

Istanbul Bilgi University
Institute of Social Sciences
Master of Arts in History

Masculinities In Early Turkish Republican Novels (1924-
1951)

Thesis submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in History

by
Emre Güler

Thesis Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Bülent Bilmez

ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITY

2014

Masculinities In Early Turkish Republican Novels (1924-1951)

Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Romanlarında Erkeklikler (1924-1951)

Emre Güler

111671004

Associate Prof. Bülent Bilmez (Thesis Advisor):

Assistant Prof. Başak Tuğ Onaran:

Assistant Prof. Irvin Cemil Schick:

Approval Date: 16.09.2014

Anahtar Kelimeler

- 1.Toplumsal Cinsiyet
- 2.Edebiyat
- 3.Erkeklik
- 4.Milliyetçilik
- 5.Cumhuriyet Dönemi

Keywords

- 1.Gender
- 2.Literature
- 3.Masculinity
- 4.Nationalism
- 5.Republican Era

An Abstract of Emre Güler's thesis for the degree of Master of Arts at the Bilgi University, Institute of Social Sciences to be taken in September 2014

Title: Masculinities In Early Turkish Republican Novels (1924-1951)

In this thesis, it has been observed that the plots and characters of the novels under the scope of this study strongly reflect their authors' ideological backgrounds and political tendencies. The degree of each author's articulation with the republican regime helped them form their positive and negative characters depending on the official gender discourses of the period. In the canonical novels of the era, nationalist, militarist, egalitarian and positivist masculinities represented mostly by soldier men form the outlines of the ideal masculinity. This is taken as a result of the features embodied in Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's physical appearance and personal qualifications who was constructed as the iconic, semi-mythical 'father of the Turkish nation' throughout the republican history by the official discourse. In the meantime, the greatest threat to ideal masculinity, and therefore to the Turkish nation is portrayed as the effeminisation and homosexuality concerns which are the results of false Westernisation. In this respect, the concerns and clashes of masculinity, Westernisation and nation-building process that occupied a large space in the literary texts of the Tanzimat period survived to some degree, well into the early republican Turkey. Although the plots and characters were changing in course of years, the fear of losing masculinity and national identity as a result of false modernisation has been a recurrent element. However, non-canonical novels of the period do not portray such concerns because of not being articulated to the regime and its gender discourse. But, the novels of each group use the same sexist, dichotomist and essentialist grammar of the patriarchal mentality.

ÖZET

Bu tezde ele alınan romanların yazarlarının kendi ideolojik arka planlarını ve siyasî eğilimlerini kuvvetli bir biçimde eserlerine yansıttıkları görülmüştür. Her bir yazarın cumhuriyet rejimiyle olan bağlarının derecesi, dönemin resmî toplumsal cinsiyet söylemlerine bağlı olarak olumlu ve olumsuz roman karakterlerini oluşturmalarına yardımcı olmuştur.

Dönemin kanonik romanlarında, çoğunlukla askerlerce temsil edilen milliyetçi, militarist, toplumsal cinsiyet bağlamında eşitlikçi ve pozitivist erkeklikler ideal erkekliğin ana hatlarını oluşturmaktadır. Bunun, cumhuriyet tarihi boyunca resmî söylemce 'Türk ulusunun babası' olarak inşa edilen ikonik ve yarı-efsanevî Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün dış görünüşü ve karakterinde vücut bulan özelliklerin bir sonucu olduğu kabul edilmektedir. Aynı zamanda, ideal erkekliğe ve dolayısıyla Türk ulusuna yönelik en büyük tehdit yanlış Batılılaşmanın yol açtığı kadınsılaşma ve eşcinsellik endişeleri olarak resmedilmiştir. Bu bakımdan Tanzimat döneminin edebî metinlerinde büyük yer işgal eden erkeklik, Batılılaşma, uluslaşma sürecinin endişeleri ve çatışmaları kısmen Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si'nde de sürmektedir. Zaman içerisinde hikayeler ve karakterler değişse de yanlış Batılılaşmadan kaynaklanan erkeklik ve ulusal kimlik kaybı korkusu mükerrer bir unsur olmuştur. Ancak dönemin kanon dışı romanları rejime ve rejimin toplumsal cinsiyet söylemine eklenmediğinden bu tür endişelere yer vermemektedir. Fakat her iki gruptaki romanlar da ataerkil zihniyetin kullanageldiği cinsiyetçi, ikilikçi, ve özcü dile sıkça başvurmaktadır.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER I: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENDER AND NATION.....	8
1.1. Nation and Nationalism.....	8
1.2. Gender and Masculinity.....	15
CHAPTER II: A NEW BORN REPUBLIC.....	27
2.1. Turkish Nationalism And Its Masculinity Design.....	27
2.2. Political and Sociocultural Background of Early Republican Turkey (1924-1951).....	48
CHAPTER III: HISTORY OF TURKISH NOVEL.....	60
3.1. Early Republican Novel.....	65
CHAPTER IV: REPRESENTATIONS OF MASCULINITY IN TURKISH REPUBLICAN LITERATURE.....	71
4.1. Men and Masculinity in Halide Edip Adıvar.....	71
4.2. Men and Masculinity in Nahid Sırrı Örik.....	104
4.3. Men and Masculinity in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu.....	116
CONCLUSION.....	141
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	145

MASCULINITIES IN EARLY TURKISH REPUBLICAN NOVELS

(1924-1951)

In the wide scope of gender studies going hand in hand with history and sociology, the problematics of 'being a man' and the discourses around masculinity are simply ignored for academical researches in Turkey. It is indeed very easy for researchers to reach this conclusion by just looking at the number of studies given that focus on the problems of being a man in our country. This is mostly because gender studies are generally assumed only to be women's studies. This assumption bases itself on the idea that masculinity/being a man is not problematic enough as if it's just a very simple, natural and unquestionable state of being. Moreover, this perception is caused by the male dominance in classical literature that chose women as a research theme. The situation that I am criticising here is that the studies on women were made by academics that imprisoned gender studies to women's studies by pulling the issue off from its social context. Briefly, my primary complaint is the gender-blindness when it comes to connect the themes of social sciences with masculinity. So, I am trying to emphasise that masculinity studies under the umbrella of gender studies are unfortunately very insufficient. There is a great amount of academic works in Turkey that focuses on problematics of and discussions about being a woman. But the situation has always been quite different when we come to masculinity studies. This lack of interest in masculinity studies until very recently is one and the greatest of the reasons why I have chosen to study on this topic. However, the number of studies given in this branch is increasing in the recent years. Another reason why I have chosen to study masculinities in Turkey is that in a country like Turkey where hegemonic masculinity, gender codes and social norms are in a very slow moving process of

change, where women and men themselves, including LGBTQs (Lesbian-Gay-Bisexual-Transgender-Queer) become very often the victims of a strongly patriarchal society and jurisdiction, it is of great importance to understand the historical dynamics of Turkish social transformation, whether it be slow or rapid. Therefore, the gender discourse of the society has to change for men too, as it is in a continuous change for women. This change can be achieved only by taking the masculinity issue into serious consideration.

The sexual concerns that provoke the masculine violence are caused partly by economical insecurity and can be soothed in alternative social regulations. However, these social regulations may not always cope with and overcome masculinity crises resulting in wide-spread gender-based problems. The prevalence of problems caused by masculinity or ‘manhood’ crises in Turkey’s patriarchal society makes the various states of being a man a very central phenomenon for historicising masculine hysteria. Moreover, this problem of masculine hysteria requires the transformation of male-specific attitudes and socialisation processes, and this hysteria’s ability to melt social problems such as militarism and conservatism in itself proves that it is not a marginal theme at all.¹ These facts alone should turn masculinity urgently into an area of interest by both academics and politicians if a solution to serious social problems such as the escalating number of acts of violence and sexual assaults targeting women, children and LGBTQs wished to be provided.

¹ Michael Ryan, Douglass Kellner, *Politik Kamera*, (Istanbul: Ayrıntı, 1997) p.447, cited by Umut Tümay Arslan in *Bu Kâbuslar Neden Cemil? Yeşilçam’da Erkeklik ve Mazlumluk*, (Istanbul:Metis, 2005) p.15

Can novels be a source material for history? Can we find a true portrayal of the society and its norms in the novels? Should we analyse a novel together with its author's background such as her/his education, socioeconomic situation, political identity? Are these novels a product and an instrument of a prevailing ideology? These are the questions, the answers of which I am going to humbly attempt to give in the following pages.

The idealised gender roles and sexual identities that modern nation-states approve can be traced on official institutions, law, public spaces, media and cultural products such as songs, poems, novels, comics, movies, advertisements etc. which portray the general understanding of and public expectations about being a man/woman. In these cultural products, we observe the approved and excluded identities. Because cultural products portray the life styles, maps of meaning and ideologies of certain people, of certain groups or of a certain period. Questions such as: 'How should a man/woman act in the public?', 'What are the things (s)he has to do?', 'What are the things (s)he must not commit?' are answered directly or indirectly in every kind of cultural products which form an entirety of social (national) norms. Among the cultural products, literature has a relatively liberal atmosphere in which 'marginal' characters can be represented without any hesitation. But we may still say that social norms are not ignored by their authors at all, especially in a country with a strong traditional heritage like Turkey, which was established on former Ottoman territories that were ruled by Islamic ideology for centuries. However, in the nineteenth century, things started to change in the Ottoman territories when attempts of modernisation/Westernisation were begun to be applied in every sphere. Therefore, novels constituted the arena of, now almost a couple of centuries-long, ideological conflict between the West and the East.

Almost all the authors from the nineteenth century, well into the end of the twentieth century kneel upon the Westernisation problem. At this point, each author has for sure an idea and a series of thoughts about the ideal social transformation under the Westernisation umbrella, which we can trace in his/her characters' names, personalities that are established depending more or less on his/her worldview. As Erdağ Gökner emphasises, literary canon helps determine the changing cultural logic of a national tradition as well as the sites of its political and ideological power.² This study aims to portray a period of both social and political transformation by using literary texts with such a motivation, since “there is perhaps no better anthropological or aesthetic artefact with which to read social change, to gauge resistance and to trace the scars of history and ideology on local populations than the novel.”³ Therefore literary texts, in this case, novels have always been/still are an arena where the contradictory forces of different ideologies met/meet to form new identities that are frequently put under the spotlight by researchers in their processes of reading modernity, politics and literary progression.

In my thesis I am focusing on novels written by Halide Edip Adivar, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Nahid Sırrı Örik at a time period when the young Turkish Republic was born. Of each author, three novels have been chosen for this study. The time frame of this study will begin from 1924 and stretch to 1951. The period of research is not beginning in 1923, after the promulgation of the Turkish Republic, because the time frame of this study was determined according to the first publication dates of each novel that is dealt with in this study. By the attempt of

² Erdağ Gökner, “The novel in Turkish: narrative tradition to Nobel prize” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey Vol.4, Turkey in the Modern World*, Reşat Kasaba, ed. (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 2008) p.472

³ Ibid. p.472

choosing two canonical figures and one non-canonical figure of Turkish literature, I want to focus on how contemporary but different figures from different backgrounds portray men and masculinity. Their chosen literary works will be evaluated in these works' relation to the recently mentioned time period's political and sociocultural atmosphere while taking nationalism and gender into consideration as the theoretical framework. While choosing my primary sources, what I paid particular attention was the approximate concurrence of the time period each of these works has been written and the time period depicted in each of these narratives. This approach aims to breathe the atmosphere of the above-mentioned time period most accurately.

In the first chapter of this study, the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study is going to be put forth. Terms such as 'nation', 'nationalism', 'gender' and 'masculinity' are going to be defined and discussed, upon which the main body of this study, namely the literary evaluation part, is going to be constructed. After this theoretical framework, in the second chapter, the political and social scene of the Early Republican Era is going to be exhibited to relate the narratives with the facts of the period in question whereas the third chapter will be a summary of Turkish literary history.

And then, in the fourth chapter, excerpts from the novels read will be examined and put into the theoretical context that is built upon nationalism, gender and their relations with each other. Questions such as: 'What kind of male characters are very welcome in these early republican narratives?', 'Who are the bad, the darned men according to the author?', 'Do these narratives of men have things in common?' are going to be answered consequently.

Turning back to why and how literary texts may be used as resources of historical data, it may be said that the literary texts reflect the facts, details and the stories of daily life and its ordinary actors which are neglected by official historiography, both in Turkey and other countries. Since Turkish culture is a culture that experienced the periods of transformation very intensively and in very short time frames, these transformations guided and imposed from above did not give the expected results, but caused very original outcomes for the country at modernisation's threshold which make it very desirable for studies in social sciences. In this context, literary texts handled in this study and in general are extremely rich and profitable historical sources. But of course, a historian must keep in mind that the elements selected and neglected by the author of any literary work might reflect his ideology which leads us to think that the elements in literary sources should not be taken as solid facts by the historian. As indicated by Jale Parla, novelist adds each of his characters a piece from himself and if this character is an author, the autobiographical dimension deepens.⁴

In addition to rendering to understand the conceptual world of a certain historical period possible, literary texts reflect the main discussions occupying the intellectual circles at a certain period in the past. As a result, literary texts portray the discursive and ideological atmosphere of a certain time which opens historians the way to explore the history of intellectual life, as well. Moreover, literary texts create social realities by affecting the cultural, ideological and political tendencies of a society. This fact can be expressed louder today since ways of communication are more diverse and literacy rates are much higher. In this context, the 'social

⁴ Jale Parla, *Türk Romanında Yazar ve Başkalaşım*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2012) p.271

realities' about republican men in the novels will be evaluated after constructing the historical and theoretical framework.

