be analyzed. It will be asserted in this chapter that, as was shown in the other chapters accordingly, the peasants became more "real" and "visible" as a result of the dominancy of this peculiar literary genre during the period. With the dominancy of the village literature genre, the peasants were redefined in the perception of the wider society.

Defining the Village Literature

First, a conceptual problematic must be solved: Which literary texts can be accepted in the village literature genre? This is not an easy question to answer. Novels, the main subjects of which are the village and peasantry, had been written since the first examples of novel were seen in Turkey. For many literature historians, the first example of village literature is accepted as *Kara Bibik* (Black Bibik), which was written in 1890 by Nabizade Nazım.[416] *Kara Bibik* was actually a 35-40 page long story in which the most stereotyped subjects of the village literature, such as the poverty and the ignorance of the peasants, the exploitation of the peasants by the landlords, were treated.[417] However, when the discussions during the making of the village literature genre especially in the 1950-1960 period are taken into consideration, rather than *Kara Bibik*, the novel *Küçük Paşa* (Young Pasha), which was written in 1910 by Ebubekir Hazım Tepeyran and simplified and translated to Latin letters in 1946, was accepted as the first example of the village literature genre.[418] After these pioneering novels any kind of literary texts which used peasants or villages as subjects were considered to be in the village literature genre.

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[416] Ramazan Kaplan, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Romanında Köy* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1988), p. 5; Fethi Naci, *100 Soruda Türkiye'de Roman ve Toplumsal Değişme* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1981), p. 264; A. Ömer Türkeş, "Taşra İktidarı!," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 88, Bahar (2001): p. 201. *Kara Bibik* is recently published together with its original Ottoman text: Nâbîzâde Nâzım, *Karabibik*, trans. M. Fatih Andı (İstanbul: 3F Yayınevi, 2006).

[417] Karaömerlioğlu, *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta*, p. 152.

[418] Baykurt et al., *Beş Romancı*, pp. 56-57. In a panel discussion held with the mainstream representatives of the village literature genre of the 1950s (Yaşar Kemal, Kemal Tahir, Orhan Kemal, Mahmut Makal, Fakir Baykurt and Talip Apaydın) the participants tried to maintain the historical roots of the genre. Yaşar Kemal did not participate the discussion as a last minute delay and the discussions were published later. During the discussions, it can be observed that, these writers wanted to pinpoint the historical origin of this literary genre. Although the historical references they gave during the discussion did not have a relation to their literary content and form, they had a legitimatizing historical origin for their existence. In fact, the words that Fakir Baykurt said to Kemal Tahir, “We are looking for a beginning, Mr. Kemal!” can be evaluated as a clear confession of their need of origin. (p. 65) Mahmut Makal gave the following information in his memoirs on this gathering: “In the summer of 1959 in the *Lozan Kulüp* in Kadıköy a panel discussion was held. The weekly *Pazar Postası* journal, which was published by Cemil Sait Barlas, had prepared this

There are two different definitions for the village literature. Mainly when someone mentions "village literature" they are referring to a literature movement, which started with Mahmut Makal in 1950 and advanced from the mid-1960s and later nearly disappeared after the mid-1970s. The second definition roughly refers to any kind of literature text, in which the subject lives in the countryside. These kinds of texts do not make a literary genre; they only used the village and peasants as background in their stories. The examples of this kind start with *Kara Bibik* and can also be found in the literary texts of the 2000s. Due to this conceptual confusion, Taner Timur asks the questions, "Is it possible to speak of a special literary genre called 'village literature'? Or is it one of the conceptual delusions that is peculiar to us?"[419]

Timur tries to answer these questions by giving examples and defining village literature in international terms. Especially with relating the appearance of the genre in France and Russia to the troubled economic and politic events in those countries, he asserts that village novels developed under the pains of the transition from feudalism to capitalism. According to Timur, the village literature genre (*Roman rustique-Bauernroman*) was created during the 1830s and its first representatives were the Swedish author Gotthelf, the German author Auerbach and the French author George Sand.[420] Although examples of this literature genre in Turkey for most

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discussion. Kemal Tahir, Talip Apaydın, Fakir Baykurt, Orhan Kemal and I participated this discussion, which started at mid-afternoon and ended towards morning. The discussions that were being taped, were published as a book named "*Beş Romancı Tartışıyor*" (Five Novelists are Discussing) by Aziz Nesin." "*1959 yazında Kadiköy'deki Lozan Kulüp'te bir açık oturum düzenlenmişti. Cemil Sait Barlas'ın çıkardığı haftalık "Pazar Postası" dergisi düzenlemişti bu toplantıyı. İkindin başlayıp sabaha karşı biten bu açık oturuma: Kemal Tahir, Talip Apaydın, Fakir Baykurt, Orhan Kemal ve ben katılmıştık. Banda alınan konuşmaları sonradan Aziz Nesin 'Beş Romancı Tartışıyor' adıyla kitap olarak çıkardı.*" Mahmut Makal, *Anımsı Acımsı*, 3 ed. (Ankara: Güldikeni Yayınları, 1996), p. 8.

[419] Taner Timur, *Osmanlı-Türk Romanında Tarih, Toplum ve Kimlik*, 2 ed. (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2002), p. 99. "*gerçekten 'köy romanı' diye bir roman türünden söz etmek olası mıdır? Yoksa bu bize özgü kavramsal yanılgılardan biri midir?*"

[420] Ibid., p. 100.

of the time do not mach up with the representatives from the other countries, in general the Turkish examples were written in the classic literature patterns. Instead of defining the village novelists in Turkey as representatives of this international genre, it is more proper to define them as novelists that were using classical novel techniques through relevant choice of subject. Nevertheless, the Turkish examples share many things with the international representatives of this genre.[421]

In novels and stories in which the village is used as a subject, the ideological perception and the attitudes towards the Turkish villages create a distinctive difference in the presentation of the subjects. Nevertheless, the historians of literature try to round up the most frequently used themes in Turkish village literature. For example, Enver Okur describes the most used themes as follows:

> The party struggle, power struggle, empty promises that discourage society and election investments during the multi-party period, the people who became bandits due to the *aga* cruelty, the effects of machinery on agriculture, the peasants' passion for machines, the unemployment brought with the machinery in agriculture, the oppressions of the *ağa* and gendarmerie on the peasants, the migration to districts and cities due to poverty, the inadequacies of land, the lawless seizure of the lands, the conflicts of water, the peasants' dream of being rich, poverty and ignorance, the relations of peasant-intellectual.[422]

Taner Timur, on the other hand, classifies the village novel according to its scope and calls attention to the differentiation between the examples of village literature genre. According to his classification, the most often seen example of the

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[421] In his same study, Taner Timur gives examples from Balzac's novel "The Peasants." Although he does not show a direct relation, some of the characteristics in this novel are mostly repeated in the Turkish examples of village literature. For example in Balzac's novel, *Goubertin*, the evil character who oppresses the peasants is the village headman; *Rigou*, usurer and moneylender and *Soudry* is, gendarmerie. Ibid., pp. 110, 116. These characters can be found in the Turkish examples as they were presented in Balzac's novel.

[422] Enver Okur, "Çok Partili Demokrasi Dönemi Türk Romanı," *Hece (Türk Romanı Özel Sayısı)* 6, no. 65/66/67 (May/June/July 2002), p. 72. "*Çok partili dönemin parti çekişmeleri, iktidar mücadeleleri, toplumu hayal kırıklığına uğratan boş vaatler, seçim yatırımları, ağa zulmüyle eşkıya olmuş insanlar, makinalı tarımın köylüyü etkilemesi, köylünün makine tutkusu, makinalı tarımın getirdiği işsizlik, köylü üzerinde ağa ve jandarma baskıları, yoksulluk nedeniyle kasaba ve şehirlere göç, toprak yetersizlikleri, toprağın haksızca gasp edilmesi, su çatışmaları, köylünün zengin olma hayali, yokluk ve cehalet, köylü-aydın ilişkileri*"

genre is "dealing with a particular village and making its sociography by remaining in the borders of that village."[423] This definition mostly refers to a kind of village literature which started and became widespread with *Bizim Köy* (Our Village) (1950) by Mahmut Makal. Makal's work can be defined neither as a literary text nor as a sociological study. Due to this mixed up characteristic, his works defined in various ways. Although in the following pages it will be analyzed in detail, it can be stated here in short that works such as *Bizim Köy* can mostly be defined as "popular village sociology" more than a literary works. However, almost all of the themes that existed in Makal's works can be found in many village literature texts of the period.

Second, Timur defines the rest of the village literature texts as "historical village novels."[424] Although this second classification remains somewhat artificial, for distinguishing the rest of the village novels from the first examples, this definition can be used as a differentiating factor in order to understand the genre in general. Actually, the majority of the village novels use historical backgrounds in their story settings. However, while this historical background refers to a very near history in the first group, in the second group the events in the novels usually pass in previous eras. In this sense, in the village novels of Kemal Tahir or in *İnce Memed* (Memed My Hawk) (1955) of Yaşar Kemal, the village was defined in a different time setting than the first group of the village literature texts. In short, the village literature texts which can be accepted in this second group actually can be moved into the category of the historical novel genre. However, in most of these novels, the historical events took place in the village or in the countryside.

Within this framework, it is possible to define two different sub-divisions that cover the village literature genre which mostly deal with similar themes but

[423] Timur, *Osmanlı-Türk Romanında*, p. 153. "*belli bir köyü alıp onun çerçevesinde kalmak ve onun sosyografisini yapmak*"
[424] Ibid., p. 154.

differentiate according to their form and content. This differentiation also puts forward the differentiation among two different groups, which in fact made up the village literature canon during the period in question. This differentiation was mainly between the "three Kemals" (Yaşar Kemal, Orhan Kemal and Kemal Tahir) and the "three peasantists" (Mahmut Makal, Fakir Baykurt and Talip Apaydın).[425]

As last words in defining the scope of the village literature genre, even though the genre has an international context, not every novel that mentions villages and peasants can be accepted in the village literature genre. The making of the village literature genre in Turkey occurred during the 1950s and gained the power to affect both the ideological and political spheres that ha exceeded the 1950s. Nevertheless, every novel that has village content can give us information on the "reality" of the countryside, depending on the ideological and cultural positioning of the writer. For that reason, the village novels give us the clues about the villages and peasants which could not be gained otherwise.

Within this framework the village literature will be analyzed here in two different dimensions. First, the historical information that can be gathered from these literary texts will be shown. The material and cultural structure of the villages as they were presented in these texts will be analyzed. Second, the making of the so-called "village-literature" during the 1950s will be examined. The discussions during the making of the genre and the reasons for and the consequences of the creation of the genre will be evaluated accordingly. The second section will discuss the socio-political and conjuncture related reasons in the making of this literary genre, the new forms of perception and consciousness about the "reality" of the village and the peasants.

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[425] Levent Cantek, "Köy Manzaraları: Romantizm ve Gerçekçilik Düalizmleri," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 88, Spring (2001), p. 197.

History in the Village Literature

Although the relation of history and literature is a very problematical area, historians can use the historical facts that are presented in the literary text. Even though the historical meaning of literary texts is different for historians of literature, literature can be useful for historians in two ways. The first one of them, as Erol Köroğlu says, "literature helps the historian by presenting friendly materials which cannot be gathered from the archive documents."[426] Authors sometimes are able to transmit the information of some historical facts which cannot be accessed by historians through documents or other kinds of sources. This information can be facts widely known by the people during the time when the literary texts were written. However, this kind of fact mostly cannot be gathered by historians because of their limited tools and the lack of keeping the records of the facts. Especially the living conditions, habits, political thoughts and practices of the ordinary people, whose deficiency is felt for social historians today are mostly treated in literary texts.

Such historical information in literary texts, although it is not directly used by historians, presents some clues about some unknown or less known historical facts. In an area in which limited historical information is available, such as the conditions of the peasantry in Turkey, the guidance of the literary texts becomes more important. As will be observed in this section, the information on the social and political conditions of the peasants that existed in the village literature texts has a great importance in order to understand the social history of the peasants during the 1945-1960 period.

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[426] Erol Köroğlu, "Edebiyatla Tarihin Flörtü," *Milliyet Sanat* June 2006, p. 86. "*edebiyat, belgelerin temin edemediği sıcak malzemeyi sunarak tarihçiye yardım eder*"

The second functional use of literature texts for the historians is related to the historical meaning of the literary texts themselves. As Köroğlu says "literature is historical both through the writing conditions during its production and the reception conditions during its consumption."[427] The conditions of the making of village literature and the meaning of the development of this genre through the relation of the writers, publishers, intellectuals, readers and state will be discussed in detail in the following section. As stated above, all literary texts have a historical meaning at the same time and these texts also enlighten the political, economic and social development of the period in which they were written. Within this framework, the development of the village literature genre through the 1950s and its political meanings also help us to understand how the peasants were perceived by the intellectuals and the state during the period in question.

In this section more emphasis will be given to the historical information that can be gathered from the literary texts. In this way the information on the peasantry that can be found in the literary texts will be presented.

Among the authors in Turkey, Kemal Tahir was the one that commented the most on the historical development of the peasantry and the place of the peasantry in the development of the Turkish state. However, he mostly used the village and the peasantry as a background to reveal his assertions on the historical development of Turkey in his novels. Although he was a very good novelist¸ he did not care about his writing ability and mostly tried to prove the ideological assertions in his works. As Fethi Naci says, in his novels "Kemal Tahir uses not the expressions that are peculiar to literature, but the expressions of the social sciences."[428] In order to explain the political and economic development of the Ottoman and Turkish societies, he

[427] Ibid. "*Edebiyat, üretimi sırasındaki yazılma koşulları ve tüketimi sırasındaki alımlanma koşulları üzerinden tarihseldir*"
[428] Fethi Naci, *60 Türk Romanı* (İstanbul: Oğlak Yayınları, 1998), p. 236.

mentions the Asiatic Mode of Production. His characters sometimes discuss this problem. In order to prove his assertions he wrote with a historical background that reached from Central Asia to Turkey. Within this framework, Kemal Tahir did not write his novels as literary author, but mostly as a historian-social scientist.[429]

Kemal Tahir wrote most of his village novels during the 1950s. He wrote two series of them. In the first series there are two books, called *Sağır Dere* (Deaf River) (1955) and *Körduman* (Blind Smoke) (1957). The other village novel series includes *Yediçınar Yaylası* (Yediçınar Plain) (1958), *Köyün Kamburu* (The Hunchback of the Village) (1959) and *Büyük Mal* (Big Cattle) published in 1970. In all of these books Kemal Tahir focused on the lives of the peasants living in Çorum-Çankırı region during a particular time period. Rauf Mutluay summarizes the main subjects that appear in the village novels of Kemal Tahir as follows:

> In almost all of his village-town novels he shows the people who live around Çorum-Çankırı region and did not experience occupation or participate in the National Struggle sincerely. He searches for the origins of the problem of squirarchy, explains the sexual addictions that are dominant among the village people, presents the confusion of values that come from the past of this small structure, which would have ended one day anyway, asserts that banditry survives and is begrudged by which forces and he breaks apart from the writers that evaluate our society with romantic measurements.[430]

Tahir mostly tried to present the worst sides of the peasants. As Fethi Naci says, Tahir is the novelist of lovelessness.[431] He actually did not like the peasants and

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[429] Orhan Pamuk opposes to this view and says that the informative interventions in Kemal Tahir's novels cannot be defined as irrelevant; the "information" in Tahir's novels takes part in the events as a character in the novel. Orhan Pamuk, "Kemal Tahir'in Devleti ve Dili," in Berna Moran'a Armağan-Türk Edebiyatına Eleştirel Bir Bakış, ed. Nazan Aksoy and Bülent Aksoy (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), p. 132.

[430] Rauf Mutluay, *100 Soruda Çağdaş Türk Edebiyatı (1908-1972)* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1973), p. 396. "*Köy-kasaba romanlarının hemen hepsinde Çorum-Çankırı dolaylarının işgal görmemiş, Milli Mücadeleye de candan katılmamış insanlarını göstermiş; ağalık sorununun tarihsel köklerini araştırmış, köy insanlarına egemen olan cinsel düşkünlükleri açıklamış, bir gün nasılsa değişecek olan bu küçük yapının bütün geçmişten süzülüp gelen değerler kargaşasını sergilemiş, eşkiyalık kurumunun hangi güçlerce esirgenirse yaşadığını öne sürmüş, toplumumuzu romantik ölçülerle değerlendiren yazarlardan ayrılmıştır.*"

[431] Naci, *60 Türk*, p. 234.

saw them as a group of people who needed to be disappeared during modern times. He always tried to show the unchanging essence of the peasants, which was sordidness and malevolence, against a changing historical background. Especially in his village trilogy, which starts with *Yediçınar Yaylası*, he solely tried to show that from the period of Abdülhamit II to the foundation of the Republic the relations of the peasants to each other were nothing but relations based on self-interest. All of the peasants in the novels are only trying to do something behind someone else's back. The peasants always try to sidle up to the strongest, whom has previously been known by the whole community as a bad person.[432]

Different from Tahir, Yaşar Kemal is more literary. Even though *İnce Memed* has a historical background, it is not possible to define Yaşar Kemal as a historical novel writer. History, in his novels, was identical to the time of the peasants whose stories he wanted to tell. That is to say, he did not exceed his main characters and did not try to make such great historical analysis. His main characters only existed in a particular time period of Ottoman-Turkish history.

Yaşar Kemal produced his best known and important examples of village literature during this period. Even though he published only two novels during this period, the first volume of *İnce Memed*, which is novel that comes to mind first when the village literature is mentioned, published in 1955. Towards the end of the period he published *Ortadirek* (The Wind from the Plain), in 1960, which is the first book of the trilogy named *Dağın Öte Yüzü* (The Other Side of the Mountain). The following books of this series are *Yer Demir Gök Bakır* (Iron Earth, Copper Sky) (1963) and

[432] Kemal Tahir's novel *Köyün Kamburu* is one the typical example of this approach. In this book he tells the story of the worst liked member of the village and how he gains the power with guile, robbery and murder. After he becomes powerful he also gains the "love" of the other peasants. See Kemal Tahir, *Köyün Kamburu* (İstanbul: Düşün Yayınevi, 1959).

Ölmez Otu (The Undying Grass) (1969). He mainly told the adventures of the Çukurova peasants in this trilogy.

The difference between Yaşar Kemal and Kemal Tahir can best be understood with an analysis of their approach to banditry. Kemal Tahir's novel *Rahmet Yolları Kesti* (Rain Blocked the Roads) (1957) and Yaşar Kemal's *İnce Memed* represent two different sides in defining the role and the emergence of banditry in Turkish countryside. The "İnce Memed" character that was created by Yaşar Kemal became a symbolic name for peasant resistance in Turkey. According to Yaşar Kemal, bandits were the rebellious voice of the peasant who struggle to overcome injustice. The peasants are afraid of the bandits as much as they love them.[433] However, İnce Memed will always be remembered as a typical "peasant rebel," which became clearer with the publication of the other volume of the novel. On the other side, as for Kemal Tahir, the bandits and banditry are defined with the words of André Maurois, which are the beginning words of his novel: "A society that does not have a strong order of ethics and that cannot coop with its burglars –with the pressure coming from the feeling of barbarism that remained in its spirit- fells admiration for its burglars."[434] According to Kemal Tahir, the bandits are the visible side of the sordidness and opportunism that naturally existed in the peasants. The peasants, both because they are not developed morally or materially, praise these

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[433] Yaşar Kemal defined the relation of the peasants to bandits as follows: "*Koca* (Big) Ahmet was an epos in these mountains. The mothers were consoling their crying babies by saying that *Koca* Ahmet is coming. *Koca* Ahmet was a love as much as he was a fright. *Koca* Ahmet carried these two feelings side by side in these mountains for years. If a bandit cannot hold these two together, he cannot live in the mountains more than a year. Love and fright make the bandit live. Only love alone is weak. Only fright is grudge." "*Koca Ahmet bu dağlarda bir destandı. Analar, ağlayan çocuklarını, Koca Ahmet geliyor diye avuturlardı. Koca Ahmet bir dehşet olduğu kadar bir sevgiydi de. Koca Ahmet bu iki duyguyu yıllar yılı bu dağlarda yanyana götürebilmişti. Bunun ikisini bir arada götüremezse bir eşkıya, dağlarda bir yıldan fazla yaşayamaz. Eşkıyayı korkuyla sevgi yaşatır. Yalnız sevgi tek başına zayıftır. Yalnız korkuysa kindir*." Yaşar Kemal, *İnce Memed*, 7. ed. (İstanbul: Ararat Yayınevi, 1967), p. 73.