CHAPTER I

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENDER AND NATION

1.1 Nation and Nationalism

The discussions surrounding nationalism, national identity, its formation via gender and gender roles are one of the main concerns of studies on identity which constitute a research area of both sociology and history. Although the control on women's bodies and sexuality occupy a larger space on nationalist agendas and be more frequently the primary subject of gender studies and studies on social history because of the symbolic meanings they have been attributed to, such as honour, homeland, production and regeneration of nation, unsurprisingly, nation-states also imply the duties and responsibilities of its male components in many ways. Since "the ideal of masculinity was invoked on all sides as a symbol of personal and national regeneration, but also as basic to the self-definition of modern society."⁵

First of all, it is important to express and understand the concepts of 'nation' and 'nationalism' which are the by-products of modernisation, prior to explaining how they are used as political instruments.

Among the literature on nation and nationalisms, different definitions of these concepts have been made throughout the twentieth century. For example, inside the Western historiography, at the beginning, 'nation' expressed a community that was united by kinship, language and culture, but later, into the end of the eighteenth century, voluntarist and constructivist understanding of nation that emphasises free

⁵ George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man, The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, (New York:Oxford University Press, 1996) p.3

will and participation at a political community confronted the romantic understanding that defined the nation by natural bonds.⁶ Liah Greenfeld expresses that a common state, a common language, a common history or race, none of them are inevitable relations for the individuals that form a nation.⁷ Moreover, she asserts that each person that is considered an individual of a nation shares his/her nation's sovereignty and its features, causing therefore a misleading homogeneity perception of an actually stratified national population. It is of great importance for a nation to create this misleading homogeneity and commonality perception, so that it succeeds as a project intending to form a large mass of people sharing the same ideals, same past and future in their minds. As Benedict Anderson calls, 'nations' are imagined communities rather than a group of people that know each other personally.⁸ This nowadays classical approach of his to 'nation' criticises the former intellectuals who are called 'primitivist' nation theoreticians because of suggesting that the nations are eternal and universal, thus forming a natural extension of family and kinship relations which rely on the natural sharing of work, namely, men protecting women and children.⁹ By the 'imagined community' approach, Anderson proposes a concept of nation that was born together with modernisation and industrialisation in the course of World history, contradicting the ever-existent 'nation' of former theoreticians. Anderson's definition of nation expresses its incomprehensible and delusional nature that arises from its impossibility as a solid and homogeneous mass. A nation is a mass in delusion,

⁶ Füsün Üstel, "*Makbul Vatandaş'ın Peşinde, II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi* , (Istanbul:İletişim, 2011) p.158

⁷ Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* , (Cambridge, MA:Harvard University Press, 1992) p.7, cited by Nira Yuval-Davis, *Cinsiyet ve Millet* , (Istanbul:İletişim, 2010) p.49

⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Hayali Cemaatler, Milliyetçiliğin Kökenleri ve Yayılması*, (Istanbul:Metis, 1993)

⁹ Yuval-Davis, p.42

because it is created via a deceptive sense of commonalities among its components. This deceptive sense of commonalities is at first created on a mental level and this mental level is brought to life at the nation building process via ideological devices such as historiography, education system, media, religion, literature and sports.¹⁰ By the help of these devices, the idea of unity and uniformity of a nation, as well as gender roles and norms are produced and reproduced in a vicious circle. Every member of a projected nation imagines himself/herself as part of a much larger community by the impositions of these devices and thus takes part actively in this nationalist mission unconsciously. The strong belief of each and every individual to a common history, a shared past fulfilled with glorious victories, devastating defeats, migrations, myths, national heroes, etc. constitute a common memory. On this discursive level, after identifying themselves with certain qualities, nations create an 'other' of which they will distinguish themselves from and justify their very own existence. Because without an existing 'other', differences can not be noticed. Take for example a boy distinguishing himself, noticing his own otherness only after when he shares the same space with a girl and seeing that she does not look the same as him. So, a nation's consciousness about its uniqueness and the otherness of all the people beyond its borders work just like this analogy. On the succeeding level, nation-states consolidate themselves via 'inventing traditions', as Eric Hobsbawm calls, creating a past, writing a 'new' history. These highly institutionalised, formal and not easily traceable traditions come out in a very short while.¹¹ These invented traditions refer to a static, repeatable and unchanging past

¹⁰ Louis Althusser, *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları*, (Istanbul:İthaki, 2003) pp.63-64

¹¹ Eric J. Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger, *Geleneğin İcadı* (Istanbul:Agora, 2006) p.2. For a more detailed reading of Hobsbawm's approach to nationalism, see, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1991)

via ceremonies and rituals that indoctrinate the national consciousness among the citizens of a state. Especially during periods of rapid social change, the traditions invented for their importance as social and political tools are manipulative in a sense that they respond to the cultural needs of a society in question.¹² However, despite the success of invented traditions as political tools, the dilemma between modernisation and invented traditions is noteworthy. Because although modernism emphasises constant change and innovation, invented traditions attempt to embed at least some parts of social life to an unchangeable and static structure, thus conflicting with its constituent phenomenon.

Briefly, as Altınay draws the outlines of nation in her article¹³; it is at first, a category that emerged by modernity and in very close relations with both capitalism and industrialisation. Secondly, even though nations claim to be old formations, they are instead groups invented by nationalisms. Therefore, nationalisms created the nations contrary to the belief that the nations created nationalisms. As a third point, history as a discipline has been helping the nation-creation processes until very recently. Moreover, for a better understanding of nationalism and formation of nations, different questions have to be asked. As a final point, nationalism should not be perceived solely as a political ideology. Our perception of nationalism has to slip from the political arena to the cultural, meaning that it has to be analysed as a body of ideas and practices behind social, economical and cultural formations.

In the wide literature on nations, nationalism and national identities, Stuart Hall attributes great importance to the role culture plays as Hobsbawm does. He

¹² Meral Özbek, *Popüler Kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1991) p.42

¹³ Ayşe Gül Altınay, “Giriş: Milliyetçilik, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Feminizm” in Ayşe Gül Altınay, ed. *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2000) p.17

does not count nations only as political constructs, he describes them also as systems of cultural representations.¹⁴ It is important here to indicate that the invented traditions Hobsbawm points out emerge when there is a political and social transformation, a remarkable breakoff from an ancient order. Eventually, these cultural designs work as an adhesive in the course of nationalism processes, creating an idea of an eternal fraternity in people's minds. "Ultimately, it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings".¹⁵

Ernest Gellner claims that nationalism is a political justification theory that requires the overlapping of ethnic borders with political borders and because of that it requires the unification of state and culture.¹⁶ He continues by claiming that the developmental traces of nation-building process lie at modern societies' need of cultural homogeneity that is required for them to work uninterruptedly. This theory leads us to the modernist view on nationalism that associates the emergence of nationalisms with industrialisation and rise of (print) capitalism in the nineteenth century. As a result of developed technologies, mass production and diversification of the ways of communication, it was easier than ever to reach public masses. Since these developments are the essential elements that emerged as the outcome of modernity, at this point, Marshall Berman's explanation of modernisation as a concept that encompasses the complex entirety of social, economical and political processes is very fundamental. According to his point of view, the entirety of values

¹⁴ Stuart Hall, *Rassismus und kulturelle Identität. Ausgewählte Schriften 2.* (Hamburg: Argument, 1994) p.200, cited by De Cillia Rudolf, Reisingl Martin & Wodak Ruth, The discursive construction of national identities, *Discourse & Society* 10(2), (London:Sage, 1999) p.155

¹⁵ Anderson, p.22

¹⁶ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983) p.36. For a comparative reading on nationalism, see, Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001)

and perspectives resulting from a modernisation experience is called modernism.¹⁷Therefore, nation-building projects can be considered modernist projects since they bring modernisation, industrialisation and political change all together in a melting pot, signifying a major break off from the actual traditional order.Modernisation theory that was developed after WWII to explain the social change in non-Western societies that could not actualise capitalism ‘by themselves’ comprises this expression and is quite significant in the case of Turkish modernisation.

Turning back to the concept of ‘social change’, by revolutionary and fundamental changes in non-Western societies, large-scale social and political transformations are aimed for the sake of nation-building under the umbrella of modernisation.It has to be added that, not all the nationalist projects follow the same path.Every nation-building project is unique in itself, but still, common features they share outweigh their differences.

As it is being claimed, if a nation-building project is considered a modernisation process, it is of great importance to spell the three phases of classical modernisation theory that classifies the societies in three categories; traditional society, transitional society and modern society.¹⁸In this context, Early Republican Turkey can be called as a transitional society, since its modernisation process had begun much before the establishment of the Turkish Republic, under the Ottoman reign.According to the classical modernisation theory that considers economical

¹⁷ Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: Marxism, Modernism, Modernization , Dissent , Winter 1978*, p.54 cited by Özbek, *Popüler Kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski*, (Istanbul:İletişim, 1991) p.53. For criticisms about different approaches to modernism, see pp.33-54.

¹⁸Özbek, p.32

development as the basis of the transformation process, the actualisation of all the cultural and political qualities that are suggested to belong to modern society require first and foremost the economical development.¹⁹Therefore, as a part of the modernisation process, industrialisation and the simultaneous development of a national market will bring about technological, communicational developments and an increase in the literacy rate which will render the spread of universal values that will enable the onsetting of nation-building process and nationalism at political level possible. But, this classical modernist perspective was later highly criticised by scholars who claimed that a linear change may not be possible in different social and historical contexts, meaning that a static model is not sufficient at explaining the change. Plus, societies are complex groups that can not be considered a constant mass since there may be inner contradictions and differences within them which render the simultaneous existence of modern and traditional elements in the same society possible. Besides, modernity may originate from different sources in every society and it does not always lead to positive outcomes. However, these objections do not trivialise the basic arguments of modernisation process. In addition to these, it is argued among social scientists that the modernisation process is a process of various social tensions caused by the dichotomies brought by modernism. These dichotomies such as developed/backward, Western/Oriental, civilised/primitive, modern/traditional, civilisation/nature, male/female, material/spiritual, etc. are the very fundamental elements of modernisation theory which can be called as an extension of orientalism that positions and consubstantiates every positive concept with the West while despising and at the same time, imagining the East as a feminine being that needs the guidance of the

¹⁹ Ibid. p.32

‘male’ civilised nations. This patriarchal and sexist Western approach, namely the orientalist traces, as well as the discussions on what determines the concepts of ‘East’ and ‘West’ are very central to this study. Because the discussions on modernisation and therefore Westernisation have referred to the same concerns about sexual identity in many literary works.

1.2. Gender And Masculinity

Humans are born with a biological sex, as females or males or hermaphrodites. Hermaphrodites are counted here as a third sex since this study avoids approving the dichotomist sexual order of the modern worldview that takes hermaphroditism as a biological defect that has to be cured medically. However, since this study is not about sexual diversity or history of sexuality, discussions on hermaphroditism and sexual categorisations are well out of the scope of this study.

After this humble remark, it has to be expressed that ‘gender’ is a concept that first appeared among American feminists who were against the biological determinism which claims that being a man or a woman is strictly related to one’s biological features, such as sex-specific genitals, hormones and men’s stronger muscles. Having appeared as a result of the feminist objection against biologically deterministic view on ‘sexual differences’, ‘gender’ is still taken as a synonym of ‘women’ for social scientists. It is also used this way to suggest that information about women is necessarily information about men, that one implies the study of the other.²⁰ Scott’s approach to ‘gender’ is closely related to one of the motivations of this study which claims that the imprisonment of gender studies in the area of

²⁰ Joan W. Scott, Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 91 No.5 (Dec. 1986), p.1056

women's studies without describing, analysing histories of men and masculinities, gender studies are/will be an incomplete field of research. Denoting more than only women, gender is actually equal to a social category that is imposed on a sexed body. Consequently, it "becomes a way of denoting "cultural constructions" –the entirely social creations of ideas about appropriate roles for women and men. It is a way of referring to the exclusively social origins of the subjective identities of men and women."²¹ Briefly, gender is a total of social expectations about proper behaviours from every member of a sex. It refers not to physical qualities that cause the differences between men and women, instead, it refers to socially formed qualities about manhood and womanhood.²²

At this point, gender and sexuality emerge not as purely individual, but as social phenomena. Because every historical period in every specific location creates its own unique power relations and sexual regulations according to prevailing ideology that forms the social structures. Like other approaches, psychological and biological determinism that attempts to imprison sexuality in the individual is a product of the bourgeois culture that isolates economy from state and individual from society.²³

During the cultural construction of identity and diversity, gender relations and the centrality of sexuality play a big role. Hegemonic cultures present specific perspectives about the meanings of world and the nature of social order, for which the relations between men and women are vital, thus the supervision of women by

²¹ Ibid. p.1056

²² Anthony Giddens, *Sosyoloji*, (Ankara: Ayraç, 2000) p.621

²³ Robert Padgug, "Cinsel Sorunlar: Cinselliği Tarih İçinde Yeniden Düşünmek" in *Tarihten Gizlenenler: Gey ve Lezbiyen Tarihine Yeni Bir Bakış*, p.55-57, cited by Mehmet Sinan Birdal, "Neden LGBT Tarihi? Türkiye'de Siyaset ve LGBT-fobi" in *Cumhuriyet Tarihinin Tartışmalı Konuları*, Bülent Bilmez, ed.(Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2013) p.165

men is of crucial importance in many societies.²⁴ According to some intellectuals, gender presents itself materially in two spheres: 1. Gender-specific work-sharing and the gender-specific division of production devices 2. Social organisation of reproduction; here, women's fertility capacities are transformed via various social interventions and mostly, gets boosted. The other aspects of gender –that of clothing, the differentiation of physical behaviours and attitudes, inequality at reaching the material and mental resources, etc.- are either signs or results of this fundamental social differentiation.²⁵ Consequently, this system of thoughts causes individuals to consider the sex and gender differences inevitable and exclusionary ontological phenomena. But, Judith Butler claims that between sex, gender, representations of gender, sexual practices, fantasies and sexuality, there aren't any directly explanatory or causal lines, meaning that none of these terms determines, encompasses or explains the other terms.²⁶ However, some intellectuals assert that, at least, sex and gender are not independent concepts since cultural expectations about men and women are not independent from the observations on men's and women's physical bodies.²⁷ Social constructivists, in the meantime, put forth that the relation between biological sex and gender is a weak one, since the only difference in today's highly mechanised world between men and women is women's ability to give birth.²⁸ Therefore, muscle power that distinguished men from women as another indicator of biological difference had lost its importance by technological developments decades ago. According to constructivists' point of

²⁴ Yuval-Davis, p.131

²⁵ Hélène Hirata, et al., *Eleştirel Feminizm Sözlüğü*, Gülnur Acar-Savran, ed. (Istanbul:Kanat, 2009) p.83

²⁶ Judith Butler, *Taklit ve Toplumsal Cinsiyete Karşı Durma*, (Istanbul:Agora, 2007) p. 34

²⁷ Vehbi Bayhan, *Beden Sosyolojisi ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet*, *Doğu Batı 63*, (Ankara:Doğu Batı, 2013) p.153

²⁸ Ibid. p.154

view, human behaviours are mostly the reflections of the social and cultural environment in which they grow up.

Despite the differences at intellectual approaches to gender and its relations with other terms, socialisation processes undisputably depend on each individual's gender which determines his/her ontological/social status. Therefore the duties a nation appoints to its citizens differ depending on their sexes, eventually genders. In Turkey's case, although bearing some differences in the general attitude towards women, nation-state's approach was not a very different one from that of its predecessor, namely the Ottoman worldview that was based on Islamic Law which built a system of rules depending on binary oppositions, such as male/female, Muslim/non-Muslim, etc. Therefore, the attitude that used a discriminatory language towards women was already observable in the books aiming to educate the Ottoman children at school before the rise of the Turkish nationalist gender discourse of the Early Republican Era²⁹ which continued to make use of the same grammar when it comes to duties and rights of women. But before attending a school, the duties a citizen has to fulfill are taught at first level in family. So, it is possible to state that family works as one of the main ideological devices of a state for consolidating the nation as a mass that is united with same motivations. Because, for the political power, family is important for the role it plays at pre-school socialisation as well as securing the regularity and the continuity of social order in the name of state.³⁰ From this respect, family is a simulation of the actual state order in the house with father

²⁹ Üstel (2011) mentions about public education from 1908 to this day in detail. What she finds interesting in one of the Second Constitutional Era school books, *Kızlara Mahsus Terbiye-i Ahlakiye ve Medeniye*, that was solely written for the purpose of teaching young girls, is the language that preconditions the happiness by the fulfillment of duties. In case a girl does not fulfill her duties properly, what waits for her is misery, see p. 52.

³⁰ Selda Şerifsoy, "Aile ve Kemalist Modernizasyon Projesi, 1928-1950" in *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*, Ayşe Gül Altınay, ed. (Istanbul: İletişim, 2013) pp.157-158

as the head of the house, representing the state. As claimed by R.W Connell, conservative ideologies consider family ‘the foundation of society’, an idea which can be traced in nation-state systems. Moreover, “interior of the family is a scene of multi-layered relations just like geological layers”³¹ which contains intense economical, emotional, political and resistant patterns. According to Şerifsoy, the pre-school socialisation given in the family serves the state ideal of raising good citizens which is not different from raising good children in the context of nationalist ideology.³² For women, the criterion of being a good citizen passes through motherhood, whereas men should be fathers that can earn enough money for their families. Moreover, for children, to establish a family when they become adults is presented as an obligation instead of a free choice.³³ In addition to the duty of establishing a family, in every single opportunity, family is portrayed in the school books as the foundational institution of socialisation which approves an unconditionally hierarchical order in the family that threatens the children by the possibility that they may not be ‘loved’ unless they obey their parents.³⁴

³¹ R. W. Connell, *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve İktidar, Toplum, Kişi ve Cinsel Politika* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı, 1998) pp.167-168

³² Şerifsoy, pp.169-170

³³ Şerifsoy cites a paragraph from the “Primary School Programme” that was published in 1936 where the aim of the “Family” lesson is expressed: “To make children gain the necessary knowledge and skills for *to make them understand the position and role of man and woman in the family* in order to make them good mothers and fathers in their future families and set up a house orderly...To make the idea of saving in the new Turkish family a faith; to make them gain the habit to work for and in the house in order to provide them the feelings of happiness and loyalty in the Turkish family.” see, p.173. The original text is as follows: “Çocukların ileride kuracakları aile hayatında iyi bir anne ve baba olmaları, dirlik ve düzenlik içinde bir yuva tesis edebilmeleri için, *erkek ve kadının aile ocağındaki vazife ve rolünü iyice kavratmak* ve bunun için lüzumlu bilgi ve meharetleri kazandırmak...Yeni Türk ailesinde tasarruf fikrini iman haline getirmek; Türk ailesindeki yuvaya bağlılık, saadeti yuvada buluş duygusunu ve bunu temin için ev işi zevkini, ev için ve evde çalışma itiyadını kazandırmak.”

³⁴ Şerifsoy cites a paragraph from a school book published in 1946-1947: “Mother and father raise their children with great love and effort. This is adults’ duty. Children do have tasks, too, among which the main ones are, to love their parents sincerely, to respect and obey them. The ones who do not love their parents don’t do any good for anyone. *The obedience to parents must be complete; everything they ask must be done without questioning.* If children do not fulfill their tasks in the

It is interesting to note that the protonationalist discourses belonging to the Second Constitutional Era (1908-1920) that placed the ‘family’ which unites the citizens around consanguinity continue to be voiced in the republican period during the narration of the nation.³⁵ Because, in countries like Turkey where modernisation was realised top-down, the justificatory discourse of national unity is/should be provided by the state by using family as a metaphor and setting up citizens as brothers and sisters. This ideological continuation may be read as another indicator of the historical, social and political continuity between the Empire and the Republic at discursive level, unlike the republican hypothesis that claims a rupture by all means, by the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. As another indicator of continuity, Ruth Miller who wrote an article about the transformation of rights, sexuality and citizenship in Ottoman Empire and Turkey claims that despite the relatively liberal republican order, even the codes continued to use the same sexualised vocabulary of rights, equality and choice of the late Ottoman law system that was based on the strict male/female distinction.³⁶

In a traditional social setting of nation-states, men provide the main work and defense power while women are responsible for the production and education of new generations, as well as the cultural transfer. In this context, men and

family, the love between them will diminish. The children that love their parents and siblings and fulfill the tasks they owe them in the family will get the same treatment from their children when they grow up.” see, pp.174-175. The original text is as follows: “Anne ve baba çocuklarını büyük bir sevgi ve bin türlü emekle büyütürler. Büyüklerin küçüklere karşı ödevi işte budur. Küçüklerin de onlara karşı ödevleri vardır, başlıcaları onları candan sevmek, saymak ve sözlerini dinlemektir. Anasını babasını sevmeyenlerden kimseye hayır gelmez. *Anaya ve babaya gösterilen itaat tam olmalıdır; yani onların istedikleri bir şeyi niçin ve neden demeksizin yapmalıdır.* Bir ailede küçükler büyüklere karşı ödevlerinde kusur ettikleri zaman aralarındaki sevgi azalır. Anasını, babasını ve kardeşlerini seven ve onlara karşı borçlu olduğu ödevi yapan bir çocuk büyüdüğü vakit küçüklerinden bunun aynını görür.”

³⁵ Üstel, p.164

³⁶ Ruth A. Miller, Rights, Reproduction, Sexuality and Citizenship in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* Winter 2007 Vol.32 No.2, p.357

masculinity are considered equal to intelligence and culture while women are taken as representatives of emotion and nature who lack intelligence. Orientalist Western gaze upon Turkish nation makes use of the same conceptualisation that was largely adopted by Turkish writers and intellectuals of the modernisation era.³⁷ However, in Ottoman-Turkish intellectuals' imagination, unlike the Western gaze, East represented the 'conqueror man' while West represented woman in literary works of Tanzimat Period (1839-1876). But this optimistic conqueror discourse weakened by time probably because of the fact that the Empire was in a rapid dissolution process. Eventually, the discourse turned into a 'East, the Mother' and 'West, the Son' relationship after the fall of the Empire, marking the acceptance of the Western supremacy in the Ottoman-Turkish World. We may interpret that this analogy was more bearable in the Ottoman cultural sphere since 'mother' bore a more respectable value than the 'ordinary' woman.

The modern claim that women represent nature justifies itself on women's ability of giving birth. As Üstel notes, this consideration constitutes the basis of women's exclusion from civilised public political sphere as well as their lesser social value in all cultures.³⁸ Since she can bring a product into life naturally, she is considered natural and primitive. About women's ability of giving birth which justifies the patriarchal dichotomies, Üstel cites Simone de Beauvoir who asserts that man's supremacy above woman originates from his ability to kill, to take life which also makes humankind superior to animals. In Beauvoir's point of view, the killer sex was given the supremacy above the procreator sex, because of

³⁷Nurdan Gürbilek, *Kör Ayna Kayıp Şark, Edebiyat ve Endişe* (Istanbul: Metis, 2010) , pp.85-93

³⁸ Üstel, p.26

this.³⁹ Moreover, parallel to Beauvoir's argument, some intellectuals claim that what defines 'citizenship' traditionally is the ability to take part in armed struggles, to die or to kill for national defense, namely, doing military service which preconditions being a man.⁴⁰ Similarly Carole Pateman argues that "the performance of women's duty is vital for the health of the state, yet the duty lies outside citizenship –indeed motherhood is seen as the antithesis of the duties of men and citizens".⁴¹ Moreover, since the national community is constructed as a fraternity, it points to the centrality of male-bonding in the creation of the spirit of nationalism and women's exclusion from the social contract. Men and masculinity were therefore vital for modern nation-states because manliness was supposed to safeguard the existing perils of modernity, as Mosse indicates.⁴² The modern male stereotype of nation-states which was in close alliance with nonaristocratic middle-class sensibilities was going to be produced and reproduced via educating boys at school and under military service, thus providing the transition of masculine ideals between generations. Meanwhile, the modern social contract rendered women subordinate to men's power while forming unificatory bonds between men and making women only the indicators of social relations in the new political and social order.⁴³ Therefore, the traditional gender roles of women were reorganised and given new meanings depending on the masculine nationalist ideology and nation-

³⁹ Ibid. p.26

⁴⁰ Yuval-Davis, p.169

⁴¹ Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1989) p.11, cited by Ruth A. Miller, Rights, Reproduction, Sexuality and Citizenship in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society Winter 2007 Vol.32 No.2*, pp.352-353

⁴² Mosse, p.3. Mosse continues by claiming that masculinity is not central only in fashioning the ideas of nationhood, respectability and war, but in almost every aspect of modern history, see, p.4

⁴³ Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) p.7, cited by Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Sevgili ve Ana Olarak Erotik Vatan: Sevmek, Sahiplenmek, Korumak" in *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*, Ayşe Gül Altınay, ed. (Istanbul: İletişim, 2013) p.129

state's needs. Especially, pro-natalist state politics of modern nation-states regulated women's bodies and fertility, which is today still a hot topic of discussion in Turkey because of anti-abortionist moves of the current government. One more regulation considering the gender roles was the change in the definition of the family which made it a moral unit of the nation-state, in which man had to earn money while woman had to look after the children and take care of the housework. Therefore, as Najmabadi indicates in her article on relations between homeland and sexuality, "love as a category that tied homeland with sexuality, nation with gender turned into heteroerotic love from the divine and mostly homoerotic sufi love"⁴⁴ of the previous centuries in Arab-Islamic World. Interestingly, the categorisation of sexual behaviours into bi/hetero/homosexuality which did not exist before coincides with the rise of nationalism in modern Europe in the nineteenth century. Consequently, nation-states, those in the West as well, built themselves upon the blessing of heterosexual love which will 'presumably' end in the creation of sons and daughters that will provide and secure the continuation of the (capitalist) nationalist order.