[434] Kemal Tahir, *Rahmet Yolları Kesti*, 3. ed. (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1975), p. 5. "*Ahlak düzeni sağlam olmayan ve soyguncuariyle başa çıkamayan bir toplum, -ruhunda arta kalmış barbarlık duygusunun da baskısıyle- soyguncularına karşı hayranlık duyar*."

"opportunist burglars." As can be seen here, the thoughts of Kemal Tahir on banditry were also shaped by his approach to the peasants.

The comparison of Kemal Tahir and Yaşar Kemal through their approach to banditry also reveals their divergence on the approach to peasants. Yaşar Kemal, actually, created a kind of "new village romanticism," which was suitable to the period and the changing social perception. This romanticism mainly was based on not praise of the peasants, but praise of the struggle of the peasants against all kind of pressures. This perception of Yaşar Kemal was adopted easily by the increasing political struggle of the 1960s. As opposed to that, Kemal Tahir tried to escape from village romanticism as far as possible according to his political approach. He saw peasants as a group of people who are needed to be abolished and who were the final corrupted representatives of pre-modern ethics. In short, the "struggling peasantry" defined by Yaşar Kemal was replaced with the "opportunist peasantry" of Kemal Tahir.[435]

In most of the examples of village literature, the events in the novels usually pass at the same time in which the novels were written. Even though there are some extreme examples, such as *Despot* (Tyrant) (1957) of Reşat Enis Aygen, in which there is no distinct time flow and which tries to mention every historical event, this is a rare example. The historical background in most of the novels that will be analyzed here does not exceed the 1945-1960 period. Due to that, the information that will be presented from these novels will be mostly on the period in question and on the transformation of the peasants during that period.

The poverty of the peasants is probably the most frequently mentioned subject in the village literature novels. Actually, it would be proper to say that nearly

[435] For the comparison of their differing perspectives on banditry see Kemal Tahir and Yaşar Kemal, "Eşkiyalık Üstüne," Türkiye Defteri, no. 4 (February 1974).

all of the novels in the village literature genre were shaped around this notion. Although the stress on the poverty of the peasants was common, the way it was presented in the novels differed according to the political and ideological perspective of the writers. This variety in presenting the poverty of the peasants was also related to the discussions on the development or on the emancipation of the peasants from poverty. Whether they define the main reasons for the poverty of the peasants as ignorance and lack of education or as the non-resolved class relations in the countryside with the political practices that were held during the Republican period differs according to the writers' perception of the development of the peasants.

The greatest and most effective critique of the poverty of the peasants was made surely by Mahmut Makal in *Bizim Köy*. The publication of similar books after the *Bizim Köy* made the discourse on peasants' poverty varied. In *Bizim Köy*, the reasons for the poverty of the peasants were defined as ignorance, religious fundamentalism and the state's neglect of the peasants from the very beginning. In order to cure the peasants' condition, Makal recommended that the awareness of the peasants needed to be raised through education. The awareness of the peasants could only be raised through intervention from the outside of the village. For that reason, in every village literature work, which resembles *Bizim Köy* and is written in the style of "notes from the village," the progressive character in the novels is mostly an idealist teacher or district governor, who could intervene and change the village community from the outside. These progressive characters, by making the peasants feel the "right to use force" that they gained from the state, tried to apply the cure of the peasants' "illness of poverty and ignorance" from outside as a consciousness-raising endeavor.

As was discussed in Chapter Three, with the change in the economic preferences of Turkey, the transformation of the rural structures occurred and the mechanization of agricultural production was one of the most important factors that effected this transformation. Although the mechanization of agriculture and the effects of this development on the peasants are treated with their various consequences in the village novels of the period in question, they are not described on a very negative level. Especially in the novels that were written at the end of the 1950s the mechanization of agriculture is presented as a key to the development of the countryside.

When "village development" is taken into consideration as the main axis in the village literature, two main facts are blamed for the creation of this underdevelopment of the villages. One of them was the lack of land and the other one was the uncultivated tracts of lands. The problem of uncultivated lands, which meant that the peasants could not cultivate the lands even if they had had enough lands, was mostly told by Orhan Hançerlioğlu in his novel *Ekilmemiş Topraklar* (Uncultivated Lands) (1954). In this novel he relates the poverty of the peasants to the lack of manpower, due to the long-lasting wars in Turkish history. When the male peasants were called for military service the lands could not be cultivated due to the lack of manpower. As a result, agricultural production fell, even if they had enough land. The main problem for the writer lay in this lack of manpower in the agricultural production. The manpower that was needed for agricultural production was pulled away by the state. Both due to the lack of manpower and lack of cultivation tools and animals the peasants got stuck in the poverty cycle for years.[436]

[436] For the writer, the state tied the problem of uncultivated lands and the poverty of the peasants to the laziness of the peasants. He criticizes this view and asserts that the problem was actually created by the state itself by pulling of the peasants from the agricultural production for various reasons. In the novel, the district governor tells to the peasants to spare some lands for the new teacher and the

Not the landlessness but the inadequate level of cultivation and the problem of technical backwardness in order to increase the agricultural production are common subject in the village literature of this period. Landlessness was mostly treated in the village literature after the 1960s and they mostly told the stories of the agricultural workers and sharecroppers of the Harran and Çukurova regions. The problem of uncultivated lands, due to technical deficiencies (such as the lack of or underdevelopment of animal or man power), would almost not be treated in the village literature of the following period. Instead of this, the continuing poverty of the peasants and the theme of freedom fighter peasants against the oppressions of the *ağa*s became the village literature themes.[437]

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following dialog appears between a peasant, who lost his arms and legs during a war: "'-By the way… You have to spare a field for the teacher, too. Yet you have plenty of lands.. We saw while we were coming here, all the plain stands quiet empty. Why don't you cultivate these lands, for God's sake?' Murat was startled. A sudden ache occurred on his handless wrist. His face crumpled, his nostrils trembled. Why don't they cultivate them so? Wasn't that all he has been thinking for years? Looking straight ahead, he replied guilty: '-We cannot cultivate, mister…' The district governor said, '-You need to work.. You cannot be a man with hacking around. Go and see the foreign countries. Those guys do not leave a bit of empty lands.. They are hardworking men; this is why they are developing continually… They do not wind down like us, they are enjoying themselves.' To wind down… To enjoy himself… Murat felt a hot thing that flows inside. Here, he was sitting for year winding down, sitting without moving. He was doing nothing but eating and drinking… The lands were standing quite empty… If he has arms and legs, if the weather goes well, if the rain drops when necessary but not flood the plain, if the sun shines when necessary but not burn the soil; if his sons, son-in-laws return from the military service, cannot he cultivate these lands?" "- *Sahi... Öğretmene bir de tarla ayırmanız gerekiyor. Hoş, sizin toprağınız çok.. Gelirken gördük, bütün ova bomboş duruyor. Neden ekmezsiniz bu toprakları Allah aşkına? Murat irkildi. Elsiz bileğine, birbenbire, bir sancı saplanmıştı. Yüzü buruştu, burun kanatları titredi. Neden ekmiyorlardı sanki? Yıllardanberi düşündüğü hep bu değil miydi? Önüne bakarak, suçlu suçlu: - Ekemiyoruz beyim... diye karşılık verdi. - Çalışmak gerek.. dedi Kaymakam. Tembel tembel oturmakla adam olunmaz. Gavur ülkelerine bir gidin de görün. Bir karış boş yer bırakmıyor herifler.. Çalışkan adamlar onlar, bu yüzden ilerliyorlar durmadan... Bizim gibi yan gelip oturmuyorlar, keyiflerine bakıyorlar. Yan gelip oturmak... Keyfine bakmak... Murat yüreğinde sıcak sıcak ığıldayan bir şeyler duydu. İşte, yıllardanberi, yangelmiş kıpırdamadan oturuyordu. Yemek yiyip su içmekten başka ne iş gördüğü vardı ki... Bomboş duruyordu topraklar... Kolları bacakları olsaydı hani, havalar da düzgün gitseydi, yağmur gerektiği zaman yağsa ama ovayı sular kaplamasa, güneş gerektiği zaman açsa ama toprağı yakıp kavurmasa; oğulları, damatları da askerden dönmüş olsalar ekemez miydi bu toprakları?*" Orhan Hançerlioğlu, *Ekilmemiş Topraklar* (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1954), p. 121.

[437] There are some literary texts that discuss on the landless peasants during this period, too. However, the landless peasant did not become the main theme in the literary texts during this period. The landless peasants were mostly treated in the village interviews of Yaşar Kemal and Fikret Otyam and the effect of these interviews was more than the literary texts. See Kemal, *Bu Diyar*. One of the main reasons of less frequent appearance of this problem in the literature of the period in question can be the optimistic view that was created after the passing of the Land Reform Law in the first years of the period. Nevertheless, the problem of landless peasants was treated in some of the stories and novels of the period. The story of Samim Kocagöz titled "Allah, Devlet ve Toprak" (God, State and Land) can

When the village literature writers that were educated in the Village Institutes are excluded, most of the writers that treated the village in their novels discussed these technical deficiencies as being the main problem of the peasants of the period. It can be observed that after the mid-1950s this problematic was gradually replaced with the poverty of the peasants and the oppression of the *ağa*s in the villages. When the intellectuals realized that the DP's policies, which were put into practice to create a development in the countryside, failed, the perception of the writers focused on the images of underdeveloped and poor peasant. Nonetheless, most of the village literature writers of this period adhered strictly to this technical development problem until the mid-1950s.

The modernization and development which occurred due to the mechanization of agriculture were intensely treated in two literature works. These are *Sarı Traktör* (Yellow Tractor) (1958), a novel written by Talip Apaydın and *Pembe Kurt* (Pink Worm) (1953) a story written by Kemal Bilbaşar. In both of the texts, the tractor is defined as the symbol of the development and as a necessary production tool for the peasants. For both of these writers, although sometimes peasants use this

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be presented as a good example of this kind. Samim Kocagöz, "Allah, Devlet ve Toprak," in *Sam Amca* (İstanbul Yeditepe Yayınları, 1951). Also Fakir Baykurt in *Yılanların Öcü* (The Revenge of the Snakes) (1959) mentions the troubles that the landless peasants or the peasants that own inadequate of lands faced while trying to increase their amount of land. Only one of the side characters in the novel was landless and his dream of land clearly summarizes the peasants' desire from a land: "For him, fifty *dönüm*s of land is more than enough to rescue a man from misery in the village. Two *dönüm*s of the fifty *dönüm*s or at least one *dönüm* becomes *subasar*. You hedge round vineyards and orchards. Cultivate the half of the rest and the other half leave as fallow. Isn't it all enough to everything for Mustafa? If the half of the production does not split and go to the *ağa*, wouldn't it be enough? The man owns a cow and an ox. Four sheep, ten chicken and a donkey. The sheep, donkey and ox more or less give birth. When he sells two sacks of beans or wheat to get rid of every trouble, he rescues his foot from the water. After that he does not disgrace himself to the village headman or does not rebuke himself to the member. He does not walk around without a shirt on his back or shoe on his foot…" "*Ona göre, köy yerinde adamı sefillikten kurtarmaya elli dönüm toprak yeter, artardı. Elli dönümün iki dönümü, hiç olmazsa bir dönümü subasar olurdu. Bağ bahçe çevirirdin. Geri kalanın yarısı ekin, yarısı nadas. Nesine yetmezdi Mustafa'nın? Kaldırdığı ortasından bölünüp ağaya gitmedikten sonra yetmez miydi? Adamın ineği, öküzü olurdu. Dört koyunu, on tavuğu, bir eşeği olurdu. Koyunlar iyi kötü kuzular, eşek kunnar, inek buzulardı. Derdini belasını savmak için iki çuval fasulye, yada buğday sattı mı ayağını sudan kurtarmış sayılırdı. Artık kendini Muhtar'a rezil ettirmez, üyeye azarlatmazdı. Sırtı gömleksiz, ayağı çarıksız gezmezdi...*" Fakir Baykurt, *Yılanların Öcü*, 5 ed. (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1972), p. 66.

tool unnecessarily, as was told in Chapter Three, tractors were necessary tools that would ease the peasants' work. While the tractors were defined as desired and necessary objects, the newly founded jobs in the countryside with the mechanization of agriculture were featured in these stories, too. For example, in *Pembe Kurt* the story of a tractor driver is told. Also in a story titled "İnce İş" (Fine Work) in the book *Ahmet'in Kuzuları* (The Sheep of Ahmet) (1958), by Samim Kocagöz, tells the story of the peasants who gained information about machines with the mechanization of agriculture, and the admiration of a peasant child of the machines. This optimistic view of these writers was not appreciated by the following writers and literary critics and they were accused of not understanding or narrating the economic facts properly. For example, Kemal Tahir criticized Talip Apaydın as follows:

> Now, what does Talip say to us in *Sarı Traktör*? What is he saying?... In a village a young man wants to buy a tractor. He wants it passionately, his father is well-to-do; however, he does not buy it because he is tied to the traditions. The son occupies himself with this that he becomes ill, he feels uneasy, he suffers etc.; in the end the tractor is bought with the help of his uncle in the town, when its advantage has been proved as a result of a stomach ulcer, and the book ends there. In my opinion, it even starts there. The tragedy of the human begins after the tractor is bought.[438]

Kemal Tahir accused Talip Apaydın of praising tractors without telling the real problem that was needed to be told in the novel. Kemal Tahir asked whether it was possible to learn the reality of the village from a novel that did not tell what the tractor brings and takes. Actually, this difference occurred mostly due to the differences in the perspectives of Kemal Tahir and Talip Apaydın in evaluating the problems of the village. Apaydın, by following a developmentalist line, wanted to

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[438] Baykurt et al., *Beş Romancı*, p. 13. "*Şimdi "Sarı Traktör"de Talip ne diyor bize? Neyi anlatıyor?... Bir köyde, bir delikanlı, traktör almak istiyor. Bunu ihtiras haline getirmiş, babasının hali vakti müsait, bunu yapabilecek vaziyette, fakat adam geleneklere bağlı olduğu için almıyor. Oğlan, bunu öyle bir dert ediniyor ki, rahatsız oluyor, tedirgin oluyor, sıkıntı çekiyor falan; en sonunda bir mide ülseri vak'ası dolayısıyle, traktörün de faydasını görünce, kasabadaki amca, yahut dayının yardımıyle traktör alınıyor, kitap da bitiyor. Zannımca, hatta burada başlıyor. İnsan, dramı, traktör alındıktan sonra başlar.*"

see and show the development that the tractor would bring to the village, and as opposed to him Kemal Tahir wanted to see and show the class differentiation and poverty which would occur after the mechanization of agricultural production. However, for the authors coming from the Village Institutes and for the developmentalist perception of that period this was not a fundamental problem. In addition, as was told in detail in the previous chapters, the labor surplus which would happen after mechanization was not a great problem during that period. This problem would be discussed mostly during the 1960s.

Another interesting example of the developmentalist view in the village literature was written by Refik Erduran. In his novel *Yağmur Duası* (Rain Prayer) (1954), a degenerate journalist who knows nothing about the realities of the country, accompanies a foreign professor on a trip to Anatolia and during this trip the journalist realizes that religious reactionaries oppress the Anatolian peasants. After realizing these reactionary movements among the peasants he organizes a fund-raising campaign at his newspaper to build a water dam in a village. Because, as was be repeated mostly by the DP and his follower right-wing parties in Turkey, the most important things needed to make the Anatolian villages develop were roads, water and electricity.[439] However the journalist is prevented by the reactionary forces that hold the power in the village. As a result he gives up and says following:

> I now realize that in these circumstances it is not possible to develop the village by initiation from above. Pressure from below, a development consciousness and desire are surely needed. THE VILLAGE PROBLEM IS FIRST AND FOREMOST THE PROBLEM OF THE PEASANTS. If the peasants do not do something about their problem nothing can be done. The intellectuals can only guide the peasants, they cannot pull them by their arm.[440]

[439] Refik Erduran, *Yağmur Duası* (İstanbul: Çağlayan Yayınevi, 1954), p. 74.
[440] The emphasis is in the original. Ibid., p. 210. "*Şu anda anlamış bulunuyorum ki bu şartlar içinde köyü sırf üstten gelen bir teşebbüsle tutup kalkındırmak mümkün değildir. Muhakkak aşağıdan yukarı doğru da bir itiş, bir kalkınma şuur ve isteği lâzım. KÖY DÂVASI HERKESTEN EVVEL KÖYLÜNÜN*

Here, the writer emphasized that the consciousness could not be given to the peasants via the outside intervention of the progressive district governor or village teacher as was advised in most of the village literature texts, but it could only be changed from within. The solution that offered by Refik Erduran is a "revolution," which will be pioneered by the intellectuals, engineers and workers that are in the village for the construction of the dam with the support of the peasants in the region. At last, the revolution of the peasants is realized following a rebellion against the sheikh that is dominant in that region.

In addition to Erduran's tale, another "peasant revolution" was told by Reşat Enis Aygen. Aygen had a quite strange style in his writing. Time and space were often mixed up and confused in his novels. Actually, Aygen was not a literary writer; he was a judiciary journalist. Due to that he had many interesting stories to tell. However he mixed up every kind of story in his novels. Although he was not a good literary writer, he gave interesting information in his novels about the period in which he lived. Although it was not published during the period in question, his novel *Toprak Kokusu*[441] (Scent of Soil) (1944) needs to be emphasized here due to its interesting content. This novel ends with a peasant revolution, as it was the case in Erduran's book. *Toprak Kokusu* ends with a description of the revolution as follows:

> One day the news of the mutiny of several hundred peasant laborers in Yüreğir was given to the governor of Seyhan by telephone. Thousands of *dönüm*s of crops had been set on fire. If it was not suppressed on time, regional rebellion could grow rapidly and became trouble. A horsed-gendarmerie battalion was sent to the mutiny zone. The skirmish continued forty-eight hours. The gendarmerie commander, who was sent to put down the event, brought nearby a beautiful woman, who was the

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DAVASIDIR, Köylü kendi dâvasına sahip çıkmazsa hiçbirşey yapılamaz. Köylüye münevver ancak yol gösterebilir; kolundan tutup çekemez."

[441] Tahir Alangu says the following words for *Toprak Kokusu*: "With this novel, he is a precursor of Orhan Kemal, Yaşar Kemal and Kemal Tahir." "*O, bu romanı ile Orhan Kemal, Yaşar Kemal, Kemal Tahir'lerin bir habercisidir.*" Tahir Alangu, *Cumhuriyetten Sonra Hikaye ve Roman 1919-1930*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: İstanbul Matbaası, 1959), p. 28.

> vanguard of the mutiny and heavily wounded with a bullet.. The old Major "S…" died during the skirmish. The governor was a smart and progressive man, who was able to understand the real content of the rebellion. He prepared his report in favor of the peasant laborers. The initiation to nationalize Çukurova by confiscating the lands from the *mütegallibe* (usurper) began after this rebellion. Elif, the daughter of Boyalısakal, is waiting for the making of the "land law" in jail.[442]

Even though they were fewer in number, similar "peasant rebellions" are portrayed in some of the literary texts during the period. Sometimes they treat the subject as in Aygen's novel, but mostly they describe the terrible conditions of the peasants, who are at the edge of a mutiny or rebellion. Fahri Erdinç tells the story of such a village and peasant in his novel *Alinin Biri* (One of an Ali) (1958). In this novel he describes the terrible conditions of the peasants and he says that the survival of the peasants could only happen when they struggle for themselves.[443] These kinds of attitudes of some of the village literature writers coincide with the role of the village literature during this period. As will be told in detail in the following pages the village literature provided an opportunity for legitimate social opposition for the opposition movements and people in Turkey.