As a framework, nationalism and nation building processes constructed themselves upon binary oppositions which are in favor of men and masculinity, namely mind and rationality, but humiliating/discriminating women, therefore nature and irrationality, and any sign of femininity, which also paved the justificatory way to collective homophobia in nationalist order. The ideal masculine stereotype of nationalist order with its abstract and concrete expressions was born in the era of modernity but it is impossible to point to that precise moment when it

⁴⁴ Najmabadi, p.133

became part of modern history, as Mosse indicates.⁴⁵ Because the concept of male honor and the proper manners according to which men had to act were already extant before modernity although they were not systematised.

As Europe was entering an ever more visually oriented age during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, symbols, new sciences such as physiognomy and anthropology were being invented, human body and especially the male body was being rediscovered. The foundations of modern masculine stereotype were based on classical manly beauty of ancient Greece that symbolised virtue.⁴⁶ Unsurprisingly, the modern understanding of women and femininity in nation-states were also influenced by the Greek philosophy. Some feminists argue that the reason why everything related with women and womanhood has been/is being excluded from the public sphere is that they are thought to be lacking the capacities necessary for political life. This point of view was a deep-rooted ideological heritage of ancient Greek philosophy. Since the birth of philosophical thinking, womanhood was considered equal to evil and claimed to be representing things that were out of the rational sphere that was corresponded by Pythagoras' Table Of The Opposites from the sixth century BC that positions womanhood as the opposite of the 'clearly determined' which represents manhood, and correlates it with the concepts that were perceived as negative features according to the Pythagorean table.⁴⁷ This ancient Greek philosophical thought conveyed its outlines to the noteworthy systems of thought of the following centuries that emerged

⁴⁵ Mosse, p.5

⁴⁶ Ibid. p.28

⁴⁷ Genevieve Lloyd, *Erkek Akıl, Batı Felsefesinde "Erkek" ve "Kadın"* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı, 1996) pp.22-23. As explained by Lloyd, these early perceptions about manhood and womanhood survived in the later periods of Greek philosophy, during the development process of material-form distinction which defines manhood by form and womanhood by material.

around the Eastern Mediterranean basin, such as Judaism and Christianity. As Lloyd cites in her book, Philo, a Jewish philosopher of the Hellenistic Era reinterprets the story of the Fall of Man in the Book of Genesis parallel to ancient Greek thought. He says that the seduction of man via the intermediary of woman in the story is a meaningful emphasis, since mind corresponds to man while senses correspond to woman.⁴⁸ This justificatory theory has been the point of departure for the patriarchal world order for ages. Therefore modern masculinity built itself upon the denial of senses that prohibits crying, passionate love for women and sexual intimacy between men. “The idea of masculinity rests on the necessary repression of feminine aspects –of the subject’s potential for bisexuality- and introduces conflict into the opposition of masculine and feminine.”⁴⁹ Moreover, masculinity is a relational concept that exists as long as femininity exists. As Connell indicates, “a culture which does not treat women and men as bearers of polarized character types, at least in principle, does not have a concept of masculinity in the sense of modern European/American culture.”⁵⁰ However, even in the modern Western culture, a single, solid, all embracing definition of masculinity can not be made since there are different masculinities in different contexts, and masculinity bears a special cultural meaning in every specific time and place, which makes one think that it is in an infinite process of construction in every possible context. But masculinity/manliness as a social status is not comprehensible unless looked upon from inside power analysis. Moreover, rather than attempting to define masculinity as an object, the processes and relationships through which men and women

⁴⁸ Ibid. p.46

⁴⁹ Scott, p.1063

⁵⁰ R.W. Connell, “The Social Organization of Masculinity” in *The Masculinities Reader*, Stephen M. Whitehead and Frank J. Barrett, eds. (Cambridge:Polity Press, 2001) p.31

conduct gendered lives need to be focused.⁵¹ As an addition to these claims, relying on Simone de Beauvoir's point of view, Serpil Sancar argues that manliness is a status of power which reserves the right to speak about what other statuses are and therefore maintaining its own status out of questioning.⁵² Consequently, masculinity builds its own hegemony and (re)presents an ideal among numerous masculinities while articulating them to its patriarchal power. However, it should be borne in mind that, just as the 'masculinity' itself, 'hegemonic masculinity' does not have a clear definition. With Connell's words, "hegemonic masculinity is not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same. It is, rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable."⁵³ In the course of Turkish history, and most probably, in the World history, too, hegemonic masculinities took different forms, since every era had its unique sociocultural norms and ideals about manliness.

After having put this theoretical framework forth, the specific case of Turkish nationalism and its understanding of masculinity is going to be evaluated in the following chapter.

⁵¹ Ibid. p.33

⁵² Serpil Sancar, *Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar*, (Istanbul:İletişim, 2009) p.16

⁵³ Connell, 2001, p.38

CHAPTER II

A NEW BORN REPUBLIC

2.1. Turkish Nationalism And Its Masculinity Design

At this point, it is of crucial importance to take a look at the development of Turkish nationalism to render the nation-building process of Turkey meaningful and then putting the Republican gender discourse into this framework. Origins of the nationalist ideology in Turkey stretch back to nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, where it first emerged as a cultural movement originating from European orientalist such as de Guignes Cahun and Vambery, as indicated by Erik Jan Zürcher.⁵⁴

After when the Balkan territories were begun to be lost, beginning with the independence of Greece in 1821, numerous nation-states appeared in the Balkans following the centuries-long Ottoman sovereignty. Taking into account the *zeitgeist* of the nineteenth century Europe, this process of imperial dissolution was not unexpected. However, the Ottoman optimism of attempting to hold the religiously and ethnically different subjects of the Empire together, especially the Christians, resulted in equal rights to be granted to all subjects by the edicts announced between 1839 and 1876, during the phase which is referred to as 'Tanzimat Period'. Despite the modern and, rather positive attempts of the Empire, great territorial losses went on to occur by the breaking off of new nationalist countries in Balkans, marking the political failure of the edicts. These edicts were for the most part, attempts to modernise the Ottoman Empire which was searching for ways to prevent the negative trend in both political and social arenas. Another motivation for

⁵⁴ Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co, 1998) p.133

the continuous legal regulations of the nineteenth century was the widespread concerns about a possible direct European intervention under the name of the protection of Christian nations. Constitutional regulations of the Tanzimat Period were just one part of the Ottoman unionist projects. The other part of the project was the transformation of public, as formerly called, the ‘subjects’ of the Sultan. As counted among the ideological devices, schools played at that time, and even today play a prominent role. Beginning before the establishment of the Turkish Republic, school books written by the intellectuals and officials of the Ottoman Empire, such as the books to be used at *Malumat-ı Medeniye* (lit. Knowledge of Civilisation) courses which were published in 1908 for the first time, were used as ideological devices.⁵⁵ Because the intellectuals taking part in what we might call, the Ottoman revival project were already followers of the developments in the West, mainly in France. Thus they were applying the practices in post-revolution France to Ottoman Empire to help raise the ‘good citizens’ who will hold the Empire together with their good deeds and high morals. By the European experience, Ottoman intellectuals must have noticed the importance of children as political subjects of the future which is in fact a modern concept that was also observed in the Early Turkish Republican school books and still functions the same way in today’s Turkey.

Following the Tanzimat Period, ‘Young Turks’, a group of modern-educated bureaucrats, officers and intellectuals became active towards the end of the nineteenth century. They were the organisers of the constitutional revolution in 1908 under the umbrella of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) with the

⁵⁵ Üstel, p.23

motivation to modernise the state and society by positivist and increasingly ethnocentric ideas which originate from the European Enlightenment, marking the onset of the Second Constitutional Era (1908-1920) in Ottoman historiography. Despite some changes in its body, this bureaucratic elite survived into the Turkish Republic, thus maintaining their nationalist and positivist political attitude by establishing and ruling the Turkish Republic. In early 1900s, simultaneous with the territorial dissolution of the Empire, the Young Turk Revolution in 1908 and the emergence of the CUP government thereafter, different unionist ideas appeared among Ottoman intellectuals, such as *Osmanlıcılık* (Ottomanism) which was an all-embracing supranationalist project that guaranteed the minority rights and de-emphasised ethnocentric nationalisms, another supranationalist project, namely *Ümmetçilik* (Ummahism) which imagined the unity of all Muslims of the World under Ottoman leadership and *Türkçülük* (Turkism) which proposed the union of all Turkic ethnicities stretching from Central Asia to Anatolia again under Ottoman reign. These ideologies were considered and proposed, at the same time a way of defense against Western expansionism. Among them, only Turkism which put an emphasis on preserving only the Anatolian territories may be called nationalist in today's sense. But, all of these ideologies were for sure the first footsteps leading to Republican Turkish nationalism.

As it is going to be portrayed in this chapter, Turkish nation-building process was a history of identity crises that centered itself around not betraying the origins and keeping the features of Turkish-Islamic identity but reaching the modern, Western life standards and technology at the same time, as emphasised by Ziya Gökalp, a follower of the French sociologist Durkheim who believed in the supremacy of society over the individual. Additionally, about the synthesis of a

possible European-Turkish modernisation, Gökalp made a distinction between *hars* and *medeniyet* to clarify and show the proper way for Turkish modernisation.⁵⁶ By this, he made the most creative and consistent attempt for a European-style modernisation of the Turkish nation which, in his opinion, had its own strong culture. His ideas were considerably influential in the formation of Turkish nationalism. Although three main ideologies mentioned above were formed to provide a solution to Empire's constantly growing problems of unity, among these ideologies, only Ottomanism was the prevailing ideology among the CUP elite until 1913 when all Ottomanist illusions were shattered by devastating wars in Tripoli and Balkans, respectively. Despite Ottomanism was the prevailing ideology for a period, CUP was already in the grip of a Muslim-Turkish nationalism that interpreted Ottomanism as the Turkification of the non-Turkish elements which undermined the credibility of Ottomanism and inevitably gave rise to Turkish nationalism.

From 1911 onwards the Turkist movement's platform was the *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Hearth) where the Turkish nationalist ideology was promoted by cultural activities, discussions and lectures. Besides, its journal *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland) was also a wide-spread publication.⁵⁷ However, upon the failure of the Turkist movement that was a large-scale project, the ethnocentric Turkish nationalism that was concentrated on Anatolia as the Turkish heartland prevailed in the second decade of the twentieth century. In the harsh years of WWI, the populist doctrine of Turkish nationalism subdued the social tensions caused by poverty of

⁵⁶ *Hars* means traditions and spiritual elements of culture which define "us", while *medeniyet* means civilisation which we have to adopt from the West. See, Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990).

⁵⁷ Zürcher, p.134

the war years. An organisation called *Halka Doğru* (Towards The People) which represented this type of Turkish nationalism was founded in 1917 by the CUP itself.⁵⁸ By that time, CUP was led mainly by Ottoman military elites, among which was Enver Pasha, one of the main orchestrators of the Armenian Genocide in 1915. In case the Turkish nation-building process, as well as modernisation, is considered an uninterrupted process that stretches back to the Second Constitutional Era (1908-1920), it may be claimed that the Armenian Genocide, with the classical justificatory discourse of the official Turkish historiography which asserted/asserts that the Armenians were either cooperating with occupant Russian forces in Eastern Anatolia or constituting a threat for such a cooperation against the Ottoman Empire, was actually the first part of the demographic homogenisation project that was applied to form a solid Turkish population in Anatolia.