Even if the peasants are not portrayed as being revolutionaries, there are some other examples in which the peasants are treated as historical subjects. The first one

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[442] Enis, *Toprak Kokusu*, p. 315. "*Bir gün telefonlar, Seyhan Valisine, Yüreğir'de birkaç yüz köylü ırgadın ayaklanışı haberini ulaştırdı. Binlerce dönümlük ekin ateşe verilmişti. Vaktinde bastırılmazsa, mevzii isyanın çok çabuk büyümesi ve bir gaile halini alması mukadderdi. Ayaklanma bölgesine bir müfreze atlı jandarma çıkartıldı. Çarpışma kırk sekiz saat sürdü. Vakayı bastırmaya gönderilen jandarma yüzbaşısı, ayaklanmanın elebaşısı olarak, kurşunla ağır yaralanmış bir güzel kadın getirdi yanında.. Eski Belediye Reisi "S..." çarpışmada ölmüştü. Vali; ayaklanmanın mahiyetini anlayabilecek seviyede, uyanık ve ileri fikirli bir adamdı. Raporu, köylü ırgat lehine oldu. Çukurova'nın mütegallibe elinden alınarak devletleştirilmesi teşebbüsü bu ayaklanmadan sonra başlar. Boyalısakal'ın kızı Elif, cezaevinde, "toprak kanunu"nun çıkarılmasını bekliyor.*"

[443] The following dialogue between two peasants in the novel can give an idea on the perspective of Fahri Erdinç: "Arif says: '-Do you know what I understood.' '-What did you understand?' 'Our aggrieved peasants have been left alone. This is that.' Mr. Turhan made fun of that: '-The aggrieved has his God!' '-It is over now' says Arif. 'The peasants trust their fist more than God now.'." "*Arif: -Ne anladım biliyor musun, dedi. –Ne anladın? –Mazlum köylümüz yapayalnız kalmış. Bu budur. Turhan bey işi alaya vurdu: -Mazlumun Allah'I vardır! –Geçti o, dedi Arif. Artık Allah'ından ziyade yumruğuna güveniyor köylü.*" Fahri Erdinç, *Alinin Biri* (İstanbul: Habora Kitabevi, 1979), p. 190. Fahri Erdinç wrote and published his first novels in Bulgaria and he was mostly affected by the peasantist ideology of Bulgaria at that time. However, he wrote his novels in Turkish and they were also read by Turkish readers.

of them is *Yılan Hikayesi* (Endless Story) (1954), written by Samim Kocagöz. The political and economic struggle of the peasants in one of the Aegean villages during the organizational years of the DP is told in this novel. The peasants are portrayed in this novel as struggling subjects, who themselves choose the DP as the vanguard of their struggle. The peasants try to use the new and active political atmosphere during the foundation of the DP opposition and try to solve their land problems to the benefit of themselves. The novel presents the political atmosphere in the villages after the foundation of the DP opposition from a broader realist perspective. This novel was published when the DP power was at its apex, and due to that it also represents the political understanding that existed among most of the intellectuals of the period. It was also the only novel which gave the political feelings of the peasants during the DP period in a detailed way.

The other novel was *Yılanların Öcü*, written by Fakir Baykurt. This novel mainly stresses the potential of the peasants to struggle against injustice. Irazca, who is one of the main characters of the novel, is presented as a symbolic name of the culture of resisting against injustice. The most important aspect of *Yılanların Öcü* is the nonexistence of any kind of agent in the novel that brings modernization to the village from the outside. Meaning that, there is no teacher or engineer in the village who helps the peasants in their struggle against the ignorance and the oppression of the village headman or *ağa*. In the novel, the main character, Bayram, who tries to increase his wealth through his own labor, is confronted with a class bloc that consists of the village headman and a nouveau-riche man, who had become rich through party relations during the DP period. Against all of the malefactions of this bloc, Irazca declines all kinds of agreements and resists to save her son Bayram and acts with an attitude that states that there is nothing to lose but her life. Within this

framework the main theme of the novel is not the modernization or the development of the village, but the abolition of all kinds of class based or political forms of being that hinder the freedom of the village. Irazca states that the potential to get rid of every kind of evil that affect the peasants' life rests in their own hands. In the last sentence of the novel, Irazca calls the peasants, saying "Hit the Roads!... the roads!"[444] to struggle for their own survival.

In general, the most detailed information on the living conditions and habits are given in Makal's works. As was told before, almost all of the themes in Makal's works contain the material living conditions of the peasants and the village. Due to that, it is a highly disputed whether his works are literature or sociology texts.

In most of the village literature texts more emphasis was given to the closed structure of the villages. With the DP period, the villages became more open to the outside world and their relations to other villages and the cities increased. With the development of the roads during the 1950s, radio and newspapers entered the villages at a higher rate than before. The peasants thus became more aware of the problems of the world and country. In many of the literary texts, this development in the villages is mentioned. They also mention the sources for getting information in the villages during the earlier times. Most of them include common information on the ways of communication of the village with the outside world. The male peasants who returned back to their villages after their military service mostly brought information and stories of their experiences from the outside world to their villages. This subject is intensely treated in many novels and this shows that the military service was a very important source of information for the peasants of the period.[445]

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[444] Baykurt, *Yılanların Öcü*, p. 273.

[445] Some of the novels that mention on the military service experiences of the peasants and its use as a kind of information source were as follows: M. Sunullah Arısoy, *Karapürçek*, 2. ed. (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1972), p. 21; Baykurt, *Yılanların Öcü*, pp. 22-25; Fakir Baykurt, *Çilli* (İstanbul: Remzi

From the village literature texts, we can gather some important information that cannot be found in the archival documents. In most of the village literature novels, the writers mention *metis*, which is a form of resistance. *Metis* is mostly defined in the historical and historiographical research of the Subaltern Studies School as an important popular form of resistance. According to Necmi Erdoğan, quoting from Michel de Certeau, *metis* "refers in endless variety to forms of tactical creativeness, artifice, cheating, trickery, hiding, disguise, faking, simulation, dissimulation, parrying, evasion, being on the alert and cynicism."[446]

In order to distinguish the state's attitudes of this kind, Erdoğan uses the concept of "popular metis" for the behaviors of the ordinary people. He defines the "popular metis" as follows: "As a relationship type base on coping with, deviation and escaping from and dealing with the law that is forced by the power apparatus, popular *metis* is an art of 'being in between' and 'living in between'."[447] These kinds of behaviors of the peasants can be observed in many village literature texts of the period. These behaviors help peasants make or seemingly make the things that the state or local officials desire them to make without changing their own habits. In this way, the peasants both "pleased" the state and avoid the duties without getting harmed. Most of these motifs were observed by the village literature writers of the period and they portray them in their novels.

This "smartness" of the peasants is described in short in Reşat Enis Aygen's novel *Toprak Kokusu* as follows: "The peasants are cunning. They categorize the men of the state according to their measurements of benefiting. The feelings of

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Kitabevi, 1966), pp. 49-50; Cahit Beğenç, *Bizim Köy* (Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1948), p. 61; Yaşar Kemal, *Ortadirek* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1960), pp. 205-207.

[446] Necmi Erdoğan, "Devleti 'İdare Etmek': Mâduniyet ve Düzenbazlık," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 83 (Winter 1999/2000): pp. 8-9. "*sonsuz çeşitlikteki taktik yaratıcılık, kurnazlık, hile, düzenbazlık, gizlenme, kılık değiştirme, numara yapma, simülasyon, dissimülasyon, savuşturma, kaytarma, tetiktelik, kinizm biçimlerini anlatır*"

[447] Ibid., p. 9. "*İktidar aygıtının dayattığı yasayla baş etme, yolundan saptırma, kaçma veya idare etmeye dayalı bir ilişki tarzı olarak popüler metis bir 'arada olma', 'arada yaşama' sanatıdır*"

respect and fear that are shown to all are adjusted according to this ratio of benefiting."[448] These behavioral patterns spread through the peasants in a very short time period and were all adopted and practiced properly. In this way, these patterns become not a peculiar behavior of a limited people, but were generalized among all peasants. When these patterns were generalized they became a real normative behavior. The power of popular *metis* mostly comes from this widespread practice. Halikarnas Balıkçısı presents a good example of this kind of collective behavior in his novel *Ötelerin Çocuğu* (The Child of Beyond) (1955). He tells the story of a collective play that is made by the peasants to escape from the state tax, as follows:

> When the peasant heard the noise and saw that the convoy, which was dressed with flags in reds and greens, approaching from abroad they quickly understood that they would take money from them again or force them into compulsory labor because they approached them only for these two matters. They told Tiycan, who did not want to escape to the mountain, what to say to the convoy, and they all together cleared out. … When they arrived at the village, they did not see a soul in sight. There was only Tiycan in the village. The district governor asked her where the residents of the village were. *Karakız* (Black Girl) said: "They escaped to the mountains!" They all together asked: "Why?" Tiycan replied: "When they heard the noise and saw you coming with rising clouds of dust behind, they were afraid and said that the Anti-Christ had risen, he is wandering over hill and dale, he is announcing that the coming of doomsday, he is blowing his horn. Due to that they escaped to the mountains!" Turning to the others the district governor complaint as: "Oh, how will we make men out of these ignorant guys."[449]

Similar practices of the peasants were told in a story of Fakir Baykurt titled *Oyun* (The Play). In his story Baykurt tells how the peasants tell the state officials

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[448] Enis, *Toprak Kokusu*, p. 64. "*Köylü kurnazdır: Hükümet adamlarını kendi menfaat ölçülerine göre kategoriye ayırmıştır. Hepsine karşı gösterdiği saygı ve korku hissi, bu menfaat nispetine göre ayarlanmıştır.*"

[449] Halikarnas Balıkçısı, *Ötelerin Çocuğu* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1969), p. 233. "*Köylüler, uzaktan gürültüyü işitip de allı yeşilli bayraklarla donanmış kafilenin yaklaşmakta olduğunu görünce, kendilerinden gene para alınacağını, ya da bir angaryaya koşulacaklarını çarçabuk anladılar. Çünkü ancak bu iki mesele için, onlara başvurulurdu. Dağa kaçmak istemeyen Tiycan'a kafileye ne diyeceğini tembih ederek, hep birlikte, sıvıştılar. ... Köye varınca orada, inlerle cinlerin top attıklarını gördüler. Köyde yalnız Tiycan vardı. Kaymakam ona köy halkının nerede olduğunu sordu. Karakız: "Dağlara kaçtılar!" dedi. Birkaç kişi birden: "Neden?" diye sordu. Tiycan: "Gürültüyü işitip tozu dumana katarak gelmekte olduğunuzu görünce, Deccal çıkmış, dere tepe geziyor, kıyamet kopacağını ilan ediyor dünyaya yuf borusu çekiyor, diye ötleri koptu, onun için dağlara kaçtılar!" diye cevap verdi. Kaymakam diğerlerine dönerek: "Ah, bu cahil herifleri nasıl adam edeceğiz?" diye yakındı.*"

visit the village the same stereotypical sentences, which they have memorized before. Baykurt called this behavioral pattern the play of the peasants against the state officials.[450]

Another interesting story is told in *Karapürçek* (Black Tassel) (1958), by Sunullah Arısoy. The main character in this novel is a teacher. While he is going to the village in which he will begin working, he is aware of such behavioral patterns of the peasants. In the entire novel he tells that when the peasants try to trick any kind of state officials that go to the village with those kinds of behaviors, what is needed is to make the peasant like that official at first. The education and modernization works have to be done after they have come to like the state official. According to the writer, the teacher that desires to bring modernity to the village can use religion as a tool and must go to the Friday prayer if necessary and has to behave like the peasants behave. For him this is how the noncooperation of the peasants can be broken.[451] Arısoy, in a way, gives advice to the would-be agents of modernization in the villages and actually says that in order to coop with the popular *metis* behaviors of the peasants, it is necessary to use the same tactics in return.

The most important information that can be gathered from the village literature texts is on the development of the political consciousness of the peasants during the 1945-1960 period. Many village literature writers portrayed this political development in their texts. This information has a binary meaning. Although most of this information was based on the reality, they were also the product of the imaginations of the writers. As will be discussed in the next section, the main problematic of these literary texts was to present the "reality" of the village and the peasants. That is to say, the village literature writers asserted that they were

[450] Baykurt, *Çilli*.
[451] Arısoy, *Karapürçek*, pp. 27-28.

presenting the "reality" at most in their texts. Most of the subjects portrayed in their books were based on their personal experiences in the villages and with the peasants. This situation created the binary meaning in the literary texts: The things written in those books were real on the one hand, but on the other hand they were realities which had been re-written according to the perceptions of the writers. Due to that there are fundamental differences between them in evaluating the DP and the period as a whole. In addition to that, some differences can also be observed between the texts that were written in the early times of the DP period and during its last years.

In *Yılan Hikayesi*, written by Samim Kocagöz, the effect of the DP in the village is treated positively more than in the other novels during that period. This novel is also the only example that treats the organization of the DP opposition in a village in the Aegean region and describes the reaction of the peasants to this new political process. As told in the novel, the peasants learn that if they support the DP in the coming elections that will be held in 1946, they will also find strong support for themselves in their struggle against the *ağa* and his man in the village, the village headman. As a result they try to make all of the peasants in the village support the DP in the elections. The information on how the peasants learned about voting in the elections, which were held for the first time directly and with the existence of more than one party, and how they discussed and accepted the elections as a tool for making a change in the government power are treated in the novel as follows:

> He intervened and said, "Stop for God's sake…Both the government and the state will get to the hands of whoever the people, in other words, we want."
> "Why have we not done this work until now? Where was your mind, Osman!"
> "I was out walking the horse of the chief master. Now there is, how did Mr. Mustafa said that, yes, democracy in the country."
> "What does it mean?"
> The coffee man looked around self-righteously:
> "It means voting."

"Oooo!..."
"What is it…"
"How have you elected the village headman until now?"
"I have not elected village headman in my life. If I vote, my hand breaks. I understand what you said. We will go to the ballot box with drums and clarion and give the voting paper. You cannot make me do this even if you cut my head."
Osman yelled with anger: "You will certainly do that! And this time you will elect which village headman you desire."
"Do they make you elect the one you want?"
"We will see."[452]

Mahmut Makal did not mention on political attitudes of the peasants in *Bizim Köy*. However in *Köyümden* (From My Village) (1952), which was written as the second volume of *Bizim Köy*, he gave some information on the 1946 and 1950 general elections. Although Makal did not portray political issues in *Bizim Köy*, the book itself had a political meaning. The book gives the sense that no matter which government is in power, the peasants will be ignored and exploited continually. According to him the peasants were kept poor and ignorant for the specific benefit of some people and groups. This material and moral exploitation of the peasants was perpetuated by the state. In this way, the power groups could easily continue their hegemony over the peasants. As a result of this tacit political meaning, the works of Makal were banned both by the DP and the RPP governments.

In *Köyümden*, which is similar in form to *Bizim Köy*, Makal continued to tell the same exploitation, poverty and deprivation stories. He thought that the peasants could not exist in a democratic society with this ignorance. Instead of being active subjects in politics, the politicians could easily deceive them with empty promises

[452] Samim Kocagöz, *Yılan Hikayesi* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 1954), pp. 45-46. "*"Durun be yahu..." diye araya girdi, "Millet, sizin anlayacağınız biz, kimi istersek, hükümet de, devlet de onun eline geçecek." "Bugüne kadar bu işi neden yapmadık? Aklın nerdeydi Osman!" "Yok başefendinin beygirini gezdiriyordum. Şimdi memlekette, nasıl dedi onu Mustafa Bey bakayım; ha, demokrasi çıkıyor." "O da ne demekmiş öyle?" Kahveci, bilgiç bilgiç etrafına bakındı: "İrey demek." "Yaaaa!..." "Nasıl iş..." "Ulan şimdiye kadar nasıl muhtar seçerdin?" "Ben ömrümde muhtarı seçmedim. Hem seçersem de elim kırılsın. Senin dediğini anladım. Davullan, zurnaylan sandık başına gidip pusula koyacağız. Kafamı kessen bu işi bana yaptıramazsın." "Bal gibi yapacaksın!" diye Osman hırsla bağırdı; hem bu sefer canın istediğini muhtar seçeceksin.." "Seçtirirler mi adama?" "Görürüz.""*

and their exploitation for political reasons continues due to the peasants' ignorance and poverty. Makal says the following on the elections and political situation in the villages:

> Each of the three parties has its supporters. Everyone has found his intellectual home and joined a party. The members of a party, and especially their leaders, sacrifice sleep and leisure as far back as February, turning night into day right up till the fourteenth of May; and running round from door to door, talking people round with lies, is not unprofitable, you know. The promises they made! If they could show success in enlisting supporters they might even become Deputies themselves.
> When April came and there was only about a month before the election, feelings ran high. A stream of candidates, both district and provincial, as well as party founders and members, descended on the villages. To hear the way the villagers talked, you'd have thought that this village was Paris, the next one London, and the third Istanbul. No sooner had one taxi or jeep driven off, than two others arrived, with flags on their bonnets. The visitors get up on a stone block with reams of paper in their hands and read and read interminably. It's as though there were no end to our troubles. They know better than we do. These comings and goings are in fact a novelty for the villagers; they crowd together round each new arrival. Most of the subject-matter is irrelevant, but they listen patiently to the so-called speeches, which are full of mutual abuse, such vile talk, that one feels inclined to sink into the ground or stop one's ears and run away. Once they're gone, of course, people voice their criticism according to their lights.[453]

In most of the novels, the political issues that the peasants talk to each other about while sitting in the coffeehouse or when they gather in a place are portrayed. As Makal said in the quotation above, the peasants did not reveal their thoughts while the party representatives were talking to them in general. The peasants mostly talked to each other and discussed the speeches to which they had listened during the day after the party representatives left the village. Another example of this kind of discussion between the peasants and how they revealed their political identity during these discussions can be observed in *Çarığımı Yitirdiğim Tarla* (The Field that I Lost My Pile Shoe) (1955), written by Mehmet Başaran:

[453] Mahmut Makal, *Köyümden-Köy Öğretmeninin Notları: II* (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınevi, 1952), p. 88. The translation is taken from, Mahmut Makal, *A Village in Anatolia*, trans. Sir Wyndham Deedes (London: Vallentine, Mitchell & Co. Ltd., 1954), pp. 139-140.

> "At the end of the world" he said, "the iron would talk… says the book.. The end of the world.. You see, it is talking now.. These are the signs of doomsday. The democratism, playing off the people.. Partisanship and such…"
> The head of the Party, who plays cards in the corner with Ali of Barber Ahmed, blazed: "Grey pig!.. You again begin to make propaganda.. You found the innocent child.. If the partisanship did not occur, your skin would be left in the police station.. Pray for the partisans."
> "Did someone say, you, shoo! you lame dog? They are sure the signs of the doomsday. Do you know where your father was hidden during the time of the Greeks? If they did not save us.."
> "You ruined everything again.. At least don't say that.. Wasn't that you that cried during the Chicken War? Didn't you steal your own crops from the officials of the office? Could you get closer to the government offices? If ours were not come, you would not hear the ezan while dying.. You would be drinking the shitty waters of the wells even today…"
> "Leave that words aside.. Look for who is gained from this work.. We are making Mr. Kemal fat again in the town, aren't we? His son is a deputy, his son-in-law is a doctor.. Whose dairy collects all of the milk? Who is buying the sunflowers even when they blossom? To whom are these people are indebted? He is throwing two greasy bones in front of you, making you shout.."[454]

As can be seen in this quotation, the peasants were informed about political developments. They reevaluated their political positions by investigating the everyday practices of the prominent people that were involved in the local politics. During the conversations, they increased the extent of the political issues they discussed by repeating exactly the slogans of the party they supported, and they created a political consciousness of being supporters of a party which was mostly shaped through these discussions. This situation shows that the peasants were in a

[454] Başaran, *Çarığımı Yitirdiğim Tarla*, pp. 138-139. "*Ahır zaman" dedi, "demir konuşacak.." der kitap.. Ahır zaman.. Görüysün konuşuyo işte.. Kıyamet alametleri bunlar.. Dimokrasicilik, milleti birbirine düşürmekler.. Partıcılık, purtuculuk... Köşede, Belber Ahmedin Aliyle kaat oynayan Parti başkanı parladı : "Kır domuuuuz!.. porpugandaya başladın gene.. Buldun saf çocuğu karşında.. abe particilik çıkmayaydı, karakolda kalıcadı postun senin.. Dua et particile." "Sana oşt! deyen oldu mu be topal köpek? Elbet kıyamet alameti bunnar. Biliy misin nerde saklanıydı baban Yunan zamanı? Onnar kurtarmayaydı bizi.. "Te sıçtın batırdın gene.. Sen bari söyleme bunu.. Sen deyil miydin ağlayan Tavuk Savaşında? Kendi ekenini gece çalmadın mı ofis memurlarından? Sokulabiliy miydin mükümet kapısına? Bizimkiler gelmeyeydi, ölürken ezan duymaycadı kulan be... Çook kuyuların boklu sularını içicedin daa.. "Bırak sen şindi oralarını.. Kime yarıyo iş ona bak.. Gene Kemal Beyi semirtmiyonuz mu kasabada? Oğlu meppus, güvesi doktor.. Kimin mandırasına gidiyo sütler? Kim daa çiçende alıyo gündöndüleri? Kime borçlu millet? Atıyo önünüze iki yağlı kemik, bartıyo sizi burda..*"

process that would develop their political consciousness, which would help them to become active elements in politics. Albeit the political words that were repeated by the peasants were only the repetition of the propaganda that had been created in the center of the politics, accepting themselves as the supporters and representatives of a political understanding was a kind of political consciousness that became established during the 1950s and which had not been seen during the single-party period. Many examples of that behavior can be found in the village literature texts of the period as was shown above.