The War of Independence that followed WWI was coordinated mostly by commanders of CUP origin. “While it prepared an armed resistance movement from Anatolia, the CUP also prepared for a public defense of the rights of the Turkish Muslim parts of the population in areas perceived to be in danger of occupation by the Greeks, Armenians, French, Italians or British.”⁵⁹ This initiative turned out to be a foundational element in the establishment of the national resistance movement in Anatolia and Thrace. The congresses organised in Sivas and Erzurum by the resistance movement set the foundations of Turkish nationalist claims which consisted of six articles that were manifested under the name of *Misak-ı Millî* (National Pact).⁶⁰ Except the expression of Muslim Ottoman sovereignty, instead of

⁵⁸ Ibid. p.135

⁵⁹ Ibid. p.141

⁶⁰ Ibid. p.144. The articles are as follows: “1. The territories inhabited by an Ottoman Muslim majority (united in religion, race and aim) formed an indivisible whole, but the fate of territories

Turkish, these six articles were the fundamentals of the nationalist programme. With the Turkish victories over occupant forces and Istanbul government, War of Independence ended in favor of the nationalist movement. Thereafter, by the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne on 24 July 1923, the goals of the National Pact had been mostly attained. In October of the same year, the Turkish Republic was promulgated. The new state was established by a group of military elites of CUP origin, which was dissolved as a political body in 1918. From 1923 on, the ideology they followed within the territories left from the Empire, namely Anatolia and Eastern Thrace, was naturally nationalist, assimilating and authoritative, primarily against religious minorities such as Armenians, Greeks and Jews. Because at that time, the transition of the diverse population into a homogeneous mass was considered the most urgent problem to be solved in the frame of the new nation-state's politics.

As indicated before, education and school books played a significant role as a state apparatus for the new nationalist state. The construction of Turkish identity which was already on the way at the beginning of the twentieth century accelerated after the establishment of the Republic with the invention of a new past that put emphasis on the pre-Islamic Turkish identity and cut its ties with the immediate Ottoman heritage. But it has to be noted that the definitions of Turkish nation, Turkish homeland (*vatan*) and Turkish citizenship in the books prepared for school

inhabited by an Arab majority which were under foreign occupation should be determined by plebiscite. 2. A plebiscite could determine the fate of the "Three Vilayets" of Batum, Kars and Ardahan, which had been Russian from 1878 to 1918. 3. The same should hold true for the fate of western Thrace. 4. The security of the capital, Istanbul, and of the Sea of Marmara must be assured. The opening of the straits to commercial shipping would be a subject for discussion with other interested countries. 5. The rights of minorities would be established in conformity with the treaties concluded between the Entente and European states. 6. The economic, financial and judicial independence of the empire should be assured and free from restrictions (i.e. a return of the capitulations would be unacceptable).

children changed in those years depending on the development of the Turkish nationalistic thought by time. Üstel claims that expressions in the *Malumat-ı Vatanîye* (lit. Knowledge of Homeland) which was written by Muslihiddin Adil and published in 1924 to be used for the education of first-grade school children reflect all the troubles of the transformation from premodern ‘homeland’ to ‘modern homeland’, to a physically determined geographical body. According to Muslihiddin Adil, ‘homeland’ is where one is born and where one lives. However, he goes one step further by claiming that the notion of ‘homeland’ has a broader meaning that encapsulates all the territories that were once under our ancestors’ rule. Moreover, he claims that territories constitute only one part, the material part of the nation since nation also exists in ideas and minds where Turkish language is spoken.⁶¹ The troubles continue to be observed in his definition of ‘nation’, too. Muslihiddin Adil claims that nation is a collectivity of individuals from same origins that are under the same state’s rule. According to him, among the elements that bring these individuals together, race, language and religion have an important status.⁶² As a

⁶¹ Üstel, pp.160-161: “Homeland is primitively where we are born, the country we live in. Actually ‘homeland’ has a broader meaning. All the territories that once belonged to our ancestors, the air we breathe in, seas, skies, all of them constitute the ‘homeland’. Homeland is not only the territories we own today. The territories that somehow seceded from us but still host a large amount of our people are also included in the idea of homeland. The territories that we live in and we own today constitute our material homeland. Our intellectual homeland is more tutelar than this. Every place where Turks live and Turkish is spoken, is our intellectual homeland.” The original text is as follows: “Vatan kelimesinden iptidaen anlaşılın doğduğumuz şehir, içinde yaşadığımız ülkedir. Hakikatte vatan tabiri daha geniş bir manayı ifade eder. Bize ve ecdadımıza mukarrer olan bütün topraklar, teneffüs ettiğimiz hava, bize muhit olan her şey, deniz, sema, bütün bunlar (vatan)dır. Vatan yalnız bugün sahip olduğumuz yerlerden ibaret değildir. Dün bir suretle bizden iftirak eden, içinde henüz büyük bir kısım milletdaşlarımızın yaşadığı yerler de vatan fikrinde dahildir. Efendiler, içinde yaşadığımız ve bugün sahibi bulunduğumuz topraklar maddi vatanımızdır. Fikri vatanımız bundan daha vasidir. Türk’ün yaşadığı ve Türk’ün lisanının konuşulduğu her yer fikri vatanımızdır.”

⁶² Ibid. p.161: “Nation is the collectivity of individuals from common origins that are united for common interests and feelings, who are under the rule of the same state. The elements that unite the individuals of a nation are diverse. Among these elements, race, language and religion have an important status.” The original text is as follows: “Millet bir devlete tâbi olan ve menfaatlerin ve hislerin iştirakiyle birleşmiş, menşeleri müşterek bulunan fertlerin heyet-i mecmuasıdır. Bir millet efradını birbirine bağlayan müessirler muhtelifdir. Bu rabitalar arasında ırkın, lisanın, dinin mühim bir mevkiî vardır.” The latter sentence emphasises both race and culture, of which religion

supporting evidence for this confusion observed here, we see that even at the discussions taking place among Turkish elites right after the promulgation of republic, there were disputes about defining the Turkish nation and citizenship.⁶³ Because, for a multinational state like Early Republican Turkey, it was quite problematic to form an all-encompassing, homogeneous Turkish identity in a nationalist sense. However, as a result of the ideological tendencies of the republican elites, a Turkishness referring strongly to race and language with vague Islamic tones was adopted and imposed as official politics.

One of the noteworthy nationalistic political acts that the Republican government committed in its first decades was the deportation of Anatolian Greeks in 1923-1924 under the name of Population Exchange which was based on the exchange of Muslim population in Greece and Greek Orthodox population in Anatolia. In the following years, Greeks living in Istanbul, Armenians living in Istanbul and Anatolia that survived the genocide and Jews have been the main target groups of the republican politics. In Jews' case, the nation-building project was applied only through oppressive economical methods and the 'staged' pogrom of 1934 in Thrace rather than mobilising them, as was the case for Armenians and Greeks. After the pogrom in 1934 that targeted the Jewish social and economical presence in Thrace, Thracian Jews escaped to Istanbul as a result of government's

constitutes a great part. By the imagined unity of race and religion, it is obvious that the non-Muslim elements of the Turkish Republic are excluded from his imagination of Turkish nation. However, as cited by Üstel, he later claims that race, language and religion are not the only integrating elements of a nation, it's the collective memory, instead: "However, the things that bring the individuals of a nation together as a mass are not only race, language and religion. Instead, it is the memories of the past and the sacrifices of the future that unite the individuals of a nation." The original text is as follows: "Mamañih, bir millet efradını bir kitle halinde toplayan şey yalnız ırk, lisan ve din değildir. Bir millet efradını birbirine bağlar, daha ziyade maziye ait hatıralar ve istikbalde yapılacak fedakârlıklardır."

⁶³ Üstel (2011) claims that the notes in Afet İnan's *Medeni Bilgiler ve Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün El Yazıları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1969) are explanatory about this confusion, see p.222 .

nonchalance about the situation. By the end of the events, many Jews had already left Turkey. But the nation-building process that aimed to transform the population and change the owners of capital took more years to be fulfilled. The arbitrary 'Wealth Tax' of 1942 provided a more widespread transfer of the capital in Turkey than the population exchange in 1923-1924 and 1934 Pogrom, taking it from Armenians, Greeks and Jews, the primary traders and capital owners of the late imperial era and handing it to Muslim Turkish citizens. On 6th-7th September 1955 the lives and properties of Greek Orthodox population were targeted by another pogrom staged in Istanbul. By this organised violence against all non-Muslim groups, but mainly the Greeks of Istanbul that were exempt from the Population Exchange decades ago, they were now leaving the country because of fear and growing distrust against Turkish government. The political developments in the following years proved that they had right.⁶⁴ Towards the end of the twentieth century, the total non-Muslim population of Anatolia and Thrace was tens of times less than it was at the beginning of the century. Namely, setting the Kurdish Issue aside, which by itself constitutes a large-scale research topic revolving around the themes of Turkish and Kurdish nationalisms, the physical level of the decades-long nation-building project was gradually completed.

On the discursive level, the history of Turkish nation-building process was expected to be a history of modernisation and progress without 'degeneration'. Additionally, the Turkish nation-building process established itself upon forgetting the memories of the Ottoman past, as if it never existed. According

⁶⁴ Because of tense political developments in Cyprus, mass expulsion was applied to Istanbul Greeks in 1964, claiming that they were supporting the Greek Cypriots against Turkish Cypriots. Istanbul Greeks were forced to leave Turkey within 12 hours with 20 dollars and a bag with a maximum weight of 20 kg to take with. Their properties and bank accounts were confiscated by the government.

to Kemal H. Karpat, the leaders might have thought that “in order to control the future they needed to impose a historical amnesia on the nation until the nation could view its past with detachment and dispassion”⁶⁵ since the Republican elites believed that a religious popular reaction and desire for an authentic Turkish national identity might have arisen, considering people’s centuries-long sympathy for the caliph and the sultan, namely the monarchy. This caused the Republican cultural modernisation project to search for symbolical investments in cultural sphere where a series of new symbols and images was going to be produced, plus, a past where these innovations were going to be unified or synthesised with memories and traditions that were tried to be found.⁶⁶ Since the Republican ideologues pointed to the pre-Ottoman, or at times, to the pre-Islamic past of Turkish people in creating the past, Anatolia was idealised as a homogeneous mass which in turn resulted in the racist, vandal politics mentioned before. Essentially, Kemalist modernism of the Turkish Republic was conservative in its nature, although Kemalists distanced themselves from conservatism since it meant for them that of the religious traditionalism only. This conservative modernisation invested into the cultural sphere to form the homogeneous nation image as the principal official culture politics. The indispensable agenda of the national culture is the synthesis of West and East which has to be produced and supervised by the elites and has to reach the public from the ‘top’. In cultural products of the era, the concern of degeneration is often and primarily reflected upon discussions on women’s bodies and men’s feminisation, namely the ‘false modernisation’ of

⁶⁵ Kemal H. Karpat, “Historical Continuity and Identity Change or How To Be Modern Muslim, Ottoman, and, Turk” in *Ottoman Past and Today’s Turkey*, Kemal H. Karpat, ed. (Boston: Brill, 2000) p.27

⁶⁶ Arslan, p.29

men. It is possible to breathe this spirit both in politics, political discourses as well as cultural products that were put forth during the course of Turkish modernisation, and later, nation-building processes. For example, by the onset of the Westernisation process, the concern of influence that undertook a central role in the novels was a struggle against feminisation which started a war of masculinity among the authors. According to Nurdan Gürbilek, from the birth of the Turkish novel into the 1930's, the national allegory in novels point even in the names of its 'dandy' male characters, to the story of the nation.⁶⁷ The story of the empire/nation overlaps with that of the dandy man. Actually, the story of the dandy man who converts into a monster searching for strange desires was the story of the fear of losing identity in the territories of the impotent empire. Therefore, from its birth in the nineteenth century, the 'dandy man' motive in Turkish novels was portraying the concerns about the loss of masculinity together with the national identity. It was this historical period when the categories of sexual behaviours such as bi/hetero/homosexual were invented in Europe. This 'modern' approach to categorising the complex human sexual behaviours that can not be simply and strictly classified, influenced the Ottoman society as well. Grandvizier Ahmed Cevdet Pasha who observed the transformation in Ottoman society in 1860s indicates that same-sex relations at that time diminished significantly because of the

⁶⁷ Gürbilek, p.64. Gürbilek indicates that, by the transformation of Turkish dandiness from a foolish passion to pretentiousness and from pretentiousness to treacherous sordidness, names of the dandy characters transformed parallelly; Meftun (amorous) became Şöhret (fame), Şöhret became Müştak (desirous), Müştak became Efruz (flamboyant), Efruz became Servet (wealth). See, p.64. Berna Moran detects the same phenomenon, the differentiation of the "dandy men" through the course of the Turkish modernisation. He claims that the dandy men of the Tanzimat Period are totally different than the dandies of Peyami Safa and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu. This differentiation shows the ideological development of the authors' approaches to the problem of over-Westernisation. See, Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış-1*, (Istanbul: İletişim, 2012) p.48

European influence.⁶⁸ According to Selim S. Kuru, Ahmed Cevdet Pasha thinks that the change in men's object of desire, from boys to women, is a result of women's augmenting appearance/existence in social sphere⁶⁹, which is a convincing claim since women were turning gradually from properties to educated, sophisticated comrades.