The village headmen, who had been the only political representatives of the center in the villages during the single-party period, had taken their share of this change in politics and felt the necessity to gain the support of the peasants. In most of the village literature texts, this change in the government of the village is also treated. In a way, this development affected the powerful position of the village headmen in the village. Due to that, many village headmen were angry about when the single-party regime made the transition to multi-party system. They were angry because they had been able to get their works done more easily before the single-party period. However, now, they had to gain the votes and the support of the majority of the peasants in their villages in order to continue their jobs. Yaşar Kemal gives a good example of this thought of a village headman in his novel *Ortadirek* as follows:

> Ah, all this nonsense is the invention of that Ismet Pasha. If he hadn't brought this democracy business upon our heads, would the likes of Tashbash ever have had the cheek to stand up to a Muhtar? Eh Ismet, but you've fallen into your own trap. Look at all these barefooted ragamuffins you gave the right to vote to. Do they give you a single of their votes now? Ah Ismet, you may have become a great pasha and even a president of the Republic, but if there's one grain of sense in that head of yours, I'm ready to shave off this moustache of mine! Would a man in his right senses take the knotted rope he holds in his hands and tie it about his own legs? Hah, you'll see the nape of your neck first

> before you ever see the Presidency again! I, for one, will die rather than side with you again. A man who lets the presidency slip out of his fingers, just by trusting himself to the vote of a handful of barefooted peasants, is surely incapable of ruling a great nation. No, my friend, I don't call that clever! You may be considered as an astute politician, your fame may have spread even to the Land of the Franks, but if you ask me, you're simply no good at all, my friend! I'll never forgive you as long as I live. Because of you, I almost lost my post of Muhtar. If I hadn't passed over to that new Democrat Party in double quick time, it would have been all over with me. Ah Ismet, why didn't you consult your faithful muhtars before deciding to change our comfortable one-party system? Look at the result now! Oh yes, I know you're sorry for what you've done, but it's too late. The birds have flown out of your hand and you can exert yourself as much as you like you'll never catch it again. Ah Ismet, ah, you're much to blame! You deserve what you got, but you've done us a great deal of harm too.
> He lay on his bed, fully dressed, his eyes fixed on the starry sky, still ruminating on the incomprehensible behaviour of Ismet Pasha. In the end, he decided it must be ascribed to old age. Yes, obviously old age had impaired Ismet Pasha's mind![455]

During the years that the DP was in power, the peasants saw that the ones that had supported the DP had less problematic relations with the government. Due to that, the peasants got closer to the DP government. Those who had not supported the DP in the previous years began to support in order to be in a more advantageous position. This patronage relation was treated frequently in the village literature novels and during the preceding years of the DP government this observation of the writers changed with the critique of the DP patronage. The peasants tried to get their business done by finding an official from the government party or by representing themselves as party members.

Although the trust of the peasants in the DP was shaken during the end of the DP power, the peasants were aware that their relations with the DP depended on an understanding shaped by mutual benefit. They were aware that the politicians would visit their villages again during the election times and want their support for the DP government. Due to that the peasants preferred to continue their relation with the DP

[455] Yashar Kemal, *The Wind from the Plain*, trans. Thilda Kemal (London: Collins and Harvill Press, 1963), pp. 240-241.

power accordingly. Again in the words of Yaşar Kemal, this situation is told in *Ortadirek* as follows:

> "If they won't give us work, then we'll go to Tevfik Bey, the Party leader in the town. Didn't we give you our honourable votes, we'll say. Well, see now how your people are being treated by the Muhtar and the great aghast of the Chukurova!"
> This started off a heated argument as to whether Tevfik Bey would side with the Muhtar or with the villagers. In the end they decided that if Tevfik Bey had a shred of sense –and no one doubted but that he was a well of wisdom, or how could he have been elected president of the Party branch- he would support the villagers.[456]

Samim Kocagöz, in his story *Çalılı Köy* (Bushy Village), which is in his book *Ahmet'in Kuzuları* (The Lambs of Ahmet) (1958), tells the story of a land conflict that occurs between the village that supports the party in power and another village that supports the opposition party. This story was on a very problematic issue that frequently happened during the period in question in between neighboring villages, which occurred due to the conflicts on the determination of the borders between the villages. In this way, this story also gives the information about the real pretext of these land conflicts that cannot be gathered from the newspapers of the period.

Mahmut Makal also told in *Bizim Köy* that these land issues were one of the main problems which could not be resolved until that time.[457] As Kocagöz said, the land conflicts, which actually had continued for many years between the villages, changed form with the effect of partisanship. During the multi-party struggle, the village that gained the support of the party in power began to use this advantageous position in their dispute with the neighboring village. The disputes that occurred in determining the ownership of the lands that remained between two villages began to be resolved according to the political preferences of the peasants. These lands were mostly used for cultivation by one village and for pasture by the other. Samim

[456] Ibid., p. 26.
[457] Mahmut Makal, *Bizim Köy-Bir Köy Öğretmeninin Notları*, 3 ed. (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1950), pp. 17-19.

Kocagöz, who praised the DP during its early years in his novels, criticized this situation and asserted that the patronage practices of the DP had resulted in these kinds of land conflicts between the villages. He explained that due to these practices, the peasants had come to a position to revolt against the state, the party and the state officials, as follows:

> "Why am I going to be ashamed of, why we are going to be ashamed of my son? Let the ones that make us break each other be ashamed." … He said, "you are ignorant my corporal, you don't understand. We want to see that who will get us out of these lands, which are halal earnings of us and inherited from our heirs and grandfathers. If it is the state than it is the state, if it is the party than it is the party, if it is the people than it is the people… Our neck is thinner than hair. Let us understand this."[458]

During these conflicts which were shaped according to political preferences the peasants became politically more aware of their importance in the new political system. They understood that they had an important place in the working of this system. At least they became aware that the votes they gave during the elections were important for all parties, and they could use this to increase their benefits. As the importance of the voting process in the creation of the political consciousness of the peasants has been told in the previous chapters in detail, the peasants always tried to use this "valuable" fact as a weapon for their benefit during this period.

As a result of the propaganda that was directed at the peasants and the development of the political and economic conditions, the peasants' interest in these developments increased. Contrary to the peasants of the single-party period, who stayed away from the government and the armed forces of the single-party regime, the peasants during the new period had a differentiated consciousness, and they now began to trust themselves in their relations with the state. The reflections of this

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[458] Samim Kocagöz, *Ahmet'in Kuzuları* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 1958), pp. 70, 71. "'*Ben, ne utanayım, biz, niye utanalım be oğlum? Bizi, milleti birbirine kırdıranlar utansın.*' ... *'Sen, cahilsin onbaşım, anlamazsın,' dedi, 'biz, anamızın ak sütü gibi bize helal bu topraklardan, ata dede yadigarı bu topraklardan kimin bizi çıkaracağını gözlerimizle görmek istiyoruz. Dövletse dövlet, partiyse parti, milletse millet... Boynumuz kıldan ince. Anlıyalım bakalım'*."

change can be observed in the village literature texts. Sunullah Arısoy describes this increase in the self-confidence of the peasants during the period as follows:

> I watched Kara Memiş until he got lost in the opposite street with his hands behind his back. I am sure that he is now feeling relief, a discharge inside. He is now in a wild pride. He is in pride and enjoyment of rising against a man from the government, not caring about him and overrunning him. He tasted the one and the main blessings of the new period in his rude, wild rebellion to my face. Kara Memiş trusted that the gendarmerie could not take him to the police station easily, the corporal could not beat him while swearing a blue streak. Times had changed. It was not the old times now. He practiced the difference of these two periods himself with the talk that he made to me a short time ago. *He felt the indefinable taste of not being defeated and not being crushed.*[459]

The political atmosphere which was shaped with the existence of the peasants, even if it did not change anything, created the situation that is stated in the last words of Arısoy, quoted above. The peasants, at least the peasants that supported the DP, saw themselves as being in power and as an important element that had a word on the politics.[460] In a way, during this period the peasants felt as if they were an active component of politics. This phenomenon was not only the discourse or the observation of the intellectuals of the period, but also was a practice that the peasants applied during this period.

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[459] The emphases are mine. Arısoy, *Karapürçek*, p. 97. "*Kara Memiş'i, eli arkasında karşıki sokaktan kayboluncaya kadar, seyrettim. Şimdi o, eminim, içinde bir boşalma, rahatlık duyuyordur. Vahşi bir gurur içindedir. Hükümetten bir adama kafa tutmanın, onu umursamamanın, çiğneyip geçmenin zevki, gururu içindedir. Yeni devrin, nimetlerinden birini, başlıcasını, benim yüzüme karşı yaptığı kaba, vahşi isyanda tadıyordu. Kara Memiş, jandarmanın kendisini hemen çalyaka edemiyeceğine, onbaşının ana-avrad düz gidip sopa atamıyacağına güveniyordu. Devir değişmişti. Şimdi eski devir değildi. Bu iki devrin ayırımını, kendisi, az önce benimle yaptığı konuşmada uygulamıştı. Ezilmemenin, yenilgi duymamanın anlatılmaz tadını duyuyordu.*"

[460] As was told in the Chapter Three, the peasants during this period gained a new political consciousness, which increased their self-confidence in politics. They began to interrogate the state officials and began to demand their rights. This kind of information in the village literature texts also supports that this change in the political consciousness of the peasants during this period was a widely known development and the intellectuals of the period were aware of that.

The Making of the Village Literature Canon

In this section, the making of the village literature canon in the 1945-1960 period, the spheres that this literature genre created, and the discussions around this subject will be analyzed more than the village literature texts of the period. In a way, why the things in the village literature texts are said will be analyzed more than the things themselves. In addition, how the village and the peasants became the dominant themes in the literature during this period will be shown. Through the relations of the intellectuals of the period to the village literature, the perceptions of the intellectuals to the village problems and the transformation of the intellectual and ideological perceptions on the village and the peasants will be discussed.

As a beginning, a conceptual fact which must be discussed regarding the subject of the village literature needs to be defined in here. The concept of "reality" was the most disputable, and the most important element that maintained the making of the village literature cannon during this period. This discussion on "reality" was not similar to any discussions made previously in Turkey. In other words, neither the discussions on socialist realism that were effected by the literary developments in the Soviet Union,[461] nor the discussions on realism that took place between Ernst Bloch, Georg Lukacs and Bertolt Brecht[462] maintained the basis for the discussions on "reality" during this period. Both discussions had had some effects on the literature developments during the single-party period, and they were evaluated as extensions of the discussions that occurred in the international sphere. The perception of reality during this period was shaped through the aim of getting information about the

[461] For the discussions on socialist realism current in Turkey, see Ahmet Oktay, *Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları* (Ankara: Bilim/Felsefe/Sanat Yayınları, 1986).
[462] For this discussion, see Ernst Bloch et al., *Estetik ve Politika*, trans. Ünsal Oskay (İstanbul: Eleştiri Yayınevi, 1985).

village and the peasants for making this information useful in political and technical means in relation to the modernization and developmentalist perspective.

During this period, the literary event with the most influence on the creation of reality in the village literature was the publication of Mahmut Makal's *Bizim Köy*. In the foreword of the book, written by Yaşar Nabi and titled *Birkaç Söz* (A Few Words), the creation of the realist approach and its meaning for this period are clearly described as follows:

> In my opinion, the bitter reality of a Central Anatolian village is told for the first time in this book, in all of its bareness. Although there have been some other materials written on the conditions of our villages these have been either economic or sociological studies, or some observations of intellectuals who passed through the villages haphazardly. But this book was written as a result of the direct witnessing of a boy who was born in the village and still lives there. This is why it is priceless. Besides, even with the help of a magnifying glass, for a man looking far from the village, to see and understand the things that Makal tells is impossible.[463]

The realist expression of the village conditions with Mahmut Makal stimulated the discussion of the qualification of the literary texts that treated the village and peasants which had been published in the previous period. The "official" village literature of the single-party era, which had been shaped by a romanticist peasantist ideology, aimed to produce writings which sought the omnipotent, omnipresent origin of the Turkish nation in the village. In this respect, even though there had been some works that tried to address the rural structure from the "realist" perspective before *Bizim Köy* and some of them have been mentioned in this chapter too, Makal is always accepted as the turning point in village realism. Before

[463] Makal, *Bizim Köy*, p. 4. "*Bir Orta Anadolu köyünün acı gerçeği, bana öyle geliyor ki bütün çıplaklığiyle ilk defa olarak bu kitapta dile geliyor. Gerçi, köylerimizin durumuna dair daha önce de bazı şeyler yazılmıştır. Ancak bunlar ya iktisadî, içtimaî araştırmalar, yahut da köye şöyle bir uğramış aydınların müşahedeleriydi. Halbuki bu kitap doğrudan doğruya köyde doğmuş, köyde yaşayan bir köy çocuğunun şehadetidir. Büyük kıymeti de bu yüzdendir. Hattâ bir pertavsızın yardımiyle de olsa, uzaktan bakan bir insan için, Makal'ın anlattıklarını görüp tespit etmeğe imkân yoktu.*"

discussing the meaning of this turning point, this differing in the realist perspective needs to be described.

When the main reasons for the tremendous impact of *Bizim Köy* are examined it will be possible to understand more clearly what kind of village realism was created with this book or this where this "desire for realism" came from. Fakir Baykurt, another important village literature writer of the period, defined the general characteristics of the 1945-1960 period and the political atmosphere in which the village literature was born as follows:

> There are periods in Turkey that are sensitive to some subjects. During the years that I was preparing to write *Yılanların Öcü* the village problem was the crucial problem of Turkey. We were just in the multi-party life and the village was coming out of the ballot box continuously. The professor has one vote, the peasant has one, too. I don't want say that the peasants cannot vote, I won't say it either; however, the weight of the villages stated itself at the ballot box.[464]

It was the time of the peasants, as Fakir Baykurt said. The necessity to reach a group that constituted eighty percent of Turkey at that time, that never got involved in government business and had never been allowed to say a word in it, arose. The DP, which realized this changing situation before all, tried to use this new atmosphere, which was created with the help of this kind of publications, in order to gain the support of the peasants and the intellectuals and to shape its discourse against the RPP and the practices of the single-party period. Orhan Kemal made the best definition of the political atmosphere into which *Bizim Köy* was born, as follows:

> May I explain it? Mahmut Makal was born in a very special period, during the People's Party-Democrat Party conflict… In the Democrat

[464] İhsan Yılmaz, "Fakir Baykurt: Yılanların Öcü Bir Çığlık Edebiyatıdır," *Hürriyet Gösteri*, no. 197-198 (April-May 1997), p. 27. "*Türkiye'de öyle dönemler vardır ki, o dönemler bazı konulara duyarlıdır. Ben, 'Yılanların Öcü'nü yazmaya hazırlandığım yıllarda köy sorunu Türkiye'nin en can alıcı sorunuydu. Çok partili yaşama yeni geçmiştik, sandıktan habire köy çıkıyordu. Profesörün bir oyu var, köylünün bir vardı. Köylü oy veremez demiyorum, demem de; ama bu köy ağırlığının sandıkta kendini belirtmesiydi.*"

> Party, such a thesis had existed that the People's Party did not give a thing during its several years of power to the village, which had been inherited from the Ottoman sultanate. In the sphere of the press this thesis was adopted, led by *Cumhuriyet* newspaper and Nadir Nadis, and all of them started an assault on the old party in power… Against the People's Party… During this struggle, and during this thing of the other side, Mahmut Makal and this book occurred. I mean, a peasant openly brought out his own book. When this book was put onto the market, the assertions of the Democrat Party, which were all true, were ratified by this book. And it was the only book at that time. I mean, a peasant describes his own village and his own realities in his own language. The Democrat Party supported this, -*Cumhuriyet* newspaper- apparently, let's remember those years… This became a political issue. This political issue, this value giving, this struggle, created a very fortunate condition for Mahmut Makal's book. Was the book of Mahmut Makal, in fact a worthless book, no… I don't mean that, definitely, it is in fact a valuable book, there was no such example in its genre.[465]

After the Second World War, in the process of redefining and recreating the economy and the policy of Europe and the world, a new classification was created to address the problem of development and modernization of Third World countries. The main focus of the developmentalist perspective in this period was on rural structures. In order to create a stabilized world economy and policy, the need for information about the underdeveloped countries created the demand for information on the "reality" of rural structures. The supporters of developmentalism and intellectuals in Turkey complained of the non-existence of works that described the reality of the villages and peasantry, which could be used to achieve the desired goals. In addition to this lack, there was nothing but romanticist peasantist works

[465] Baykurt et al., *Beş Romancı*, p. 70. "*Ben izah edeyim mi? Mahmut Makal, öyle bir "hadd-i fasıl"da doğdu ki Halk Partisi-Demokrat Parti çatışmasında... Osmanlı saltanatından devr olan köye, Halk Partisi, şu kadar yıllık iktidarında hiçbir şey vermedi tezi vardı Demokrat Parti'de. Bu tezi, Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Nadir Nadiler de başta olmak üzere basın alanında hepsi birden topyekûn taarruza geçmiş vaziyetteydiler eski iktidara... Halk Partisine karşı... Bu mücadele, öbür tarafın da bu şeysi sırasında, Mahmut Makal ve bu kitabı meydana geldi. Yani, bir köylü kendi kitabını resmen ortaya attı. Piyasaya atınca, o zaman Demokrat Parti'nin iddialarını –ki hakikattı- tesvik etmiş oldu bu kitap. Ve tek kitaptı o zaman. Yani, bir köylü kendi köyünü, kendi gerçeklerini kendi diliyle vermişti. Demokrat Parti tuttu bunu –Cumhuriyet gazetesi- malum işte, o yılları hatırlayalım... Politik bir mevzu oldu bu. Bu politik mevzu, bu kıymet, bu çatışma Mahmut Makal'ın kitabının çok şanslı bir şartı oldu, Mahmut Makal'ın kitabı, ama haddi zatında değersizmiydi kitap, yok... onu kastetmiyorum, katiyen, haddi zatında değerli bir kitap, janrında öyle bir kitap yoktu.*"

which had been prepared by the "peasantist branches" of the People's Houses, a populist propaganda organization of the RPP.

In fact, there had been another book named *Bizim Köy* before Makal's book, but it had been the representative of the approach told above, and had not attracted the attention of the intellectuals and politicians. An example from this book illustrates the difference from Makal's book:

> The city-dwellers that come frequently to the village like us either for another thing: there are no such things as assault, murder, robbery, inauspiciousness in our village. Land conflicts do not occur. We do not make a pass at the honor of the others. We do not look with an evil eye at the neighbors' assets and life. The gendarmeries pass by our village, if they happen to pass. The tax collector turns back from the village room. The most crowded houses in our village are the wealthiest ones. If someone has more people in his house, he earns much more money.[466]

The descriptions in Cahit Beğenç's *Bizim Köy* mostly were received in an opposite way to that of the village literature works during the period under discussion. Instead of this idealized peasants, who had no such bad habits and did not have any problems with the gendarmeries and the state officials, Makal's description of the peasants, who lived in poverty and feared of the gendarmeries and the state officials, were found more realistic. This also shows that the perception of reality changed in this period according to the needs of the new system.

Another important reason behind the non-existence of this kind of realism in the previous works which dealt with rural structures was the anti-communist political atmosphere of the period. The relation of peasants to these anti-communist policies was analyzed in detailed in Chapter Four. Although the poverty of the rural poor and the rural exploitation had been mentioned in previous works, these writings mostly

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[466] Beğenç, *Bizim Köy*, p. 18. "*Köye sık sık gelen şehirliler bizi bir şeyden daha severler: bizde yaralama, adam öldürme, hırsızlık, uğursuzluk gibi şeyler yoktur. Tarla nizası yapmayız. Elin günün ırzına ayaline laf atmayız. Konu komşunun malına canına kem gözle bakmayız. Yolu düşerse, jandarma bizim köyden ancak o zaman geçer. Tahsildar köy odasından döner gider. Bizim köyde en varlıklı evler en kalabalık evlerdir. Kimin evinde insan çoksa o daha çok para kazanır.*"

dealt with the pre-Republican period. Even so, during the single-party era these writings had been prohibited and their writers had been arrested on the grounds of making communist propaganda. In this context, realism had been an undesirable approach for the single-party era writers.

The period of 1945-1960 was more dominated by anti-communism than the previous period. Then, how could this kind of realist literature, which discusses the rural poor, exploitation and ignorance as clear as a picture, flourish? Makal and the literature canon created after him achieved this with the help of two factors. Both of these factors, first, strengthened the assertion that this kind of literature was a reflection of reality, and second, obstructed the accusation of communist propaganda.

The first factor was related to the political atmosphere of the period. The DP's propaganda against the RPP government was based especially on the neglect of the villagers and especially the rural poor by the single-party regime. The DP used the "reality" described in Makal's book and by the literature trend following him as the justification of its propaganda against the RPP period. The intellectuals who supported the DP and transition to the multi-party system cherished the book. Samet Ağaoğlu, a prominent member of the DP and an intellectual writer, described the importance of *Bizim Köy* in the journal *Varlık*: "a new phase in our literature, maybe, begins with this little work of art."[467]

These good days did not last long. Makal was arrested a short time after his book was published. Along with not clearly explaining the main reason for his arrest, the state officials implied that the pretext of the arrest of Makal was not related to the book, but to a speech that he had made. Some words in this speech were identified by

[467] Kaplan, *Türk Romanında Köy*, p. 76. "*edebiyatımızda yeni bir merhale belki de bu küçük eserle başlayacaktır*"

the officials as being the propaganda of communism.[468] The statements of the governor of Niğde, who made the arrest of Mahmut Makal, are described in *Cumhuriyet* as follows:

> The arrest of Mahmut Makal, the writer of *Bizim Köy*, has become clear with the statement of the Governor of Niğde that is given above. Only, the crime that caused the arrest of the writer cannot be enlightened again. Although the governor states that the arresting has occurred not because of the book, but because of the speech that was made in the People's Houses, he did not touch the nature of the crime.[469]

The state officials who were directed by the party in power, the RPP, tried to convince the general public that the pretext of Makal's arrest was not the book, but his communist thoughts. Because, if this book, which was described insistently as a "picture of the reality," was prohibited by the party in power, this would weaken the image of the RPP, which was in fact worsening day by day, against the DP opposition. On the other hand, they had to prove that the things told in the book were exaggerated and that Makal was telling lies under the influence of his communist tendency. Mahmut Makal, in his memoirs, told the story of how the governor of Niğde made the effort to reveal that the things written in *Bizim Köy* are exaggerated, as follows:

> After they left, the governor of Niğde, İbrahim Tevfik Kutlar, came to the village the next day. To the peasants that gathered in front of the school, he suddenly said:
> "Take your feet out of your shoes!"

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[468] The speech that was said that Makal made in the People's Houses was as follows: "Today the rich people can educate their children; the children of the poor ones cannot be educated… However after one or two years a new state will be founded; after that time the rich, poor; the bagel seller, barber, blacksmith will go to the school all together, equally." "*Şimdiki zamanda zenginler çocuklarını okutuyor; fakirlerin çocuğu okuyamıyor… Fakat iki üç sene sonra yeni bir devlet kurulacak; o zaman zengin, fakir; simitçi, berber; demirci hep beraber ve müsaveten okutulacak*." *Nuhun Gemisi,* 19 April 1960, no. 25.

[469] "'Bizim Köy' Müellifinin Tevkifi," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 April 1950. "'*Bizim Köy' müellifi Mahmud Makal'ın tevkif edildiği Niğde Valisinin yukarıdaki izahatile de tebeyyün etmiş bulunuyor. Yalnız, müellifin tevkifine sebeb olan suç gene aydınlanmamış bulunmaktadır. Vali, tevkif hadisesinin eser yüzünden değil, Halkevinde yapılan bir konuşmadan ileri geldiğini beyan etmekle beraber, suçun mahiyetine temas etmemektedir.*"

> When the shoes were taken, he made a speech to them. He asked "Are you infested with lice, are you naked, are you hungry?" The peasants looked stupidly and did not understand a thing.
> Just after that he spoiled the beans and with showing me he said: "You see, that man is like a spy in between you. He is telling lies from here to abroad. He is saying that you are hungry, naked, he says you have no socks on your feet. Look, you all have socks in your feet, for God's sake… You are not like the ones that he told about in his book!..."[470]

Since they could not say that the things described in Makal's book were all lies, they tried to imply that he was a communist and exaggerated the condition of the rural people for making the propaganda of communism. Against the government's claims, especially the press tried to prove that Makal was not a communist and that his book presented nothing but the truth. So, in order to achieve that, *Cumhuriyet* newspaper made an interview with Makal[471] and to show that the rural people who were described in his book were real, the reporters visited his village.[472] In this way, both with the help of the DP's propaganda and the anti-RPP intellectuals' attitude, the extent of the reality in the story of Makal's book became stronger. But more important than that, the previously dominant romanticist peasantist comprehension was replaced by the peasantry in need of urgent development.

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[470] Makal, *Anımsı Acımsı*, p. 46. "*Onların ardından Niğde Valisi İbrahim Tevfik Kutlar geldi ertesi gün. Okulun önüne toplanan köylülere tepeden inme: 'Ayaklarınızı çıkarın kunduralarınızdan!' dedi. Ayaklar çıkında da bir söylev çekti onlara. 'Siz bitli misiniz, çıplak mısınız, siz aç mısınız?' diyerek. Köylüler aval aval bakıyorlar, hiçbir şey anlamıyorlardı. Derken baklayı ağzından çıkardı beni göstererek: 'İşte bu adam, aranızda casus gibidir. Yalan öğütüyor buradan öteye. Aç diyor sizler için, çıplak diyor, çorapları yok diyor. Bakın hepinizin çorabı var allaha şükür... Bunun kitabında anlattığı gibi değilsiniz!...*'"

[471] Ferdi Öner, "'Bizim Köy' Müellifi Ile Bir Konuşma," *Cumhuriyet* 13 April 1950, Ferdi Öner, "'Bizim Köy' Müellifi Hayatını Anlatıyor," *Cumhuriyet* 17 April 1950.

[472] Ferdi Öner, "'Bizim Köy'de Neler Gördük, Neler Duyduk?," *Cumhuriyet* 18 April 1950.

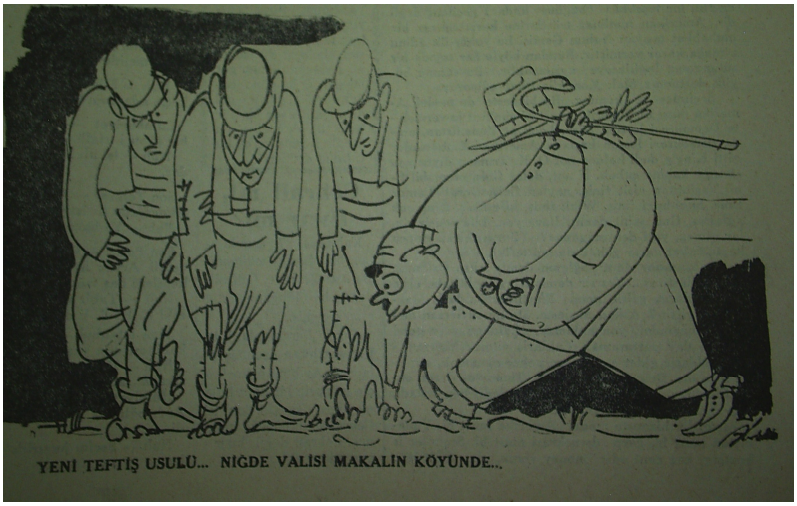


Figure 4. A caricature that criticizes the inspection of the governor of Niğde in Mahmut Makal's village[473]

The DP's support of Makal would continue after it came to power. *Cumhuriyet*, which pretty much volunteered to act in the role of spokesman for Makal, invited Makal to visit Istanbul, Bursa and Ankara. During this trip, Makal was the center of attention from the prominent intellectuals of the period. After his visit to the Turkish Journalists Association, he ate lunch at İstanbul University with the rector and after that he met with Yahya Kemal and talked to him on the Bosporus. He saw the sea for the first time and got on to a plane for the first time while going to Bursa and "investigated" the night life of İstanbul together with the journalist that accompanied him during his entire trip.[474] After this trip, Makal was invited to Çankaya, the residence of the president, to a meeting with Celal Bayar,

[473] *Nuhun Gemisi*, 26 April 1960, no. 26. Under the caricature it is written: "New type of inspection… The governor of Niğde is in Makal's village."
[474] Ferdi Öner, "Mahmud Makal 'Cumhuriyet'in Misafiri," *Cumhuriyet* 23 May 1950; Ferdi Öner, "Mahmud Makal, İstanbulu Geziyor," *Cumhuriyet* 24 May 1950; Ferdi Öner, "Mahmud Makal Boğaziçinde," *Cumhuriyet* 25 May 1950; Ferdi Öner, "Mahmud Makal Üniversitede," *Cumhuriyet* 26 May 1950; Ferdi Öner, "Mahmud Makal, Büyük Şehrin Gece Hayatını Tetkik Etti," *Cumhuriyet* 27 May 1950; Ferdi Öner, "Mahmud Makal Bursada," *Cumhuriyet* 28 May 1950; Ferdi Öner, "Mahmud Makalın Uçak Yolculuğu," *Cumhuriyet* 29 May 1950; Ferdi Öner, "Mahmud Makal, Üniversite Gençlerin Verdikleri Çayda," *Cumhuriyet* 30 May 1950; Ferdi Öner, "Mahmud Makal, Gazeteciler Cemiyetini Ziyaret Etti," *Cumhuriyet* 31 May 1950.

who was the leader of the DP and the president after the DP came to power. Makal talked to Celal Bayar on the village development issues during the meeting and according to the spokesman of the Presidency, who wrote an article in *Cumhuriyet* on Makal's visit to Bayar, Makal said:

> While going to Çankaya, I was thinking about how President Celal Bayar would meet me and what would he say on the village development issues. I saw Bayar as a sincere and intimate President who knows our claims. Due to that my gladness has increased. I am now going back to the village relieved. I am working, we will be successful![475]

After his İstanbul trip, Makal wrote his general views and the impressions that he got from this trip in an article in *Cumhuriyet*. In this article he stated clearly that he was not a communist. This article was very meaningful in strengthening the legitimacy that he gained while creating the village realism. The related part of this article was as follows:

> By the way I have to highlight an important point here: They showed me a newly published journal. Its name is as weird as its content. This journal published an open letter for me, it gives so much advice. According to them the people around me were exploiting me, they were deceiving me. They advised me see the poor areas of İstanbul, such and such things that I had to do, I needed to pass to their side. I thank for their advice but the problems of my village cannot be solved with the political acrobatics in the way that they understand. I don't need their advice. I have consciousness to compare the scenes of poverty and wealth. However, I do not make of the meanings that they understand from these comparisons. I do not use my village as bait for a class struggle. I believe that the problems of this country can only be solved by the people of this country. I cannot adjust my mind according to the ordered slogans brought from abroad. As I am the enemy of right-wing bigotry, so I am the enemy of left-wing bigotry. As a matter of fact, I don't assume that real problems can be solved through theories. The country wants us to work. We have to work for its service, as much as we can with devotion, no need for us to strive to save the world.[476]

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[475] Faruk Fenik, "Cumhur Başkanı Dün M. Makalı Kabul Etti," *Cumhuriyet* 16 June 1950. "*Çankayaya giderken Cumhur Başkanı Celal Bayar beni nasıl karşılayacak? ve köy meseleleri için neler söyliyecek diye düşünüyordum. Bayarı bizim davamızı bilen, samimi ve candan bir Cumhur Başkanı olarak gördüm. Onun için sevincim arttı. Şimdi köye daha çok iç rahatlığı ile gidiyorum. Çalışıyorum, muvaffak olacağız!*"

[476] Mahmud Makal, "İstanbuldan Ayrılırken," *Cumhuriyet* 3 June 1950. "*Söz açılmışken çok önemli bir noktaya dokunmadan geçemeyeceğim: Yeni çıkan bir dergi gösterdiler. Adı gibi içi de bir tuhaf. Bu dergi tutmuş bana açık bir mektup yayınlamış, bir sürü nasihatlar ediyor. Yok beni istismar*

With the effect of these trips, Makal created a new image of the peasantry around himself. He was now a "real peasant" whom the RPP had tried to label communist. In fact, he was a naïve, rural poor villager, who had only revealed the truth of the rural structure and actually knew nothing more than his own village. Makal was a village boy and came from inside of the village. He sincerely wanted the development and modernization of his village and struggled against the reactionary forces in the village that obstructed development. Due to that, he told the truth, and it was totally wrong to label him a communist.

Ferdi Öner, who was near Makal during his trip to İstanbul and wrote every detail to *Cumhuriyet*, said that he had seen many things during his trip for the first time. He created an image in the articles he wrote in *Cumhuriyet* and attached a naïve but intelligent personality to Makal. Thus, it would be proved that this "village boy" could not have any "treacherous" thoughts. This "real and sincere village boy," who was accepted by the DP and by its utmost leader Celal Bayar, became the symbol of the DP, which promised to follow developmentalist and progressive policies towards the peasants. With the help of the DP and the intellectual supporters, Makal would be acquitted of the accusations that were directed to dishonor him. As a result, these developments obstructed the anti-communist efforts, which prohibited the mention of poverty and relations of exploitation in the rural structure, and created

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ediyorlarmış, yok gözümü boyamaya çalışıyorlarmış, İstanbul'un sefalet manzaralarını görmeli, şöyle şöyle yapmalı, onların tarafına geçmeliymişim. Nasihatlerine teşekkür ederim ama, benim köyümün derdi onların anladığı şekilde bir politika canbazlığıyla halledilemez. Tavsiyelerine ihtiyacım yok. Fakirlik, zenginlik manzaraları arasında karşılaştırma yapacak kadar aklım var. Ama böyle karşılaştırmalardan ben, onların anladığı manaları çıkarmam. Köyümü bir sınıf kavgasına yem diye kullanamam. Ben, bu memleketin meselelerinin yalnız bu memleketin insanları tarafından halledileceğine inanıyorum. Dışarıdan getirilen ısmarlama parolalara göre kafamı ayarlayamam. Sağ yobazlığa ne kadar düşmansam, sol yobazlığa da o kadar düşmanım. Zaten nazariyeler yoluyla gerçek dertlerin karşılanabileceğini de sanmam. Memleket bizden iş istiyor. Kendimizi verip gücümüz yettiği kadar onun hizmetinde çalışalım, nemize lazım bizim dünyayı düzeltmeye kalkmak."

a strong relationship between the village literature genre and reality. The importance of this factor will be stressed later.

The second factor that had an important place in maintaining the relationship between the village literature and reality was the formation of a new generation of writers that could write "real" literature from within the village. The Village Institute experiment of the single-party regime, which had been founded to overcome the education problem of the rural people, had created a new generation that knew the village and could also write about it. In the Village Institutes the children of the rural people learned to read, write and also criticize. They became aware of the world's problems and discussed them. These practices created a new generation of conscious peasants who could talk and write about their feelings and problems. Between 1943-1947, the head of the students read books, newspapers and journals and, with the help of the supervisor teacher summarized the materials that were to be read were prepared and discussed together during the "Free Reading" hours.[477] In the same years, the world classics were translated to Turkish with the support of the minister of education, Hasan Ali Yücel. The students in the Institute's were mostly reading these newly translated books. These translations were called the "White Series." The naturalism of Emile Zola and Russian realist literature were translated in this series, too. This new generation was mostly affected by these sources and thus as Ömer Türkeş put it, "in most of the stories of the village literature, the peasants of Anatolia remind the readers, the Russian 'mujik'."[478]

The creation of the "notes from the village" genre in literature, the vanguard of which was Mahmut Makal, occurred in the Village Institutes, too. The *Köy*

[477] For the reading practices in the Village Institutes, see Hasan S. Keseroğlu, *Köy Enstitülerinde Kitap, Kitaplık ve Okuma* (İstanbul: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Yayınları, 1995).
[478] Türkeş, "Taşra İktidarı!," p. 213. "*pek çok hikayedeki Anadolu köylüsü bir 'mujiği' hatırlatır okuyucuya*"

Enstitüleri Dergisi (The Journal of Village Institutes), which was published by the Hasanoğlan Village Institute, was the first place that examples of this kind of literature were seen. Kemal Karpat said the following about this journal: "This small journal became the vanguard of the new village literature. The teachers and students published their stories, poems and observations in this journal. In all of the texts, there was a direct connection between what is told and what is lived; the thoughts were objective and based on the reality."[479]

As Karpat writes, the most important effect of these texts was the change they created in the perception of reality. The writers of these texts were actual peasants and they had been educated in the state's schools. There was a direct relation to reality in these texts and due to that their effective power was more than any other texts. When it is thought that these texts were published and distributed in high number as to the conditions of Turkey,[480] it is possible to assert that the new perception of the period towards the village and the peasants found this new constructed reality more functional from the previous peasantist ideology.

When the graduates of the Village Institutes, who later became literature writers are taken into consideration, the accusations of "making propaganda for communism" in the Institutes to the students were not that much wrong. However, more than being communists, as can be seen in the words of Makal quoted above, the peasants in these Institutes mostly believed in a more dynamic Kemalist modernization and development program directed for the development of the village. Saving the writers of the Institute graduates from the accusations of communism was a widespread effort among some distinguished intellectuals of the period. The

[479] Karpat, *Çağdaş Türk Edebiyatında*, p. 39.
[480] Atilla Özkırımlı says that this journal was published seventeen thousands per issue. Atilla Özkırımlı, "Anahatlarıyla Edebiyat," in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları), p. 594.

following words of Hasan Ali Yücel, the leading supporter of the Village Institutes, are a clear sign of this effort:

> There is one common point in the languages of these peasant youths that have entered into our literature. When you read them you feel sourness in your palate. It is a somewhat acrid and a bitter taste even. This taste is a new food for the old mouth. We need to stand for it. Need to stand for and search for why they are writing like that. What I found is that the expression movement that they feel, originated from the necessity of recovering from the poisons of the snakes that are settled down in the consciousness and the sub-consciousness of these youths, which have occurred due to the exploitation of the Turkish peasants in the hands of bad administrators for centuries by enslaving them under the most horrible and insubstantial beliefs. They want to get rid of those poisons with talking and writing. Their language will surely be acrid. If the *Şikayetname* (indictment) of Fuzuli was not a communist manifest, the vengeful and sometimes bitter smiling expressions of these peasant youths cannot be accepted as left-handedness, as some of our intellectuals supposed. They are writing with their right and clean hands.[481]

Such acquittal efforts of the intellectuals for the realist representatives of the village literature from communism strengthened the power of the things said in the village literature texts and resulted in the establishment of a new kind of perception towards the village. As was said in the title of the article of Hasan Ali Yücel, which is quoted above, this time, the peasants did not enter into literature with an intellectual perspective from outside of the village, but the peasants "entered themselves" with a look from "within its natural living space." Due to that, a new understanding established which asserted that the policies towards the development

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[481] Hasan Ali Yücel, "Türk Edebiyatına Kendi Giren Köylü," *Yeditepe*, no. 161 (15 Ağustos 1958), pp. 1, 3. "*Edebiyatımıza giren bu köylü gençlerin üsluplarında müşterek bir nokta var. Okuduğunuz zaman damağınızda bir burukluk duyuyorsunuz. Kekremsi, hatta acımsı bir tat. Bu tat, eski ağıza yeni taamdır. Dayanmalı. Dayanmalı ve neye böyle yazıyorlar araştırmalı. Benim bulduğum şu: Duydukları ifade hamlesi, Türk köylüsünün asırlar boyunca kötü idareciler elinde, en korkunç ve asılsız inançlara esir edilerek sömürülmesi neticesi, bu gençlerin bilincinde ve bilinçleri altında çöreklenmiş yılanların zehirleri dışarı atıp ondan kurtulma ihtiyacından geliyor. Söyliyerek ve yazarak bu zehirleri dökmek istiyorlar. Elbette üslupları buruk olacak. Fuzuli'nin Şikayetnamesi nasıl bir komünist manifesti değilse bu köylü gençlerin hınçlı bazan acı gülüşlü ifadeleri de bu kısım aydınlarımızın sandığı gibi solaklık eseri bellenmemelidir. Onlar, sağ ve temiz ellerile yazmaktadırlar.*"

of the village and the whole country had to be maintained by paying attention to this realist voice.