Turning back to masculinity concerns, decades later, in the Republican era, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu represents the national concern of losing the manhood in his works quite clearly, especially in *Sodom ve Gomore*, as it will be touched upon in the related chapter of this thesis. Moreover, during the War of Independence and after the promulgation of the Republic, new developments took place in Turkish novels including Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's works, when a new character type, 'the petty revolutionary' appeared. During times of resistance and national liberation, such as the Turkish War of Independence, the re-establishment of men's and women's roles are very central in many struggles of this kind which gave birth to such characters in literary texts. Although bearing some differences compared to men's situation, in women's terms, the main concern of the nation-state was the threat of 'over-Westernisation', namely, the similar concern about men. Therefore, first, the Ottoman intellectuals and later Turkish ideologues 'warned' women against this danger, presenting a reasonable feminism, instead of a revolutionary one. In this respect, Tülin Ural claims that Şemseddin Sami's booklet

⁶⁸ Selim S. Kuru, *Yaşanan, Söylenen ve Yazılan: Erkekler Arasında Tutkusal İlişkiler, Cogito 65-66*, 2011, p.272. The words of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha are: "Lovers of women have increased. The people of Lot have almost disappeared. The love for boys that was well-known and usual for a long time in Istanbul have turned to girls. Kamil Pasha, Ali Pasha, and the ones alike, that were famous among the elites for their interest in pederasty have vanished." The original text is as follows: "Zen-dostlar çoğalıp mahbûblar azaldı. Kavm-i Lut sanki yere batdı. İstanbul'da öteden beri delikanlılar için ma'ruf u mu'tadd olan aşk u alaka hal-i tabi'isi üzere kızlara müntakil oldu. Kübera içinde gulamparelikle meşhur Kamil ve Ali Paşalar ile anlara mensub olanlar kalmadı."

⁶⁹ Ibid. p.273

from 1879 portrays an example of the modern feminist thoughts about women's 'proper' Westernisation which may be linked to Kemalist modernisation as a source of inspiration for republican reforms aiming to improve women's rights.⁷⁰ Nükhet Sirman's claims support this approach by indicating that the Republican reforms constituted the second wave of debates on the position of women in society, with the first wave of debates being observed during the Tanzimat Period until when Abdulhamid II's absolutist rule closed the ways of discussion and progress at any social and political level, increasingly.⁷¹ Upon his overthrow from power in 1909 by the Young Turks, more insistent voices began to be heard when a number of exclusively women's organisations were formed and women's journals began to appear. However, despite the progressivist discussions of the era that introduced women as more influential actors into the public sphere, the main discourse did not challenge the identity of women as wives and mothers, depending on the interests of national elites. After the promulgation of the Republic in 1923, a series of reforms about women's position in society were put into action which were actually not revolutionary, although claimed to be right the opposite in official historiography, since these reforms did not constitute a major break off from women's traditional roles as wives and mothers. Instead, women were now patriotic wives and mothers who were responsible for the education of the nation. They were icons encapsulating the past and the future, symbolising men's houses, villages and nations.⁷² Although the newly designed Republican womanhood provided them equal marital rights with men by the abolition of polygamy and repudiation via

⁷⁰ Tülin Ural, "The Representation of Gender, Love, Family and Sexuality in the Canonical and Non-Canonical Novels of the Early Republican Period", Unpublished Master's Thesis, (Istanbul:Boğaziçi University, 2001) p.lvi

⁷¹ Nükhet Sirman, Turkish Feminism: A Short History, *Dossier 5-6, December 1988/May 1989*, p.3

⁷² Ibid. p.5

the adoption of the Swiss civil code in 1926, and many other legal rights in the following years, the Republican ideology imagined women as desexualised subjects in the public sphere, putting a greater emphasis on their nationalist mission as educated social women, instead of taking them as individuals with a free will. Consequently, woman became a respectable social actor as long as she was part of a family and fulfilled her national duties such as giving birth and raising future citizens with high moral values. Even Atatürk, who considers the equality of men and women an important indicator of progression and civilisation puts the greatest emphasis on motherhood in the framework of a woman's 'duties'.⁷³ In nation-states like Turkish Republic, "national elites are able to define who is central and who is marginal to the national project"⁷⁴ depending on their interests. In that sense, as long as a woman was a self-sacrificing mother and wife, she was meant to be honourable and respectable according to the nationalist discourse. Parallel to this, Atatürk's discourses on women's position in society take form around the metaphor of nation as a family by making Turkish women the mothers of the nation.⁷⁵ However, given the depopulation of Anatolia because of almost continuous warfare conditions for ten years, this pro-natalist discourse made sense. Therefore, the dominant image of

⁷³ Şerifsoy, p.177. Atatürk's sentences are as such; "Like in all branches, there is a work division in social life, too. At this work division, women will take part in common works required for social wealth and happiness whereas they will fulfill their own duties. Housework is a woman's lightest and least important duty. *The greatest duty of woman* is motherhood." The original text is as follows: "Her aşamada olduğu gibi toplum yaşamında da iş bölümü vardır. Bu genel iş bölümü arasında kadınlar kendileriyle ilgili görevleri yapacakları gibi, aynı zamanda toplumun refahı, mutluluğu için gerekli olan ortak çalışmaya da katılacaklardır. Ev işleri kadının en ufak ve önemsiz görevidir. *Kadının en büyük görevi analıktır.*"

⁷⁴ Tamar Mayer, "Gender ironies of nationalism: setting the stage" in *Gender Ironies of Nationalism, Sexing the nation*, Tamar Mayer, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2000) p.12

⁷⁵ Ayşe Durakbaşı, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek Kimliklerinin Oluşumu: Kemalist Kadın Kimliği ve "Münevver Erkekler" " in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, Ayşe Berktaş Hacımiraçoğlu, ed. (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998) p.41. Atatürk's words are: "Our women must be more enlightened and wiser than men. If they really want to be the mothers of the nation, they have to behave this way." The original text is as follows: "Kadınlarımız erkeklerden daha çok münevver, daha çok feyizli, daha fazla bilgili olmaya mecburdurlar. Eğer hakikaten milletin anası olmak istiyorlarsa böyle davranmalıdırlar."

the Republican woman was drawn around a rhetoric of duties and responsibilities instead of an actual liberation and individual emancipation. Briefly, her duties were:

1. Providing the biological continuity of the nation by giving birth;
2. Contributing to ideological and cultural reproduction of the nation;
3. Representing the 'private sphere';
4. Symbolising the boundaries of national identity by her body;
5. Participating in the economic, military and political struggles of the nation.⁷⁶

By fulfilling her duties, she was going to form the new nation that chose to forget its past memories of defeats, bigotry and degeneration. She was going to be the creator of the 'new man'.⁷⁷ As cited by Duygu Köksal, according to İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, a prominent philosopher and artist of the Early Republican era, women's accession into national life was a matter of socioeconomical development instead of a matter of nurture.⁷⁸ This point of view was overlapping with the official discourse on women which advocated the 'harmless state feminism' formed by bringing women's accession into public sphere as active citizens together with putting an emphasis on their duties as mothers at home. For Turkish women, it was a compromising transformation instead of a radically feminist one.

In general, although the main concern of the Turkish Republic was to present the new regime to the international arena as a democratic, pluralist and egalitarian political system, Turkish modernisation was carrying traces of the Enlightenment thought that correlated manhood with rationality and womanhood with irrationality

⁷⁶ Ural, p. lix

⁷⁷ Aksu Bora claims that the main Republican argument of "starting from scratch" worked principally through women since this "brand-newness" resulted in significant changes in their personal and political lives. Despite İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu deemed the name "New Man" suitable for the magazine he published in 1933 suitable, the primary need was to create the new women who will raise these "new men". See, Aksu Bora, "Modern Kadınlık: Politikadan Kültüre" in *Cumhuriyet Tarihinin Tartışmalı Konuları*, Bülent Bilmez, ed. (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2013) pp.151-158

⁷⁸ Duygu Köksal, *Yeni Adam ve Yeni Kadın: 1930'lar ve 40'larda Kadın, Cinsiyet ve Ulus, Toplumsal Tarih 9 (51)*, p.31

which is very obvious in its imagination of modern Turkish womanhood.

Therefore, parallel to the Western thought, modern Turkish woman was the ‘other’ of the man as a modern subject, namely, of the ‘modern’.⁷⁹

Just as the school books of the Republican era, magazines were also helping to form the new men and women of the new state ideologically by guiding the transformation process from ‘traditional to modern’. One magazine called *Yeni Adam* (lit. New Man) began to be published in 1934 and survived until 1979 with some interruptions in its publication life. It was founded by İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu and its main topics of discussion were concentrated on ‘national manners’, national theatre, national culture within the framework of sociology, psychology and philosophy. While it was depicting a new Turkey, it was presenting and emphasising, at the same time, the social reasons behind this transformation process. The magazine was depicting a hardworking, realist ‘new man’ that was bringing theory with practice together in his own existence.⁸⁰ Parallel to the official ‘feminist’ discourses, the ‘new woman’, by the way, was a strong, tough, healthy and integral comrade for a man, that could raise his children with high morals. Obviously, the new Republican women were in fact the ideal design of the ‘enlightened’ (*münevver*) men. Similar to the discourses in *Yeni Adam*, in an article published in the *Hayat*, an influential magazine published between 1926-1930, the women were recommended to devote themselves to the well-being of their children and husbands.⁸¹ In her comprehensive work on the gender representations in the

⁷⁹ Durakbaşa, p.36

⁸⁰ Köksal, p.32

⁸¹ Durakbaşa, p.41. A citation from the article in question: “For us, the more a woman is devoted to others, able to give the passion and strength to provide a man’s success, and to become a hearth of love for her children, the happier she becomes and the stronger and more harmonious society can be.(...)We have to indoctrinate our daughters that the real personality can be achieved by the

school books published between 1928-1998, Firdevs Gümüőođlu claims that the representation of women and their duties was egalitarian and comradely in the first decade of the Republic.⁸² However in the following years, the language used to indicate women's duties in the school books became increasingly sexist after 1945, putting much greater emphasis on women's duties as mothers and wives. By 1950s, the women represented in the books, who were once the educators of the nation turned into servants that were imprisoned into houses, namely the private sphere, in just a matter of a couple of decades.⁸³ According to Gümüőođlu, women were designed as dependent wives to their husbands, while men were the actors who

adoption of social duty. Ladies have to develop this duty not in building their individuality independently, but by tying their whole existence to others, their children and husbands..." The original text is as follows: "Bize göre kadın ne kadar diđer 'mevcut'lar için fedakâr olur, ne dereceye kadar bir erkeđin muvaffakiyetini temin eyleyecek ihtiras ve kuvveti verebilir ve çocuđu için bir muhabbet ocađı haline gelebilirse o kadar mesut, cemiyetin kuvvet ve ahengi de o nispette ziyade olur. (...) Kızlarımıza Őunu telkin etmeliyiz ki hakiki Őahsiyet içtimai vazifenin benimsenmesiyle hasıl olur. Hanımlar bu vazifeyi ferdiyetlerini müstakilen inkiŐaf ettirmekte deđil , bütün varlıklarını diđerlerine, çocuđuna, zevcine, ... raptetmekte görmelidirler".

⁸² Firdevs Gümüőođlu, "Cumhuriyet Döneminin Ders Kitaplarında Cinsiyet Roller (1928-1998)" in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, AyŐe Berktaş Hacımiraőođlu, ed. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998) pp. 101-128. Her choice of periodisation is based on the alphabet revolution in 1928 which brought an end to the use of Arabic alphabet and introduced the Latin alphabet to Turkish nation. The periodisation of the study extends to 1998 when this article was published. As an exemplar of her claims about the negative change in the language about the position of women in the household, make a comparison between a citation from a school book in 1928 and that of 1945. The citation from the book used for fourth grade school children in 1928 is: "This is my mother. I see her and understand that she never leaves my father alone in his works. Apparently they have a close cooperation... Recently, my father told me about the 'common purpose'. Our house is apparently an institution built by common purpose. My mother and father came together and are working for both their own good and their children' good... I think, mother and father are the foundations of every house." The original text is as follows: "Őu annem, görüyorum ve anlıyorum ki hiçbir iŐte babamı yalnız bırakmıyor, her Őeyde ona yardım ediyor. Demek babamla annem arasında sıkı bir tesanüt var... Babam geçende bana bir de 'müşterek maksat' tan bahsetmişti. Bizim ev de müşterek maksatla vücuda getirilmiş bir müessese olacak. Babamla annem birleşmişler, hem kendilerinin hem çocuklarının saadetini temin etmek için çalışıyorlar... Anneyle baba galiba her evin temel taşı", see p. 103. The next citation, a poem from the book used for first grade school children in 1945-1946 is: "We wake up in the morning. We drink tea, eat bread. My father goes to his work. We go to school. In the evening, we gather at the table. The food cooked by my mother is put on it. We eat and chat. And then the housework begins. My mother washes the dishes. My father reads newspapers. And we study." The original of the text is as follows: "Sabah olur kalkarız. Çay içer, ekmeđ yeriz. Babam işine gider. Biz okula gideriz. AkŐam olur, hepimiz toplanırız masaya. Annemizin yaptıđı yemek konur ortaya. Yemek yer, konuşuruz. Sonra da işler başlar. Annem bulaŐık yıkar. Babam gazete okur. Biz de ders çalışırız.", see p.105

⁸³ Ibid. p.120

were in charge of giving the last decision about every issue.⁸⁴The Republican man, in the meantime, unlike his fellows in the Tanzimat novels, was athletic, industrialist and well educated, as represented in *Yeni Adam*.⁸⁵Briefly, the magazine was portraying an economical and moral puritanism in the matters of manhood, womanhood, sexuality and family.⁸⁶

It can be claimed that the athletic features of the ‘new man’ which was strongly related to the eugenistic discourse of the new political order was certainly effecting the popular masculinity, since the state was actively intervening into the sports scene of the country to raise healthy, strong and good looking generations that will lead and complete the social and economical transformation of Turkish Republic. Therefore the regime’s interest in investing to sports was utilitarian instead of considering it a matter of leisure and entertainment as indicated by Yiğit Akın in his comprehensive work on physical education and biopolitics in early Republican Turkey.⁸⁷The eugenistic state intervention on the formation of a healthy, athletic and strong population, especially of men, via extensive and well-organised sports programme under strong German influence was on top beginning from mid-thirties, at the dawn of the WWII.⁸⁸Other than being athletic, having high moral values, treating women and men equally, the new man had to get married with an honourable woman when he became an adult in order to produce the new

⁸⁴ Ibid. p.103

⁸⁵ Köksal, p.32.As mentioned before and will be mentioned in the next chapter, the over-Westernised man of the Tanzimat novel was an effeminate, romantic, long-haired, individualist, weak man.This stereotype survived in the Republican novels, too, despite bearing some differences.