Actually, the writers that portrayed the village and peasants in their texts wrote for this purpose. Each one of them had a peculiar development plan for the peasants, who suffered in poverty and ignorance. In this way, the characteristic of the village literature canon became clear with *Bizim Köy*. These characteristics were the village as the origin of the writer, the writer as the bearer of the information on the reality of the village, the necessity of the production of the texts that mostly focused on the documentation of the village more than being literature and the presentation of these texts as a report to the concerned authority.[482] These characteristics mostly were used in defining the so-called village literature genre during and after this period.

As Zeki Coşkun said, actually, these texts were written as "a petition that were presented to the concerned authorities."[483] The motive behind these "petitions" is explained by Fakir Baykurt, as follows:

> I wanted to develop myself in the literary sphere and write books to support the coming of better days in Turkey, to serve the survival of the ones that grew up in hard conditions like me, to introduce and endear Turkey to the world as a country which is valuable in all respects and respectful with her people, flag and money. I want to be a writer as Maksim Gorki and want to make the people say, "Here is a writer from Turkey! His books are good; than his people must be good!"[484]

This state of mind of the graduates of the Village Institutes, which can be summarized in short as a commitment to the peasants and the development of the country, became the main themes in their literature works. The idealized goals that

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[482] Türkeş, "Taşra İktidarı!," p. 213.
[483] Zeki Coşkun, "Bireyi Iskalayan Roman," Available August 2009: *http://www.radikal.com.tr/1999/10/11/kultur/01bir.html* 15 May 2006.
[484] Baykurt, *Özyaşam 2*, p. 285. "*Kendimi yazın alanında geliştirip kitaplar yazmak, Türkiye'ye güzel günlerin gelmesine destek olmak, benim gibi zor koşullarda büyüyenlerin kurtulmasına hizmet etmek, Türkiye'yi dünyada her bakımdan değerli, insanları, bayrağı, parası saygın bir yurt olarak tanıtmak, sevdirmek istiyorum. Maksim Gorki gibi bir yazar olup "İşte Türkiye'nin bir yazarı! Kitapları güzel; öyleyse halkı da güzeldir!" dedirtmek istiyorum.*"

they gained from the Institutes, such as the development of the village and the spread of modernization through education, were reflected in their literature and they replaced themselves in these novels as the agents of this development and modernization. For this reason they portrayed themselves in their novels in the role of the village teacher that would bring modernization to the village, which was the most criticized factor in the village literature critiques afterwards.

As a result of the education they had received in the Institutes the peasants that learned how to think and write for themselves did not realize the differentiation of themselves as being the authors of the "reality" they produced. These "peasant writers" who became active with the motives of having a mission and struggling in order to realize this mission, during their education process began to get in an intellectual mood that was alienated from the village realities, which they presented in order to effect on the everyday politics. In Makal's *Bizim Köy*, this differentiation can clearly be seen. In this book, while describing about his village and the things that happened around even while telling his own family, he tells these things like he is coming across with them for the first time in his life. He asks question to the peasants he comes across in his village not like a peasant but more like a city-dweller. For example, he uses the following words while telling that he could not eat the village-made bread: "I am a peasant too, but how my mother cooked I don't remember, was it doughier before, it is now too hard for me."[485] He repeats this alienated mood in other parts of the book, saying that "my father got angry at my staring stupidly at him."[486] He talks sometimes in the book not like a peasant in his own village but as a city-dwelling state official, who was assigned to that village. Makal drew a profile of himself, who got alienated or transformed through

[485] Makal, *Bizim Köy*, p. 23. "*Biz de köylüyüz ya, anam nasıl yapardı bilmem, daha yufka olurdu da ondan mı ne, pek sert geliyor bana*"
[486] Ibid., p. 47. "*Benim afal afal hayretle seyredişime kızdı babam*"

education, in his book. He was now not a complete peasant or a complete city-dweller.

This situation also coincided with the designated missions of the Institute graduate writers. According to this view the village could only be transformed with interventions from above. This perspective is also reflected in their writings and the writers began to look at "their" villages from above. Their experience in the Institutes increased their knowledge and convenances on the world problems and due to that their perception towards the village changed and this development increased their efforts to make a change in the village. This change in their perception also affected their writing style and due to that their texts resemble not literature works but petitions. They are writing within from the village and at the same time, similar to the previous intellectual perspective, above from the village. Although the writers seemed to be complaining about the conditions of the peasants in these texts, they were in fact bringing a complaint on peasants to the state and the intellectuals that they considered the authorities responsible for the development of the peasants.

Although was previously stated, Fakir Baykurt may be excluded from this perspective, most of the village literature writers of this period believed that it was the duty of the intellectuals to find a way for the salvation of the peasant. These writers did not try to mobilize the peasants in order to emancipate them from their conditions. Instead, mostly due to not believing in the peasants' potential to achieve this, they gave this duty to the intellectuals in their writings. As an example to that perspective, Mahmut Makal compares his works, both as being aware of this situation and for trying to abstain from this awareness, with *Yaban* (Stranger), a novel by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, as follows:

> And I can say that, my only leader is the village itself. After I finished the village institutes, I returned and began to experience the village from

> the beginning. While experiencing it I just wanted to write. I wanted to state clearly that, we mentioned about *Yaban* just now. The second time I read *Yaban* was during my writing of these notes from a village. How Yakup Kadri calls out to the Turkish intellectuals –at that time I got angry with Yakup Kadri- I want to call out to the Turkish intellectuals from another perspective. I want to call out as I understand it. This is the work of that. *Bizim Köy* is a call out to the Turkish intellectual. I wrote it like that.[487]

This realist village literature, which was created with the effect of Makal, was criticized and attacked surely by various groups and perspectives during the period. That the RPP tried to eliminate the reality in this literature works was mentioned above. In addition to that, the RPP side again tried to organize a campaign especially against Makal's works, claiming that these novels actually had been created by the intellectuals that supported the DP and wanted to incapacitate the government in power. These groups believed that this kind of literature work could not be written by a peasant himself. Also, in order to reduce the effects of the reality that has been told in this book, they asserted that *Bizim Köy* had been written by Yaşar Nabi himself and due to their "secret goals" the book had published in the name of Makal.[488] In this way, they hoped to prove that this book was not written by a "real" peasant and that the things written in it were not real and they were only the propaganda of the ill-minded opposition. However, the general political atmosphere obstructed the effect of this anti-propaganda and did not give the result of the removal of the realist effect of the book.

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[487] Baykurt et al., *Beş Romancı*, pp. 71-72. "*Ve benim tek önderim, diyebilirim ki köyün kendisi. Ben, köy enstitülerini bitirdikten sonra döndüm, yeni baştan köyü tanımağa başladım. Tanırken de yazmak içimden geldi. Açık söyliyeyim, ben işte şunu söyliyeyim, biraz evvel "Yaban"dan bahsettik. "Yaban"ı ikinci okuyuşum benim, bu köyden notları yazışımla beraberdir. Türk münevverine Yakup Kadri nasıl sesleniyor –ben o arada Yakup Kadri'ye kızdım- Türk münevverine başka bir açıdan seslenmek istedim. Kendi anladığım şekilde seslenmek istedim. Bu, bunun eseridir. "Bizim Köy" Türk münevverine bir sesleniştir. Bu şekilde kaleme alınmıştır.*" It is clear that *Bizim Köy* was written and marketed for the use of the intellectuals of the period in an advertisement that occurred in *Cumhuriyet*. In an advertisement replaced just on one side of the head title of the newspaper it said that: "Mahmut Makal, *Bizim Köy*, third edition is published. Per copy is 1 lira until there remains no intellectuals that did not read this book." "*Mahmud Makal, Bizim Köy, 3 üncü basılışı çıktı. Bu kitabı okumamış tek aydın kalmayıncaya kadar tanesi 1 liradır.*" *Cumhuriyet,* 20 April 1950.
[488] Ibid., p. 73.

Another attack on the realist village literature works held the old time accusations again during the new period. The village literature, which mostly treated the subjects that coincided with the developmentalist policies of the DP for a long time and, due to that, which were accused of being "the tool of the official ideology" of the DP, this time was accused by the DP of pretexts similar to that the RPP had during its power years. This change in the DP's approach to the village literature occurred as a result of the DP's failure in its economic development policies towards the peasants. During the formation years of the village literature cannon, the village literature was used as a tool to attack the policies of the RPP and the single-party period. This time, this tool was directed to the DP policies without changing its content or its realism and gradually in increasing numbers. After the publication of *Bizim Köy*, together with *Köyümden* in a single edition in English,[489] the dosage of the criticism of the village literature from by DP side increased. Two editorials published in the DP's media organ *Zafer* in 1955 directly pointed at Makal and the village literature that had developed during the time as a target and made the following accusations, similar to those were seen during the RPP government:

> A defeatist and destructive propaganda, which tries to enter to the daily newspapers, journals, universities, unions and factories and to many other organizations, as in the form of Anatolian interviews, as so-called literature meetings, as various poems, stories and articles, as gossips, secret whisperings and continuous inculcations, disregards the great development movement in the country, the wealth that many of our regions and villages have gained and the recovery movements. It

[489] Makal told in his memoirs that the Turkish authorities in Britain tried to obstruct the publication of his book as follows: "The owner of the publishing house, who published my books *Bizim Köy* and *Hayal ve Gerçek* (Dream and Reality) in one volume as 'A Village in Anatolia' said that: 'One day two individuals came from your embassy. They asked how many copies we had published of the book. We have published five thousand, and I said it. We are buying all of them, they said. I was happy. They asked me why I was happy for. I said, I could publish it again now, that is why I am happy. No, they said, we are buying on the condition that you will not publish it again. I will not sell it then, I said, they left deep in thought…" *"Bir gün sizin sefaretten iki kişi geldi. Kitabı kaç tane bastığımızı sordular. Beş- bin basmıştık, söyledim. Hepsini satın alıyoruz, dediler. Sevindim. Neden sevindiğimi sordular. Yeniden basabileceğim için seviniyorum, dedim. Yok, hayır biz yeniden basmamanız koşuluyla alıyoruz, dediler. O zaman, satmıyorum, dedim ve kös kös gittiler..."* Makal, *Anımsı Acımsı*, p. 83.

> presents Anatolia overall as a molehill, all of the peasants and the workers as a miserable destitute mass, all of the country as an abandoned, neglected and abandoned country. Some of the painters, caricaturists, young poets and story tellers are encouraged to create their arts according to the theory that is convenient with the directives of Moscow, which is named as "social realism."[490]

In the first years of the making of the village literature canon, the literature was used as a weapon against the RPP and the practices of the single-party regime. But as the years passed, this weapon was turned against the DP. This kind of realism in literature had been championed by the DP, but it became the main target. Now the DP tried to accuse the writers of being communists. However, once this kind of realism was cleared from the accusations of supporting communism, the DP could not find any supporters among the intellectuals for the same accusation this time. Only some of the DP members and tenacious supporters of anti-communism supported the efforts to prohibit the village literature works. As a result, the DP became the target of an oppositional space that it once had glorified by its own hand and could not develop any acceptable attitude towards it.

The criticism of the village literature genre did not develop only through the groups that were directly affected by the realism in these novels and their necessary efforts to obstruct the development of this literature with political discourse. The criticism also arose from within the literature sphere, which would intensify after the mid-1960s, but also would develop gradually during this period. At first, a discussion on the village literature developed in the readers' response section of the *Forum* journal during the 1950s. Some of the readers, after Mahmut Makal, began to

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[490] "Memleketin Bir Numaralı Davası", *Zafer*, 31 May 1955. "*Günlük gazetelere, dergilere, üniversitelere, sendika ve fabrikalara ve daha birçok teşekküllere sokulmaya çalışan bozguncu ve yıkıcı bir propaganda, Anadolu röportajları halinde, güya edebiyat toplantıları halinde, çeşitli, şiir, hikaye ve makaleler halinde, dedikodu gizli fısıltı, sistemli ve devamlı telkinler halinde memleketteki büyük kalkınma hareketini, birçok bölgemizin ve köylerimizin kavuştuğu refahı, sayısız doğrulma hamlelerini hiçe sayar; Anadolu'yu baştanbaşa bir köstebek yuvası, bütün köylüyü ve işçiyi açlıktan nefesi kokan sefil bir kitle, bütün memleketi sahipsiz, bakımsız, kendi haline bırakılmış bir ülke halinde gösterir. Bir kısım ressamlar karikatüristler, genç şair ve hikâyeciler "Sosyal gerçeklik" adı verilen Moskova direktifine uygun bir nazariye istikametinde eser yapmaya teşvik edilirler.*"

complain in the *Forum* about the lack of artistic apprehensions in the village literature texts. At the same time, the readers criticized that being a village-originated writer should not allow anyone to be the only authority in the literature sphere. According to the readers, these writers presented themselves as having a monopoly on this subject. The readers also said that with the effect of the fame that Makal gained during the process, a new literary mass had been created with a low-quality of artistic apprehension, such as in Makal's works.[491] As opposed to that, some other readers defended Makal and the discussions continued and after a few articles more critiques on this subject ended. Although the real discussion on the artistic quality of these works occurred during the 1960s, it can be asserted that even during these early years there was a group of people that became unhappy about the developments in the literature.

The discussions on the literature during the 1960s and 1970s were at the same time discussions on how the class struggle in Turkey should be portrayed in literary works. The increase in the number of literary works that defended both similar peasantist approach still in the 1960s and the static approach to the village and the peasants since Makal, led those who complained about this development to an open critique of these literary works. Mehmet Bayrak gives an overall presentation of the critiques on the village literature from the literary side and summarizes the view of Attila İlhan, who made the sharpest critique of the village literature, as follows:

> İlhan says that, he dislikes not "the village and peasant literature" but the *Bizim Köy* literature. What he understood from the *Bizim Köy* literature is defined with these words:

[491] Behiç Duygulu, "Forumcular ve 'Bizim Köy'lü," *Forum* 4, no. 48 (15 March 1956). On the monopoly of the peasant-writers in this literature genre, Behiç Duygulu says the following words as a critique: "They are looking down on to the artists, which try to present the village without being peasant and writing not with an arid language as they actually do, but with art." "*Köylü olmayıp ta köyü vermeye kalkan, gerçekte onlar gibi kupkuru değil de sanatla veren sanatçıyı küçümsüyorlar*." p. 15.

a) This literature "revolves around some particular themes". Their basic assertion is that the development of the village will be done by the teacher; the development method will be the education. This literature "missed out that the Village Institutes aimed to obstruct the proletarianization of the peasants."
b) Both the Village Institutes and the writers that grew out of there take the development of the country and the peasants as being the problem of education, in other words a problem of superstructure.
c) These writers have stereotyped the problems, themes and even the villages and the characters for years. "They are writing so stereotyped so similar things that if you sign the book of one of them with the signature of the other, even they could not understand the difference."
ç) It is asserted and stressed that "in the books of the village writers, with an astonishing insistence, Turkey stands still in the place where it was twenty-five years ago, even it flows along the rails of a capitalist development process at a dizzying pace." These writers "either do not feel or pretend not to have heard in their flesh the capitalization process of the country and the urbanization process of the peasant masses."
A. İlhan also mentions the place of the peasantry in the revolution and after defining the "*Bizim Köy* literature" for himself as such, he says that "this literature is not socialist but a RPP supporter of the İnönü period" and "these minds, whose desire is to change their class origin, cannot maintain the socialist revolutionary Turkish literature."[492]

As was discussed above, actually the main anxiety of the village literature writers was not to solve the class differentiation in the village but to bring about the village development and the awakening of the intellectuals about the village problems. Except for Makal and the like, who clearly stated their anti-communist tendency, this cannot be said of the other representatives of the village literature genre. For example, the motivation of writing village novels in Yaşar Kemal, Orhan

[492] Mehmet Bayrak, *Köy Enstitülü Yazarlar Ozanlar, İnceleme-Antoloji* (Ankara: Töb-Der Yayınları, 1978), pp. 22-23. "*İlhan, "köy ve köylü edebiyatından" değil; (Bizim Köy) edebiyatından hoşlanmadığını söylüyor, (Bizim Köy Edebiyatı)ndan ne anladığınıysa şu görüşleriyle ortaya koyuyordu: a) Bu edebiyat, "belirli temalar çevresinde dolaşır". Temeli, köyü kalkındıracak adamın öğretmen, kaldırma yönteminin de eğitim olduğudur. Bu edebiyat; "Köy Enstitülerinin, köylünün proleterleşmesini önleme amacını gözden kaçırmıştır." b) Köy Enstitüleri de, oradan çıkan yazarların çoğu da, ülkenin ve köylünün kalkınmasının bir eğitim yani üstyapı sorunu olarak ele almaktalar. c) Bu yazarlar, yıllardır sorunları, konuları hatta köyleri ve tipleri klişe haline getirmiştir. "Öylesine beylik, öylesine birbirine benzer şeyler yazıyorlar ki, birinin imzasını ötekinin kitabına atsanız, kendileri bile ayıramazlar." ç) "Kapitalist bir gelişme sürecinin raylarında başdöndürücü bir hızla akıp gittiği halde, köy yazarlarının kitaplarında, şaşılacak bir ısrarla, Türkiye'nin yirmibeş yıl önceki yerinde durduğu" öne sürülüyor, vurgulanıyor. "Köylü yığınlarının şehirleşme, ülkenin kapitalistleşme sürecini etlerinde ya duymaz, ya duymazlıktan gelirler" bu yazarlar. Köylülüğün devrimdeki yerine de ilişen A. İlhan, "Bizim köy edebiyatı"nın kendince böyle bir tanımını yaptıktan sonra; "Bu edebiyatın toplumcu değil, İnönü dönemi CHP'lisi olduğunu" ve "hevesi sınıf değiştirmek olan bu kafaların sosyalist devrimci Türk edebiyatını gerçekleştiremeyeceklerini" söylüyordu.*"

Kemal or Kemal Tahir was totally different from the village literature writers who graduated from the Village Institutes. In fact, "the *Bizim Köy* literature" definition of Attila İlhan mostly refers to the latter representatives of the village literature canon.

Fethi Naci, an important literature critic in Turkey, approached the discussions on the realism of village literature from an alternative perspective. He said that in underdeveloped countries like Turkey, village literature was perceived as realism, but in industrialized countries the tendency to write about villages or rural structures indicated an "escapist tendency." In the critique of Knut Hamsun's novels by Georg Lukacs, Lukacs said that in relation to the decline of bourgeois society, the novel of the bourgeoisie "moves away from the capitalist reality, and escapes to the village, which is isolated as much as possible from capitalism."[493]

Actually, this escapist tendency was the basis of the village romanticism. But in the making of this realist village literature in Turkey, if we put the single-party village literature aside, there was no escape, but awareness. Even so, when we consider both the critiques of Attila İlhan and the escape analogy of Fethi Naci together, we can talk about another kind of escapist tendency or "escape literature," which was influential in the making of the village literature.