⁸⁶ Ibid. p.35

⁸⁷ Yiğit Akın, “*Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar*”, *Erken Cumhuriyet’te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor*, (İstanbul:İletişim, 2004) p.43.

⁸⁸ Ibid. p.116

generations of the nation. This was the framework of the secular Turkish man of the thirties.

In his article on tracing the hegemonic masculinity in contemporary Turkey, Cenk Özbay sorts the outlines, the spaces for the formation of hegemonic masculinity, such as army and military service, body and age, space, class, popular culture, religion, politics, sports and heterosexuality, and looks for the development of Turkish hegemonic masculinity in each of these spheres. He claims that the political formation of a hegemonic masculinity in Turkish history peaked when Atatürk brought an ideal, reasonable and new male citizen into life in his body and visualised this ideal masculinity by numerous photographs.⁸⁹ Naturally, his masculinity was going to be influential only among urban, educated, national elites because of limited ways of communication. Moreover, as claimed by Özbay, the masculinity embodied in Atatürk did not aim to transform the society fundamentally, instead, its main purpose was to form a limited male elite of governors, teachers, soldiers, businessmen that was going to lead and educate the country. Because, hegemonic masculinity works by excluding other masculinities while it constructs a body of norms that are represented by a limited group. This was the situation in the Early Republican Turkey, too. Therefore “the masculinity represented by Atatürk hegemonised itself via clothing, Westernness, modernity, giving priority to mind and sciences but most important of all, being the head of the nuclear family, marrying an enlightened (*münevver*) woman and maintaining the marriage under the guise of equality.”⁹⁰ The ideal masculinity represented by

⁸⁹ Cenk Özbay, Türkiye’de Hegemonik Erkekliği Aramak, *Doğu Batı* 63, (Ankara:Doğu Batı, 2013) p.197

⁹⁰ Ibid. p.197

Atatürk still constitutes a role model in at least the secular militarist wing of Turkish society. His masculinity is renewed and reinvented regularly to suit the needs of time. On her article about the functions of military service in Turkish masculinity construction after the coup d'état in 1980, Emma Sinclair-Webb claims that Atatürk was considered “a homegrown ‘ideal-type’ whose leadership, military skills and ‘ideology’ –though consciously inspired by certain attributes perceived to signal a process of ‘Westernization’- generally escape the charge of being viewed as imported or foreign-derived, and thus essentially alien.”⁹¹ Therefore he has been influential in the construction of the ideal masculinity in Turkey since the early years of the Turkish Republic.

About the transformation of the social norms in the Republican era, Deniz Kandiyoti claims that the ‘new man’ symbolised a break off from the hierarchical, absolute, constant and authoritarian manhood of the Ottoman era by longing for lessening the distance between himself and his wife, becoming ‘comrades’ with her and a liberal family that is not very dependent on the elders of the family.⁹² The physical setting this new man was living in, was that of the modern apartments built in new residential areas of Istanbul unlike that of the new man’s father who represented the traditional life style by living in a mansion, which was one of the dominant elements of Turkish novel. Additionally, the replacement of old norms by new norms caused a profound cultural concern, which was, according to Parla,

⁹¹ Emma Sinclair-Webb, “ ‘Our Bülent Is Now a Commando’ , Military Service and Manhood in Turkey” in *Imagined Masculinities, Male Identity and Culture in the Modern Middle East*, Mai Ghossoub and Emma Sinclair-Webb, eds. (London: Saqi Books, 2000) p.71

⁹² Deniz Kandiyoti, “Modernizmin Cinsiyeti: Türk Modernleşmesi Araştırmalarında Eksik Boyutlar” in *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, S. Bozdoğan and R. Kasaba, eds. (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1988) pp. 99-117, cited by Ayşe Durakbaşı, “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek Kimliklerinin Oluşumu: Kemalist Kadın Kimliği ve “Münevver Erkekler”” in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, Ayşe Berktaş Hacımırzaoğlu, ed. (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998) p.32

represented by the metaphor of ‘house without a father’ in the first novels in Turkish literary history.⁹³ According to Parla, by this metaphor, the novelist adopts the ‘father’ role at guiding the society in confusion. The framework of the Republican masculinity lies in its Tanzimat predecessor. The Republican man was for sure a ‘properly’ Westernised, nationalist gentleman which was mirrored by Atatürk’s personality, as it was depicted, and physical appearance. Kandiyoti gives the examples of clothing reforms that targeted men to emphasise the equal importance given by the Republic to the creation of new men and women.⁹⁴ Moreover, the new man was an affectionate father who did not distinguish his children according to their sexes unlike the distant, tough Ottoman father. The importance given to daughters was exclusively emphasised by Atatürk’s adoption of girls which was symbolically very meaningful.⁹⁵ Because, as the symbolic father of the Turkish nation, he represented the ideal masculinity in Republican Turkey, marking the end of decades-long period of masculinity concerns in cultural sphere which constituted the central plot in the works of the authors of Tanzimat and Second Constitutional Eras that portrayed the era of Western supremacy and Ottoman collapse by the metaphor of ‘house without a father’. As a comparison between the Ottoman-Turkish masculinity construction and that of the Western World in approximate periods, Joane Nagel’s article may shed light to their similar

⁹³ Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar, Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2011)

⁹⁴ Durakbaşa, p.33. As cited by Durakbaşa, Kandiyoti puts forth that although wearing veil was not officially prohibited for women, headgears worn by men were strictly regulated, since in the traditional Ottoman order, men had to wear headgears, differing in colour and shape, appropriate for their social statuses. The Republican order however, put emphasis on the idea of a homogeneous mass of people who were equal from every aspect, regardless of their ethnicity, religion or sex, in the eyes of the state. The motivation to standardise men’s clothing originated from this ideology.

⁹⁵ Ibid. p.34

formations.⁹⁶ Nagel indicates that, according to recent historiographical studies, the ideals of American masculinity that are related to physical appearance and behaviours occupied the political discourses at the end of the nineteenth century into the beginning of the twentieth. These ideals were institutionalised in various institutions and organisations. Organisations like ‘Knights of Columbus’ (est. 1882) and ‘Boy Scouts of America’ (est. 1910) represented masculine honour codes such as fraternity, will, courage, discipline, strength, independence, etc. that belong to men in the USA and Europe.⁹⁷ Normative American masculinity of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was determined and emphasised by these terms. In Turkey, the army served as the institution of manhood where young men learnt and internalised the masculinity norms of Republican Turkey, outside the social sphere. This makes sense given the military character of Turkish Revolution beginning after the promulgation of the Republic in 1923.

2.2. Political and Sociocultural Background of Early Republican Turkey (1923-1950)

Since this study aims to portray the Republican masculinity by its outlines depicted in literary sphere, it is of great importance to present the political and cultural atmosphere of the era.

The ideological origins of modern Turkish Republic that was established in 1923 has its roots in the Second Constitutional Era (1908-1920) when political and social debates about how to keep the Empire survive were the center of

⁹⁶ Joane Nagel, “Erkeklik ve Milliyetçilik: Ulusun İnşasında Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Cinsellik” in *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*, Ayşe Gül Altınay, ed. (Istanbul: İletişim, 2013) pp.65-101

⁹⁷ Ibid. p.69

attention. Among the unionist ideologies that were the focus of these debates, Turkish nationalism with its positivist belief in the value of objective scientific truth, an extraordinary belief in the power of education to spread the nationalistic and modernist ideology, the central state as the only decision-maker in economy, investment, politics, social engineering and modernism prevailed. It was the elites of CUP who took part actively in the formation of the new state following the War of Independence between 1918 and 1922, during which they were also the main actors.

After the independence gained at Lausanne, the greater struggle for improving the devastated condition of the country after ten years of almost continuous warfare started. Demographically Anatolia was largely depopulated, impoverished and in ruins. The deportation of about 900.000 Anatolian Greeks right after the promulgation of the Republic left Anatolia more desolate. Its effects, including the loss of cultural accumulation of centuries, were wide-scale since Greeks, as well as Armenians, were also the main entrepreneurs and managers of Anatolia and Istanbul. Moreover, it was more than a loss of highly skilled personnel since “there were whole regions where not a single welder or electrician could now be found. International trade in 1923 was one-third of what it had been ten years earlier.”⁹⁸ In political arena, things became more complex by the bisection among the nationalist elite. There was growing discontent about Mustafa Kemal’s government caused at first by the decision on the promulgation of the Republic while some of the nationalist elites, including Hüseyin Rauf were not in the capital. Because these elites believed that “calling the state a republic did not in itself bring freedom and that the real difference was between despotism and

⁹⁸ Zürcher, p.172

democracy, whether under a republican or monarchic system.”⁹⁹ Additionally, because of their views, these elites were under pressure within the People’s Party (PP), the only political party in the national assembly. This small elite had seen no better option than founding a separate opposition party. Therefore, Progressive Republican Party (PRP) was founded on 17 November. It was a secular, nationalist party that advocated decentralisation, separation of powers and evolutionary change which also had a more liberal economic policy, unlike the statist policy of PP.¹⁰⁰ However, the eruption of the Sheikh Sait Rebellion in Kurdistan in February 1925 was used by the president to put an end to political opposition. The PRP was closed down in June upon the claims of having supported the rebellion. With the complete domination in the political scene, Mustafa Kemal and his government embarked on an extensive programme of reforms. Zürcher indicates that there was an interesting parallel with the Second Constitutional Era when the CUP had gained power, shared it for a certain period with others in a pluralistic environment and finally had established its own power monopoly and simultaneously applied a radical programme of secularisation and modernisation between 1913-1918. The same pattern repeated itself “with a movement for national sovereignty being victorious (1922), going through a pluralistic phase (until 1925) and then establishing an authoritarian regime, which embarked on a programme of reforms. The authoritarian nationalist phases of both the Unionist and the Kemalist eras also witnessed the brutal suppression of minority communities: the Armenians

⁹⁹ Ibid. p.174. As Zürcher indicates, a second disagreement between them was about the way the government had handled the resettlement of the Greeks, giving rise to widespread corruption.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p.176 After the establishment of PRP, PP had added “Republican” to its name, thus making it “Republican People’s Party” (RPP).

in the first case, the Kurds in the second.”¹⁰¹ By the close-down of religious shrines and dervish convents in 1925, adoption of the Swiss civil and penal codes and Western calendar in 1926, Western numerals and Latin alphabet in 1928, Western weights and measures in 1931, plus, the abolition of the sultanate and caliphate, the Unionist reforms which had secularised most of the legal and educational systems were brought to a higher level. Additionally, the complete secularisation of family law by the abolition of religious marriages and polygamy was also a major step among these reforms. However, there was no attempt for a socioeconomic revolution. All the reforms and political reshaping of the state were realised by the promulgation of the Law on the Maintenance of Order in March 1925. Following the promulgation of the law, all opposition was silenced and political parties were closed down. The law remained in force until 1929 when the government felt secure enough to allow it to lapse. Thereafter, Turkey officially became a one-party state when its political system was declared so at the party congress of 1931. In 1930, being well aware of the popular discontent Mustafa Kemal approached his old friend Fethi Okyar with an offer to found a ‘tame’ new party with the precondition of remaining faithful to the ideals of republicanism and secularism. Okyar accepted with the guarantees that the government and Mustafa Kemal would allow his party to function freely. Upon this bilateral agreement, Okyar proceeded to found the *Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası* (Free Republican Party, FRP). The new party was greeted with widespread enthusiasm. In the local elections of October 1930, FRP managed to win in 30 of the 512 councils which was surprising for the government. Upon the elections, Okyar accused the governing party of electoral fraud which in

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p.180. For a detailed reading on the Turkish republican single-party era, see, Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nde Tek-Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması, 1923-1931*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2000)

turn led to fierce attacks on the FRP by accusing the party and its leader of high treason. Okyar had no other choice than closing down the party on 16 November 1930 since he did not want to conduct a political opposition against the President Mustafa Kemal who declared that he could no longer remain impartial in this atmosphere. After facing the extent of the growing discontent against RPP government, Mustafa Kemal tightened his hold on the country by suppressing all independent social and cultural organisations. Among them were the *Türk Ocakları* (Turkish Hearths) which were replaced by the RPP-run *Halkevleri* (People's Houses), and the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* (Turkish Women's Union) which had been founded by women in 1924 who took part in the national resistance. Women's Union was indeed founded after an unsuccessful political attempt led by Nezihe Muhiddin who established a political party under the name of *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* (Women's Popular Party) on 16 June 1923 to advocate women's rights politically, but could not get the support of the republican regime, and turned the party into a women's association unwillingly, which had been disappointing for Nezihe Muhiddin since she was attached to the republican regime with great enthusiasm.¹⁰² However, the union, like its predecessor, had not lived long because of the political developments of early 1930s and had disbanded itself in 1935 upon the request from RPP leadership which claimed that its aims to provide equal rights to women had been achieved by granting Turkish women the right to vote, leaving the union dysfunctional in their point of view.