The center of the escapism in Turkish literature was from the city to the village, too. But this time, the reason to move away from the cities to the villages was not capitalism but anti-communism, which obstructs the mention of any kind of class and exploitation relations that occurs in the cities. As a subject of literature or even as a subject of social science research, any kind of engagement with class relations in the cities would be seen as evidence of being a communist by the state, regardless of whether it was in the single or multi-party period. Instead, this kind of

[493] Naci, *Roman ve Toplumsal Değişme*, p. 261. "*kapitalist gerçeklik dışında, kapitalizmden olabildiğince soyutlanmış bir köye doğru kaçış*"

literature began to choose its subjects from the psychological/inner problems of the individual. The city literature was more individualistic than the village literature, but this would make it more qualified as a literature style. Atilla Özkırımlı summarizes this development as follows:

> Parallel to the village literature, the storytellers that became famous between the years 1950-1960, such as Vüs'at O. Bener, Yusuf Atılgan, Nezihe Meriç, Leyla Erbil, Ferit Edgü, Demir Özlü, Onat Kutlar, Erdal Öz, Adnan Özyalçıner, Bilge Karasu, developed a new perception in storytelling, which was a reaction against the realism of the village literature. The aim of this perception was not the negation of realism or trying to establish a perception of art other than realism, but the necessity to make a new interpretation of the realism. What was contravened by these storytellers was the cliché in the village literature, or the barrenness in the stories, which was limited to the closed environment and the adventure of the little man. They defend to overcome the superficial realism that depends on event-based stories in which uniform individuals are treated. In relation to these critiques, which were mostly directed at the previous generation and to the village literature, they tried to treat the individual at first, outer observations were changed with inner observations and not the events but the situations are analyzed in their stories. This new development, which can be related to Sait Faik's stories in the recent era, also bears the effects of the French new novel and the stream of consciousness technique with trends such as surrealism and existentialism.[494]

As a result of this development, in the words of Ahmet Oktay, "these writers, who could not use the Marxist concepts, left the village literature, which was produced through some cliché oppositions such as evil, exploiter *ağa*/exploited peasant, reactionary imam/progressive district governor aside. They moved towards portraying problems such as the loneliness, lack of communication and sexuality of

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[494] Özkırımlı, "Anahatlarıyla Edebiyat," pp. 596-597. "*Köy edebiyatına koşut olarak 1950-1960 arası adlarını duyuran Vüs'at O. Bener, Yusuf Atılgan, Nezihe Meriç, Leyla Erbil, Ferit Edgü, Demir Özlü, Onat Kutlar, Erdal Öz, Adnan Özyalçıner, Bilge Karasu gibi hikayecilerin köy edebiyatı gerçekliğine tepki olarak yeni bir hikaye anlayışı geliştirdikleri görülür. Amaçlanan gerçekçiliğin yadsınması, gerçekçilik dışında bir sanat anlayışının yerleştirilmesi değil, gerçekçiliğe yeni bir yorumun getirilmesi gerektiğidir. Karşı çıkılan, köy edebiyatındaki basmakalıplık ya da dar bir çevreye, küçük adamın serüvenine kapanan hikayedeki kısırlıktır. Olay anlatımına dayalı, bir örnek kişilerin yansıtıldığı yüzeysel gerçekçiliğin aşılması savunulmaktadır. Bir önceki kuşağa ve köy edebiyatına yöneltilen bu eleştirilere bağlı olarak hikayede bireyin öne alındığı, dış gözlemin yerine iç gözlemin geçtiği, olayların değil durumların irdelendiği görülmektedir. Sait Faik'in son dönem hikayelerine bağlanabilecek bu yeni atılım, gerçeküstücülük, varoluşçuluk benzeri akımlarla Fransız yeni romanının ve bilinç akımı tekniğinin de etkilerini taşımaktadır.*"

urban individuals, in other words, petite-bourgeois individuals on the way to becoming intellectual."[495] As a result of the dominant political preferences of the period, the city lost its role as the main sphere of class relations and instead the village undertook the same role with the help of the village literature.

I like to call this shift from city to village the "Makal Effect." The creation and acceptance of the reality in the making of the village literature canon with the effect of Mahmut Makal's *Bizim Köy*, as described above, paved the way for this shift. The use of Makal's book in the multi-party struggle between the DP and the RPP, the intellectuals' favoring attitude, and by using the power coming from within the rural people, his gaining the status of the "spokesman of the ultimate reality" created the legitimacy of telling stories of poverty and exploitation. Makal's narrative of reality, which was accepted by the intellectuals and approved by the party in power, made the village a space in which class differentiations could be mentioned. Also, the possibility of defining the village as a sphere of social struggle occurred with this acceptance. Within this context, the Makal Effect maintained the formation of the village as a legitimate sphere of political struggle. The affirmative dialogue with developmentalism during the period and parrying the obstructions of anti-communism eased the formation of this legitimate sphere.

After Makal, many authors began to write on the problems of the rural people. Village literature became the dominant literature movement of the period. Even writers who did not come from the village or knew nothing about the village tried to write on this subject. The legitimacy of this sphere, which was acquired

[495] Ahmet Oktay, "Sartre ve 1950 Kuşağı," *Birgün Kitap*, no. 21 (25 July 2006), p. 3. "*Marksist kavramları kullanamayan bu yazarlar, kötü, sömürgen ağa/sömürülen köylü, gerici imam/ilerici kaymakam gibi klişe karşıtlıklarla üretilen köy edebiyatı'nı bir yana bıraktılar. Kent bireyi'nin, daha kesinleyici bir söyleyişle küçük burjuvaziden gelen aydın olma yolundaki bireylerin yalnızlık, iletişimsizlik, cinsellik gibi tinsel sorunlarına yöneldiler.*"

during the period, led this shift from city to village in the literature works. Makal mentions this development in his memoirs as follows:

> As a matter of fact, according to the rumors, my first book was written by Yaşar Nabi or Hakkı Tonguç. During those years, Kemal Tahir was saying that "the village is an adobe house" and due to that no literature can come from there. Necati Cumali, who was sent to Paris by the undersecretary of the Prime Ministry, was also saying "no novel can be written from the village" in his articles. Due to that, I could not have written anything from the village. Then, how did Yaşar Nabi or Tonguç find subjects in between the adobe houses of the villages? Besides, were not that the books of Kemal Tahir, such as *Köyün Kamburu*, *Sağırdere*, *Göl İnsanları*, books that had risen from the village? Did Zeliş of Cumalı harvest the tobacco inside of İzmir?[496]

A similar assessment of this development was made by Samim Kocagöz during that time, as follows: "Some of our novelists, who claim that they are seventh generation İstanbul residents, write now on Anatolia and the village. The writers that want to write on the city cannot find a thing to write about the city. Maybe it is hard to find the city. They all stroll around the shop windows of Beyoğlu boulevard."[497]

After the demise of "city-literature," the social problems of the city were treated in another version of the literature. Mehmed Seyda described this development as follows:

> In this condition, the writing space of the writers that will mention city people becomes narrow with the triple pressure coming from both the extreme right and left and the liberals from above. The comfort of the other is not available for it. Any word can be understood differently. However, the love of humanity cannot be obstructed with anything and can overcome every barrier. Due to that, it changes its way. The urban literature chooses an indirect way for itself. What is this way, a new kind

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[496] Makal, *Anımsı Acımsı*, pp. 60-61. "*Zaten, ortada dolaşan söylentilere göre, ilk kitabımı Yaşar Nabi ya da Hakkı Tonguç yazmıştı. O yıllarda, Kemal Tahir "Köy dediğin dört kerpiç dam" diyerek, köyden yazı çıkmayacağını söylüyordu. Başbakanlık Müsteşarı Munis Faik'in Paris'e yolladığı Necati Cumalı da "Köyden roman çıkmaz" diyordu yazılarında. Öyleyse, ben de köyden yazı çıkaramazdım. Peki, Yaşar Nabi ya da Tonguç nasıl konu bulmuşlardı o dört tanecik kerpiç dam arasında? Dahası, Kemal Tahir'in Köyün Kamburu, Sağırdere, Göl İnsanları vb. köyden gelen öyküler değil miydi? Cumalı'nın Zeliş'i İzmir'in içinde mi tütün kırmıştı.*"

[497] Samim Kocagöz, "Şehirli Romancı, Köylü Romancı," *Yeni Ufuklar* 8, no. 93 (February 1960), p. 271. "*Değme, yedi göbek sülalesinin İstanbul'lu olduğunu savunan romancılarımız, bugün, Anadolu'yu köyü yazıyorlar. Şehiri yazmak isteyen yazarlar da şehirden yazacak hiçbir şey bulamıyorlar. Belki de şehiri bulmak güç oluyor. Akşam sabah, Beyoğlu caddesinin vitrinlerini geziyorlar.*"

> of symbolism? No; humor literature. Is there any kind of obstruction in a place, you tell the things that cannot tell directly by "making them laugh bitterly." I am telling you my daughter, but you understand my daughter-in-law.[498]

The city literature mostly preferred this way during the 1950s and due to that the humor literature during this period developed more than other kinds of city literature. The prominent humor writers such as Aziz Nesin and Rıfat Ilgaz published their first important works during this period. The criticism on the city problems mostly developed through this kind of literature. This development can also be defined as another aspect of the escapist tendency in literature during this period.

The legitimacy of the village literature also enabled some of the oppositional writers to use this legitimacy for political purposes. Some of the writers that had a socialist tendency, such as Fakir Baykurt and Kemal Tahir, used this legitimacy in spreading socialist views in their novels. They even put some of the poems of Nazım Hikmet, which were illegal during that period, into their novels or mentioned the equality among the classes of society. They, surely, did not make this practice openly; however, the banned poems of Nazım Hikmet found themselves a place in the widely read literature of the period in this way. For example, in *Yılanların Öcü*, Fakir Baykurt tells the thoughts of a poor landless night-watchman Mustafa, and his thought mostly resembles the *Davet* (Invitation) poem of Nazım Hikmet:

> You will put fire all of it and make them burn furiously… The house of the traitor will be burned! Together with the ones inside!.. Oh the gates of plutocracy, oh!.. Don't let them open again!.. If you burn it, it will be closed… None of them ever be opened in this world again! Let all the

[498] Mehmed Seyda, "Köy Edebiyatı-Şehir Edebiyatı," *Sanat Dünyası* 6, no. 143 (1962), p. 11. "*Şu halde, şehir insanlarını anlatacak yazarın yazı alanı, hem aşırı sol hem aşırı sağdan gelen, bir de tepeden bastıran liberalistlerin üçgen baskısıyla daralmış durumda. Ötekinin rahatlığı onda yok. Bir söz her yana çekilip uzatılabilir. Ama insan sevgisi dağ taş dinlemediğine, her yoldan aşıp gittiğine göre o ne yapıyor? Şehirli edebiyatı, kendine, o zaman, dolambaçlı bir yol seçiyor. Bu yol nedir, yeni bir sembolizm mi? Hayır; mizah edebiyatı, Bir yerde çeşitli engeller mi var. Dümdüz anlatamadığını "acı acı güldürerek" anlatırsın. Kızım sana söylüyorum, gelinim sen anla.*"

> hardships be ended. Let end all the poverty! Let necessarily annihilate man's servitude to man! All I have done is just servitude to man!..[499]

Another factor effective in the development and the dominance of the village literature sphere, was the increase in the publication of village literature books after the unexpected interest in *Bizim Köy* of Mahmut Makal. There was a great race to publish the village literature books during this period between *Varlık Yayınları*, which was directed by Nadir Nadi, and *Yeditepe Yayınları*, which was directed by Samim Kocagöz. In addition to that, many village stories and discussions on the village literature genre were featured in the journals published by these publishing houses. Through these publications, these two publishing houses dominated the literary publishing sphere and created a monopoly. Some other publishing houses, such as *Remzi Yayınevi*, tried to break this monopoly and published some of the prominent authors' books, such as those of Yaşar Kemal and Cengiz Tuncer.[500] In order to enter this publishing market, *Çağlayan Yayınları*, which published *Yağmur Duası* novel of Refik Erduran, even held a contest for the village literature novels. The announcement of this contest was given on the back cover of *Yağmur Duası* as follows:

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[499] Baykurt, *Yılanların Öcü*, p. 213. "*Bir ataş vereceksin, yanıp çıkıp gidecek cayır cayır... Yanıp çıkıp gidecek dürzünün evi! İçindekilerle barabar!.. Ah el kapıları, ah!.. Kapansın el kapıları!.. Yakacaksın ki kapansın... Başkaları da açılmasın namusuz dünyada! Yokluklar yok olsun. Yok olsun yoksulluklar! İlle de kulun kula kulluğu kalksın! Tam kulun kula kulluğu benimki!...*" The poem of Nazım Hikmet is as follows: "Galloping from Far Asia and jutting out into the Mediterranean like a mare's head this country is ours. Wrists in blood, teeth clenched, feet bare and this soil spreading like a silk carpet, this hell, this paradise is ours. Shut the gates of plutocracy, don't let them open again, annihilate man's servitude to man, this invitation is ours. To live like a tree single and at liberty and brotherly like the trees of a forest, this yearning is ours." Also Kemal Tahir in his novel *Körduman*, makes one of an educated peasant talk on the dream of equality among the peasants and the city-dwellers. See Kemal Tahir, *Körduman* (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1976), p. 106.

[500] In a review of Cengiz Tuncer's novel *Hacizli Toprak* (Confiscated Lands) (1959) in *Akis*, this monopoly and competition between the publishing houses was defined as follows: "*Remzi Kitabevi* makes a great service to our novel with a series of publications that are prepared for the young Turkish novelists. *Remzi Kitabevi* is needed to be congratulated for ending the sultanate of the owners of some publishing houses, whose number does not exceed one or two and which loll against to some journals." "*Remzi Kitabevi, genç Türk romancıları için hazırladığı bir seri yayınla, romanımıza gerçekten büyük bir hizmet ediyor. Sayıları biri ikiyi geçmiyen ve sırtlarını dergilere dayayan bazı yayınevi sahiplerinin saltanatlarına son verdiği için Remzi Kitabevini tebrik etmek gerekir.*" *Akis* 17, no. 295 (23 March 1960).

> *Çağlayan Yayınevi* will always support the village question, which every Turkish citizen believes it will have a great role in the development of our country, with its entire means. We will also present the works of Mahmut Makal and Yaşar Kemal, who are the writers that are grown from inside of village, to our readers as much as possible. We are holding our great novel contest preferably on the works that are written on this subject. The jury, which consists of Refik Halid Karay, Reşat Nuri Güntekin, Hasan Âli Yücel, Cevat Fehmi Başkut and Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, considers the works that are sent to us. When the final results are in, we will publish the winning novel. Our publishing house will always consider works that treat this subject that are not dull or arid, on the contrary, in order to attract wider attention they need to be written in an attractive and lively style. *Yağmur Duası* is our first step on this way.[501]

Some other publications tried to benefit from this publishing rush and these books also asserted that the only problem in the country was not the village development. The publication of a little book with the title of *Bu Da Bizim Şehir* (This is Our City) (1950) shows the condition of this publishing rush and what some of the intellectuals understood about the problems of the cities during that time. The explanations of the writer in the foreword of this book, which was written in a moralist style, are enough to present the general understanding:

> We learned with all of its openness in "*Bizim Köy*" how our villages are sacrificed to negligence until tomorrow by leaving them totally to nature, deprived of technical progress in an inert and superstitious condition. I tried to present in "*Bizim Şehir*" our moral negligence by giving various examples of the deprivations of some cultural factors such as religion, ethics and tradition, which occurred in parallel to the civil development level of our cities.[502]

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[501] Erduran, *Yağmur Duası*, back cover. No information is found that if the contest was held or what were the results. "*Memleketimizin kalkınmasında en büyük rolü oynıyacağına bütün Türk vatandaşlarının inandığı köy davasını Çağlayan Yayınevi bütün imkânlarıyla herzaman destekliyecektir. Mahmut Makal ve Yaşar Kemal gibi köyün içinden yetişmiş yazarların da eserlerini fırsat buldukça okuyucuları¬mıza sunacağız. Büyük roman müsabakamızı da tercihan bu mevzuda yazılmış eserlere açtık. Refik Halid Karay, Reşat Nuri Güntekin, Hasan Âli Yücel, Cevat Fehmi Başkut ve Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil'den müteşekkil jüri gelen eserleri tetkik et¬mektedir. Son netice alınır alınmaz ka¬zanan romanı neşredeceğiz. Yayınevimiz bu davayı tutan eser¬lerin kuru ve sıkıcı olmaması, bilâkis en geniş alâkayı çekmek için mümkün mertebe cazip ve hareketli bir tarzda yazılması gerektiğini daima gözönünde bulunduracaktır. Yağmur Duası bu yolda attığımız ilk adımdır.*"

[502] Selahattin Şenelt, *Bu Da Bizim Şehir* (İstanbul: Gün Basımevi, 1950), p. ii. "*Düne kadar köylerimizin teknik terakkiden mahrum atıl ve batıl bir surette tamamile tabiata terk edilerek, nasıl bir ihmale kurban gittiğinin (Bizim Köy) den bütün açıklığile öğrenmiş bulunuyoruz. Şehirlerimizin de medeni gelişme cehdine paralel olarak din, ahlak, adet ve anane gibi kültürel faktörlerden mahrum*

This publication rush on village literature works spread to the film industry. After a short time period, movies that treated the village problems were shot. The movies, whose scripts were written by Yaşar Kemal or Kemal Bilbaşar, mostly were shot during the period in question.[503] However, either most of these films were censored by the state authorities or some of them adjusted the discourse in the movies with the desired view of the state.[504] Nevertheless, even in this situation, the transition from written to the visual art increased the dominance of the village literature and the themes of village and peasantry became the most known and demanded "realities" of the period.

The publishing houses were effective in the creation of an increase in the number of the village literature works. The owners of the publishing houses mostly chose not to get into a controversy with the government in power in order to continue their work without causing any problems. Due to that, they even self-censored the literary works.[505]

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bir hale doğru götürülmüş bulunmasının akla gelen çeşitli misallerini vermek suretile manevi bakımdan uğradığımız ihmali (Bizim Şehir) de göstermeğe çalıştım."

[503] "Filmcilik-Bir Ümid," *Akis* 9, no. 143 (2 February 1957); "Filmcilik," *Akis* 10, no. 167 (20 July 1957). As one of the examples of a combined production, which repeated in the following periods intensely, the movie titled *Karacaoğlanın Kara Sevdası* (The Blind Love of Karacaoğlan) was shot by Atıf Yılmaz as the director, Yaşar Kemal as the scriptwriter and Ruhi Su as the music producer during this period. "Sinema," *Akis* 16, no. 274 (27 October 1959), p. 25.

[504] Cantek, "Köy Manzaraları," p. 196.

[505] Fakir Baykurt told in his memoirs how the publishing house approached the title of his first story book *Çilli* (Freckled) as follows: "*Çilli* was my first book. It was presented to the market in 1956 with eleven stories in it. I had chosen them from my first stories in which the living conditions in the village are told. I wanted its name to be not *Çilli* but *Pıtrak* (Cocklebur). *Pıtrak* is one of the eleven stories in the book. I want to write such stories very much even today. The sources of the story were coming from our lives, the difficulties that we faced during my childhood. In two pieces miserable land we were cultivating with by brothers and sisters. The cockleburs were growing always from the land. The crops were not growing due to the cockleburs. We were always drenched in blood. The tricky government during that period was boasting on the radio and in the newspapers, saying: 'I mechanized agriculture! I mechanized agriculture!' The tractors and crop machines were shared by the owners of the plains. Only hair remained to the poor. The credits were always given to the wealthy people. The poor only got at most fifty or a hundred liras. Same as today… When I wanted to name my book after this story, mixed with blood and tears, the owner of the publishing house objected to that: 'The man says that I mechanized agriculture, you are saying that we are cultivating with our hands and cocklebur… don't you dare! Look, there is *Çilli*. This name evokes a beautiful localness…' Actually, I loved the green eyed, freckled face, desperate girl of the story. However, I was connected

In addition to that, some of the writers re-wrote their novel when the conditions changed, such as Orhan Kemal. The well-known novel of Orhan Kemal, *Bereketli Topraklar Üzerinde* (On the Fertile Lands) (1954) was re-written ten years after its first publication. The size of the book doubled after this second publication. Some of the literary critics said that due to the political atmosphere of the 1950s, the writers felt the necessity to practice self-censorship in their novels, especially in the parts in which the conditions of the peasants and the workers were described. Some other critics also state that with the change in the condition of the period, Orhan Kemal attached consciousness to his unconscious peasants in the novel. No matter what the reason was, the comparison of the two versions of the novel can also reveal the difference in evaluating the peasant and working class problems in two different periods.

This comparison will not be presented in this study, because it exceeds the purpose of this chapter. However, it is necessary to say some words about his books and their relation to the village literature genre in general. In my opinion, it is difficult to accept Orhan Kemal as a village literature writer. He mostly treated the condition of the working class in towns and cities in his novels. Even his novels that

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to *Pıtrak* in a different way. The bookseller did not make me even say no, it cannot. The news was given, the ads were given, and after that the name of the book became *Çilli*. My mother's desire was also accordingly. She wanted the name of the book to be *Pıtrak*. She said, 'Name your book after *Pıtrak*, make it prickle to the bodies of the men in Ankara…' Her desire is also engulfed in it." "*'Çilli' benim ilk kitabım. İçindeki on bir hikaye ile 1956 da satışa çıktı. Köy yaşayışını anlatan ilk hikayelerimden seçip çıkardım. Adı 'Çilli' değil, 'Pıtrak' olsun istiyordum. On bir hikayeden biridir Pıtrak. Bugün de öyle hikayeler yazabilmeyi çok istiyorum. Hikayenin kaynakları kendi yaşantımızdan, çocukluk günlerinde çektiklerimizden sürüp geliyordu. İki parça bitik tarlada kardeş, bacı, ellerimizle hasat yapıyorduk. Toprak haberi pıtrak getiriyordu. Pıtrak ekini bastırıyordu. Kan revam içinde kalıyorduk. O denemin dümenci hükümeti de: 'Tarımı makineleştirdim! Tarımı makineleştirdim!' diye, radyo radyo, gazete gazete öğünüyordu. Gelen traktörleri, ekin makinelerini ovaların sahipleri paylaşmıştı. Yoksullara kıl düşmüştü. Krediler hep varsıllara, zenginlere veriliyordu. Yoksullar, çok çok elli lira, yüz lira alıyordu. Tıpkı bugünkü gibi... Bu gözyaşıyla kan karışık hikayeyi ilk kitabıma ad yapmak istediğimi yazdığım zaman yayınevi sahibi karşı koydu: 'Adam diyor ben tarımı makineleştirdim, sen diyorsun elimizle hasat, pıtrak... sakın ha! Bak, Çilli var. Ne güzel bir yöresellik çağrışımı getiriyor...' Hikayenin yeşil gözlü, yüzü bir sürü benli çaresiz kızını seviyordum aslında. Ama Pıtrak'a başka türlü bağlıydım. Hayır, olmaz, bile dedirtmedi kitapçı. Haber çıktı, ilan çıktı, derken, kitabın adı 'Çilli' oldu. Anamın da arzusu buydu. O da Pıtrak olsun istiyordu. 'Kitabın adını Pıtrak koy da batsın Ankara'dakilerin orasına burasına...' diyordu. Onun da arzusu içinde kaldı.*" Baykurt, *Çilli*, p. 12.

are mostly defined in the village literature category, such as *Bereketli Topraklar Üzerinde*, *Kanlı Topraklar* (Bloody Lands) (1963) and *Gurbet Kuşları* (Immigrant Birds) (1962), are not totally novels about peasants, but mostly on peasant-workers. Due to that, the peasants in his novels are not defined in their villages but as seasonal immigrant workers in the cities. Due to that, it is better to define Orhan Kemal not as a village literature writer, but as a working-class literature writer.[506]

The village literature, with its dominant and legitimate position and due to its popularity among the ordinary people, changed the general perception of the village and the peasants during this period. This differentiation in perception occurred on two levels. The first one of them was the change in the perception of the urban intellectuals towards the peasants. The intellectuals held themselves responsible for this terrible condition of the peasants, and they thought that it was necessary to be active in order to change this situation. The intellectuals of the period felt badly about this condition of the peasants. Sezer Tansuğ described this feeling as follows:

> I told it to Fakir Baykurt when he came to İstanbul. I said that, I have this feeling for a long time, but it became visible when I come across you, I feel a kind of shame, I feel badly near you. This is exactly the opposite of the older times. It is the shrinking, embarrassment, not finding any place to put his hands of the city-dweller of the Istanbul resident near the peasant. What do you say? Whereas, in the old times, the peasants were in the same position as the İstanbul resident, they were afraid that they would make a mistake, and the İstanbul resident rode on the peasant's neck.[507]

Secondly, the peasants were perceived not with the old time romantic approach, but, both due to the "Makal Effect" and the development of the village

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[506] For a study that analyzes *Bereketli Topraklar Üzerinde* from the working-class perspective, see Berna Güler Müftüoğlu and Elif Hacısalihoğlu, "Emekçilerin Gündelik Hayatını Görünür Kılmak: 'Bereketli Topraklar Üzerinde' İle 40'lı ve 50'li Yıllara Gerçekçi Bir Bakış," *Çalışma ve Toplum*, no. 3 (2008).

[507] Sezer Tansuğ, "Köylüye, Şehirliye ve Çevreye Dair," *Yeni Ufuklar* 8, no. 87 (August 1959), p. 88. "*Fakir Baykurt geldi İstanbul'a da ona söyledim. Çoktanberi içimde var bu, ama seninle karşılaşınca gözle görülür hale geldi dedim, senin yanında bir utanç, bir eziklik duyuyorum. Bu tam eskinin zıddına. İstanbullunun, şehirlinin köylünün yanında ufalması, şaşkınlığı, ellerini koyacak yer bulamayışı. Ne dersin? Oysa eskiden köylü İstanbullu'nun yanında bu hallere düşermiş, bir pot kıracağım diye ödü koparmış zavallının, İstanbullu da onun tepesine bindikçe binermiş.*"

literature genre afterwards, with a more realistic approach. As for its direct relation with reality, this perception was not that "pretty" for most of the intellectuals of the period. However, this perception also changed the perception of the intellectuals towards the peasants. Adile Ayda, who wrote a critique on *Bizim Köy* in *Cumhuriyet*, defined clearly this differentiation in perception. Ayda said that, "When *Bizim Köy* was published I bought the book to have pity for the peasants and to love the peasants. However, unfortunately I was unable to do that. The peasants of Mahmut Makal are unlovable creatures."[508]

From that time on, the old time perception on the peasants, which had defined the peasants as lovable and idealized them in the literature texts, was replaced with that of unsympathetic peasants, who were the remnants of the feudal age and whose conditions needed to be cured immediately. This underdevelopment of the peasants, which was thought in relation with the underdevelopment of Turkey, would become the primary issues in the social sciences of the following period.

From the "Reality" of the Literature to the "Reality" of the Country

As a consequence, many different but closely related factors affected the process of the making of the village literature canon in Turkey after the Second World War. Most of the factors were created with the contribution of the factors motivated by the political atmosphere of the period, which is called here all together the Makal Effect. The presentation of the reality in the village novels and the approval process of the village reality by the intellectuals and the public enabled the creation of the village as a legitimate sphere of social struggle during this period. In

[508] Adile Ayda, "Bizim Köy", *Cumhuriyet*, 27 April 1950. "*'Bizim Köy' çıkınca, kitabı köylüye acımak ve köylüyü sevmek niyetiyle ele aldım. Fakat maalesef buna muvaffak olamadım. Mahmud Makalın köylüsü sevimsiz bir mahlûktur.*"

this context, the importance of Mahmut Makal and *Bizim Köy* lies in the legitimization of the sphere sociologically and politically as a whole.

With the legitimization of this sphere, sociology and literature studies were concentrated mostly in this area. During the 1950s rural structures would be the main focus of all kinds of studies, whether they were of a popular or academic character. With the increase in the number of studies, the main bulk of information about the social structures of the country which would be passed to the next generations would be on the rural structures only. During the 1960s, when class-based political struggles increased, the main problematic of the Turkish progressive/leftist/socialist parties was based on the underdevelopment question. Most of the revolutionary youth organizations or socialist parties would problematize their discourse and actions on the rural underdevelopment question. Also with the effect of the Latin American and Far Eastern peasant revolutions, similar perspectives would be found more reasonable. According to this perspective, due to the underdevelopment of the capitalist relations of production, the main contradictions of the country could only be found in the countryside. It is possible to claim that these perspectives epistemologically based their assertions about Turkey on the information created during the 1945-1960 period. The lack of information about the class contradictions in the cities fortified the claims of underdeveloped capitalism in Turkey.

The dominancy of the popular sociological studies on the peasants and village literature novels, in a way, defined the whole "reality" of the social structures in Turkey. As was told above, all kinds of problems in Turkey became related to the information gained from these sources. The city lost its reality during this period, and it could not gain it back until the 1970s or even the 1990s.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The reason I chose to focus on peasantry in Turkey for the 1945-1960 period stemmed from the false premises of the later decades, especially of the 1960s and the 1970s. Many problematical and controversial issues of the 1960s and 1970s had their origins, in fact, in the developments and the discussions of the 1950s. For this reason, it would be difficult to evaluate the discussions and the developments of the recent history of Turkey without a comprehensive and overall analysis of the 1945-1960 period.

As pointed out in this dissertation, most of the studies that have treated the period in question have re-produced the general prejudices constructed mainly due to the impact of the 27 May 1960 coup and, to a large extent, defined the dominant characteristics of the new era. This crucial factor, which I called the "perception rupture" during this study, made it possible for me to question many of the premises of the studies in the Turkish social sciences literature about this period that were insufficient. Because of this, most of our knowledge on this period has been shaped by prejudices that were widely constructed by or affected from the historical pretexts of the coup. In this regard, the main intention of this study was to re-evaluate the 1945-1960 period with a new perspective together with questioning the widely-held ideas and beliefs regarding the post-World War II era.

As in the case of Turkish history in general, the social history of the peasantry during the 1945-1960 period has yet to be written. This is mostly due to the lack of relevant sources on the subject. The limited literacy of the peasants has left us with

nearly nothing as far as primary sources are concerned. So, it is remains difficult to write the history of the peasants from their perspective. However, as pointed out throughout this dissertation, from the late 1940s onwards, the peasants became more visible in social and political life. In the previous periods, the primary sources regarding the peasants were limited and, to a large extent, were confined to and shaped by the perspectives and the visions of the intellectual elites of the time. They described or sought a kind of peasant, whom they hoped existed, or attempted to shape it according to their own political aims and visions. During the period in question, the peasants did not fully begin to talk about themselves and did not leave us concrete sources about themselves directly, but nonetheless found more space to identify or expose themselves. It is therefore still hard to achieve a kind of "history from below" for the peasants of the period; but there are sources to tell the story of the late 1940s and the 1950s from a different perspective in which the peasants are the main actors.

It was mostly the multi-party politics and the increase in the importance of the majority votes that made the peasants able to become aware of their own political power. By so doing, the voices about the peasants' modes of living multiplied and alternative voices began to be heard. In addition, the elites' perspective and academic studies on the village and peasants became more academic and varied compared to those of the previous periods. The rising importance of the village and peasants also made this improvement possible.

The rising importance of the peasantry was related directly to the conditions of the post-war period. Therefore, during this study emphasis was also given to the reconstruction process of the new world order in the post-war period and on the way in which it affected the peasantry during this period. The reconstruction process of

the new international economic order, at the same time, became the stage of the struggle for the construction of the international hegemony between the United States and the Soviet Union. This study also covered the conditions of the peasantry in Turkey at beginning of this Cold War atmosphere during which the peasants were affected directly by this worldwide struggle.

The most important international structural development during the period in question was the process of the reconstruction of the underdeveloped or the agriculture-based Third World countries' social structures. In this way, their roles in the international system were redefined accordingly. The reconstruction process in these countries in which the peasantry made up the majority of the population, at the same time, necessitated the redefinition of the "peasant question," which was the most debated theme since the development of capitalism in the Western world. The problems of these countries, colored by the development of capitalism during the previous decades, this time became the problems of the international system. With the spread of the capitalist mode of production in these newly-established nation-states, which mostly gained their independence in the post-war period, reforms revolving around the necessities of the international political and economic system were perceived as crucial. These reforms were needed in order to maintain the stabilization and the unproblematic integration of these states to the international system. Within this framework, the post-World War II developments in Turkey can be evaluated as extensions of these policies.

Not surprisingly, the post-war period began in Turkey with discussions on the condition of the peasantry. During and after the Assembly discussions on the Land Reform Law in 1945, the conditions that would lead up to the transition to the multi-party system developed with the foundation of the political opposition against the

single-party regime and its representative, the RPP. With the transition to the multi-party system, the peasants became the most important power in the country, since their support was essential for all the political parties. The DP successfully manipulated this development and came to power, substantially with the support of the peasants.

As this dissertation made clear, the peasants in Turkey were considerably transformed as a result of both international and national developments. The main intention of this study was to show how the peasants, who made up the majority in Turkish society, were affected by the developments that occurred in the post-war period, when Turkey and the world entered into an overall reconstruction process. As such, I aimed to cover the most important aspects of peasants' involvements in social, political and economic life in order to investigate the validity of my arguments.

The overall reconstruction process of the system and the social structures necessitated the accommodation of all spheres that were related to the process and the redefinition of their roles in this new order. In this way, new establishments and concepts were developed according to the economic, political, theoretical and cultural necessities of the time. The meaning and the functions of the peasantry in Turkey underwent a transformation in accordance with this new reconstruction process. In order to present this transformation, it was necessary to analyze then almost all aspects of social, economic, political and cultural life of the era.

During this period in which the economic order was almost entirely reorganized, all kinds of reconstruction processes developed through mutual involvement. This mutual involvement maintained a more dynamic social structure with respect to the previous periods thanks to the rapid social and political changes

that Turkey underwent. The consequences and the problems that took place due to this dynamism in the social structure necessitated the development of new plans for solving the emerging problems. During this period, the peasantry was theoretically discussed with a new and differentiated perspective from that of previous periods, and the main goal in the theoretical developments was to acquire the "real" and "concrete" knowledge of the peasantry that would be needed during this reconstruction process. This "real" knowledge of the peasantry would maintain the basis for the social projects during this process that were developed for solving the problems that could be encountered.

The change in the economic and political preferences of Turkey in the post-war period and the direct cooperation with the international capitalist system affected the peasantry, as it affected all other social classes and groups. Along with the developments and transformation in the rural structures, agricultural production in Turkey changed with the market-based cash cropping system. This development both changed the rural economic order and increased the relations between the city and countryside. As a problem resulting from this transformation, rural migration was one of the important developments through which the dynamism created by the change in the rural structures can be observed. As much as rural migration revealed the development dynamics in the countryside, it made the main elements of the countryside, the peasants, "visible" in the cities. The "peasant-squatters," as they were defined during the period in question, made the concrete reality of the peasants noticeable in the cities through the invention of a distinguished settlement type, the *gecekondu*.

As far as the political sphere was concerned, as indicated in many relevant examples, the peasants, rather than being passive elements in politics, turned into

more active components of politics. The peasants became politicized thanks to their use of new tools which were made possible by the requirements of the multi-party system. Especially after the DP assumed power, the peasants became aware of their importance and became the crucial element in the political realm. Accordingly, both in politics and social life, the voice of the peasant could be heard more and more, as this study underlined time and again. In this development, the peasants and other subaltern groups who, to a large extent, had been ignored previously realized that politics could be a transformative force for their own benefit, and thereby raised their voices increasingly. Both in the state archives and in the sources written during the period in question, it is possible to see the political discourse of the peasants grow much more visible, elaborate and articulate. Especially in the analysis of the political incidents that occurred during the period, such as the Arslanköy Incident, it became more possible than the other spheres to present the peasants' political attitudes and their active participation in politics through their own voices. Within this framework, it would not be wrong to assert that during this period the peasants made themselves "visible" in politics as well through their active participation in the political process.

The peasants were the subject of one of the most important cultural developments of the period, too. The dominance of the so-called village literature genre, in which the peasants portrayed the peasants an essential part of the social and cultural sphere. In the writings belonging to this village literature genre, the existence of the peasants was presented and their "real situation" was treated intensely, and through this presentation, a legitimate sphere for discussing the poverty and relations of exploitation taking place in the countryside was created. Within this framework, the peasants were defined and described increasingly through their existence and social realities thanks to this literary genre, which I discussed in detail and depth.

As depicted in the title of this dissertation, the peasants increasingly detached from the previous romantic ideological "imaginations," were redefined, recreated and widely-presented through their existence and through their sociopolitical "realities." "Reality" seems to have been the mythic concept of the era. How much this discourse on "reality" matched up with the actual "reality" can be questioned (which is also an epistemological question indeed), as I sought to do in this study. In this study, I focused on the making of such a "reality" and in this way the composition of this "real knowledge" on the peasantry was presented. The transformation of the peasantry from "imaginary" to "real" was analyzed through the discussion of the transformation of all the spheres that were related to the peasantry. In this way, not only the ideological developments, but also the developments and the transformation that occurred in relation to the peasantry per se became the focus of this study.

One of the most important results that were set forth in this dissertation was the way in which the composition of the knowledge was produced during the period in question. Between 1945 and 1960, the peasants were re-invented and in this way were redefined in all of the spheres of life mentioned throughout this study. The "close encounters" with the peasantry that occurred in all spheres made it possible for the creation of the bulk of knowledge on the peasantry during the 1945-1960 period. The peasantry became the most treated, mentioned and thought out subject in the economic, political and cultural spheres. Not surprisingly, it was a matter of hot theoretical controversies as well. As pointed out above, the themes that were to be discussed extensively and fiercely during the 1960s and after should not be analyzed without taking into consideration the discussions and texts that were created earlier. This is because the concepts and accumulation of knowledge that characterize the peasants and that would be used in the discussions of the following periods mostly

were created as a result of the discussions, studies and developments that took place during the 1945-1960 period.

Similarly, the studies focusing on the Turkey of the 1960s, an era more characterized by political activism, would miss the crucial facts and developments if they refrain from considering the political consciousness-gaining processes of the broad masses during the 1950s. As can be seen in the chapter where I analyzed the relation of the peasants to politics, the direct participation of the broad masses and their becoming an active component of politics were mostly related to the post-war developments in the country. During this period, politics began to develop most of the time with the effect of the DP, though there were times where this was despite the DP, but substantially with the active participation of the urban and rural people. Different from the single-party period, most people became aware during this period that they could affect politics and even change its direction, and they put into practice their political awareness most of the time. In the following periods, especially the peasants mostly would maintain their relation to politics through the political consciousness that they gained during this period.

The 1945-1960 period, which is usually evaluated in the social science literature in Turkey only as being a "transition" from the single-party period to the 1960s, except for a few studies, forms the "missing" link, the "missing" years in the field of social sciences in Turkey. The fact that this period has not been studied comprehensively will make it difficult to analyze in proper detail and depth in the decades to come.

Some of the issues that were mentioned in this study are still needed to be analyzed and developed through further research by using new and different sources. Some of the social movements that were mentioned in this study where the peasants

and city-dwellers actively participated, such as the Arslanköy Incident and Case and the Baladız Incident, still needs to be elaborated in detail as independent researches. Especially the Arslanköy Incident can be developed through regional sociological field surveys. Through using the oral history techniques, regional newspapers and regional archives, a detailed investigation of the Arslanköy and Baladız Incidents can reveal important consequences with the re-questioning of our knowledge on the period in question.

In order to conduct more studies with a historical perspective on similar kinds of social incidents, new archival sources are needed to be introduced for the use of researchers. The documents that cover the 1945-1960 period in the Republican State Archives of the Prime Ministry are gradually increasing and they are introduced to researchers more often. However, for the social history of various social groups and classes in Turkey, these sources would not be enough. Especially in order to gather detailed information on the social incidents that the subalterns got involved, the local courts registers and the archives of security, gendarmerie and surveillance offices are needed to be used in addition to the Republican Archives. During the research process of this study, many surveillance reports were found in the State Archives on the 1945-1960 period, and some of them were used in this study. However, when the security and the surveillance activities of the state is taken into consideration, it is possible to assert that there must be more reports of this kind in the depots of the Archives and they were not introduced for the use of the researchers yet. With the existence of these kinds of documents more and more, a different historical narrative of the period can be written accordingly.

Another subject that was related to the peasants of the period that I encountered during the research but was not mentioned here due to the lack of

adequate information on the subject is the widespread "banditry." Although there are some limited numbers of studies on banditry about the Ottoman period, there is none on the activities of the bandits during the Republican period. Despite the fact that banditry became less intensive during the period in question, it still continued. Especially the well-known bandit "Koçero," whose name was mostly mentioned during the 1960s, was actually active during the 1950s in the eastern parts of Turkey. During this study, the bandits were mentioned only in the chapter where I focused on the so-called village literature, through the comparative analyses of the perspectives of Yaşar Kemal and Kemal Tahir. Within this framework, banditry during the period in question is an important subject that still needs to be researched.

The 1945-1960 period is a period that is needed to be re-evaluated through its inner dynamics. To conduct new researches with a new perspective, not only on the peasants but also on all kinds of social groups and mentalities, will be an important activity that will develop the historiography of the Turkish Republic. This period cannot be evaluated through the historical tools and discourse that were used both for the single-party period and the following periods. The distinctive characteristics of this period can only be revealed through using various social science disciplines together with asking new questions. The first thing that is needed to be done with respect to this problematique is to eliminate both the judgmental discourse of the 27 May 1960 coup and the ennobling discourse of the political followers of the DP tradition from the treatment of the period in question and define and analyze the period in its own entirety. In this way a new sphere can be opened in the analysis of the historical events of this period.

The studies on the condition of the peasantry in Turkey were handled through different fields and periods from various perspectives. What this study aimed has

been to show the transformation of the peasantry during a period in which the social structures in Turkey were reconstructed in accordance with the international developments, and to maintain the role of the peasantry in this process. Turkey, again, passes through a new reconstruction process nowadays, which is similar to the 1945-1960 period. Due to both the European Union (EU) accession process and the reconstruction process of the new world order in the post-Cold War period, the role and the status of Turkey within this system are reevaluated. The preparation of various adaptation programs and change both in the political and economic preferences in Turkey reveal that the "peasant-question" is still very important. The peasantry still makes up a considerable proportion of the population in Turkey and this situation is defined as an important problem during the accession process to the EU. The transformation of social structures in Turkey during the past ten years created distinct pressures on the peasantry. The state control and regulation on the agricultural production, the relations with the world market still maintain its importance at this level. Within this framework, this study also designates the sphere in which the current transformation of the peasantry and agriculture can be maintained historically.

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