According to Zürcher, the Turkish regime of the 1930s and 1940s resembled the other authoritarian regimes “which sprang up all over southern Europe in this era (such as the regimes of Salazar in Portugal, Franco in Spain and Metaxas in

¹⁰² Durakbaşa, p.39

Greece)¹⁰³ which is a significant claim when taking RPP's inner politics that regulated and designated each and every aspect of both political and social life, into consideration.

The basic principles of Kemalism were laid down in the party programme of 1931 as republicanism, secularism, nationalism, populism, statism and revolutionism. Among them, secularism and nationalism were carried to extremes during 1930s with an oppressive attitude against religion in the first case, and an extreme nationalism with the creation of historical myths in the second. As part of the nationalist project, *Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti* (Society for the Study of the Turkish Language) was founded, the members of which then enthusiastically started to collect words from ancient literary sources, Anatolian dialects and Turkic languages of Central Asia to replace the Ottoman vocabulary, and even, at some point, to invent a new artificial Turkish language which was for the most part, an unsuccessful attempt. Simultaneous with this institution, *Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti* (Society for the Study of the Turkish History) was founded which later determined the basic principles for the *Türk Tarih Tezi* (Turkish Historical Thesis), linking Turkish ancestry at first to Central Asia, and then to Sumerians and Hittites. This thesis was a way to prove that Anatolia had been Turkish since an immemorable time, which justifies Turkish nationalism and Turks' existence in Anatolia. This re-writing of history was accompanied by a serious denial of the Ottoman past which included Arabic and Persian cultural influences. For example, the education of Turkish music, or *alla Turca*, as it was once called by European composers, was removed from the syllabi in 1926. Moreover, its broadcasting in radios was prohibited in 1935 which could last for only eight months. As indicated by Koçak,

¹⁰³ Zürcher, p.193

the regime could not reach a hegemonic position against its enemies that were the West and the Ottomans, respectively, since it was taking precautions against the ‘dangers’ of these civilisations, but simultaneously, it was surrendering to them as an obligation because of unsuccessful culture-politics.¹⁰⁴

In the economical sphere, the main discussion was about the choice between liberalism and the state intervention which had divided Young Turks of the pre-war era. The minister of economic affairs at the time, Mahmut Esat (Bozkurt) announced that Turkish economic policy would be neither capitalist nor socialist.¹⁰⁵ Mustafa Kemal, as well, supported a mixed economy: “against the hardline statist; in 1932 he backed the Business Bank (İş Bankası) group, replacing the statist minister of the economy, Mustafa Şeref (Özkan), with Celal Bayar, founder of Business Bank.”¹⁰⁶ Despite the official politics of a mixed economy, the state interfered when major investments were concerned, such as the building of the railway network. Upon the worldwide economical crises of 1929 and 1930, ‘statism’ had been adopted as the new economic policy at the 1931 congress of RPP. From then on, Turkish economy was built on five-year plans that largely followed Soviet recommendations.¹⁰⁷ The most enthusiastic supporters of the statist policy were a group of young Kemalist writers, including Yakup Kadri

¹⁰⁴ Orhan Koçak, “1920’lerden 1970’lere Kültür Politikaları” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, Cilt 2/Kemalizm*, (Istanbul:İletişim, 2001) p.393. Koçak supports this argument by citing a paragraph from a letter to Walter Benjamin that was written by a literary theorist, Erich Auerbach, who worked at Istanbul University between 1934-1940. This paragraph is an important indicator of how the Kemalist culture-politics was perceived by an outsider, see, p.393.

¹⁰⁵ Zürcher, p.203

¹⁰⁶ Feroz Ahmad, “Politics and Political Parties in Republican Turkey” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. 4, Turkey in the Modern World*, Reşat Kasaba, ed. (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 2008) p.230

¹⁰⁷ As Zürcher indicates, under the five-year plan two large holdings were founded: the *Sümerbank* in 1933 and *Etibank* in 1935. They were given all kinds of advantages and their decision-making was heavily influenced by political considerations. See, pp.206-207

(Karaosmanoğlu), who published the journal *Kadro* (Cadre) in 1932-1934.¹⁰⁸ They advocated state intervention in all areas of social, economic and cultural life.

During the second half of the 1930s, Turkey's economy recovered in line with the world economy. However, simultaneous with the developments in economical sphere, there were almost continuous uprisings in Kurdish regions during 1930s with a major uprising in 1937-1938 in Dersim that was suppressed by military forces violently. In the international arena, Turkey signed a Balkan Pact with Greece, Yugoslavia and Romania in 1934 which was formed by the shared fear of Bulgarian irredentism. In the east, the Sadabad Pact linked Turkey to Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan in 1937. It may be therefore claimed that, just before the dawn of WWII, Turkey's relations with its neighbours were quite positive. Plus, in 1939, the province of Hatay which had remained outside the borders of the new Turkish state according to the Lausanne Treaty and was under French occupation until 1938 announced their parliament's unification decision with Turkey.

After Atatürk's death on 10 November 1938, İsmet İnönü became the president of Turkey with Celal Bayar being the prime minister. During the political crisis that led to WWII, İnönü decided to pursue a policy of reconciliation between the republican regime and its opponents, since at a critical situation in the international arena, the inner tensions had to be diminished in order to keep the politicians and public as a unified mass against a possible danger of war.

By the diplomatical mastery of İsmet İnönü, the devastating WWII bypassed Turkey, although influencing its economy and politics. At first, Turkish army was increased in size against the danger of war, which brought tremendous economic strains. As Ahmad indicates, the National Defense Law of 1940 gave extensive

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p.206

power to the state over economy and regulation of citizens' rights while the Capital Tax (*Varlık Vergisi*) of 1942 that targeted non-Muslim citizens provided the handing-over of capital to Muslims by impoverishing non-Muslims.¹⁰⁹The way in which this tax was collected was scandalous. "55 percent of the total tax revenue was paid by the tiny non-Muslim communities who were subjected to rates ten times higher than those of Muslims."¹¹⁰Additionally, forced labour imposed by the National Defense Law was used, especially in the mining industry.

In the cultural sphere, İsmet Pasha wanted to revive the Kemalist reformist movement by establishing *Köy Enstitüleri* (Village Institutes) all around the country with the support of Hasan Âli Yücel, the new minister of education. The aim of these institutions was spreading the Kemalist ideology among rural population as well as educating them with universal values and making them gain skills in different fields. It has to be noted that Hasan Âli Yücel was an influential person of this era, since he presented a new way of establishing the Turkish national identity, marking the end of the extreme, fantastic nationalist narratives such as the Turkish Historical Thesis. Yücel was sharing the 'essence/method' dualism of Ziya Gökalp, however, he was deeming a more compromising synthesis.¹¹¹ Moreover, he openly opposed the tripartite Turkishness formulation of Gökalp, that is Turkish-Muslim-

¹⁰⁹ Ahmad, p.231. Ahmad claims that both laws were indicators of how arbitrary and unpredictable the state politics could be. For a detailed political evaluation of the period, see, Cemil Koçak, *Türkiye'de Millî Şef Dönemi 1-2 (1938-1945)*, (Istanbul:İletişim, 2007)

¹¹⁰ Zürcher, p.208

¹¹¹ Koçak, p.396. Yücel's words are: "I don't see any differentiation such as West and East. Although works, longings, worries, fears of men change according to time and space, if there's an essential difference, it is because of the way taken and the method used. We could not have found this essence in the East if we did not hear according to Western method. For example, I read Rumi's book *Fîhi mâ fîhi* like Goethe's *Conversations with Eckerman*. If I did not get used to reading the second one, who knows, I would have understood the first with lesser success." The original text is as follows: "Ben Doğu ve Batı diye bir ayrılık görmüyorum. İnsan eseri, insan ruhunun iştiaqları, kaygıları, korkuları zamana ve zemine göre değışse de özünde bir ayrılık varsa o, tutulan yol ve usuldendir. Garplı kafasının metoduyla duymasak şarklıda bu özü bulamazdık. Mesela Mevlâna'nın *Fîhi mâ fîhi* kitabını Goethe'nin *Eckerman'la Konuşmalar*'ı gibi okuyorum. İkinciye okumaya alışmasam, kim bilir birinciyi şimdikinden daha az başarı ile söktürebilirim." see, pp.396-397.

Modern, by claiming that what they wanted to be was anything but “totally Turk”.¹¹²

By the end of the WWII, İsmet Pasha’s government had become very unpopular for a variety of reasons, especially among the rural population which still constituted the overwhelming majority against the urban population in the country, and among landowners. Because the large landowners, as well as the peasants had been alienated by government’s policy of artificially low pricing of agricultural products to cope with inflation during the war. Upon the growing discontent, the statist wing of the RPP wanted to transform the country by implementing land reform and creating a prosperous landholding peasantry instead of wealthy powerful landlords by the introduction of a land distribution bill called *Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu* (Law On Giving Land To The Farmer) in January 1945. But the landlords wanted a free market economy and responded by supporting the opposition within the party since they did not want to lose their lands. The statist solution had not met the expectations and even caused a widespread discontent directed at RPP. In the end, the law passed despite widespread objections. Soon after the law had passed, Adnan Menderes, Celal Bayar, Refik Koraltan and Fuat Köprülü, each of them being prominent figures from within the RPP, submitted a memorandum called *Dörtlü Takrir* (Memorandum Of The Four) which had aimed a reform of the party. However, their proposals had been rejected. Being aware of the situation, İnönü had decided to allow a degree of political liberalisation by the formation of a ‘tame’ political opposition just as Atatürk had done in 1930. But İnönü’s direction to liberalisation owed much to international developments, too. After the fall of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, pluralist democracies began to

¹¹² Ibid. pp.393-394

prevail in the West. In a speech on 1 November 1945, İsmet İnönü declared that the main disadvantage of Turkish democracy was the lack of an opposition party. Plus, he declared that the general elections of 1947 would be free and direct. By December 1945, all the four signatories of the memorandum were out of the RPP. The *Demokrat Parti* (Democratic Party) was founded by these four signatories on 7 January 1946. Main aim of the DP was “to advance democracy by curbing government intervention and increasing the rights and freedoms of the individual. They emphasised populism and popular sovereignty and wanted political initiative to come from the people and not from the party.”¹¹³ Soon, they became the spokesmen for private enterprise and individual initiative which made them win the support of the large landlords, businessmen and voters. Following the DP, a socialist party and the communist *Türkiye Sosyalist Emekçi ve Köylü Partisi* (Turkish Socialist Workers and Peasants Party) were founded in June 1946. However, at the dawn of the Cold War, these parties were closed down by martial law regulations in December 1946.

During the process stretching from 1946 to 1950, RPP and DP acquired new, ‘hopefully appealing’ identities. RPP made many reforms regarding the electoral system and democracy. But, despite the reforms, the party failed to acquire credibility among public except its traditional supporters. DP became the party of masses by emphasising the arbitrary and oppressive character of the government. In July 1947, İnönü gave total freedom of action to the opposition party. Moreover, “he was convinced that Turkey’s future was best served by market rather than state capitalism and that foreign investment on a grand scale was vital for rapid economic

¹¹³ Ahmad, p.233

growth.”¹¹⁴His aim was to attract foreign investment by political stability and multi-party politics.Over the years, in order to weaken its rival’s power, RPP made concessions on many fronts.Especially, religious concessions were considered of prime importance to isolate the DP.¹¹⁵After all, İnönü was very confident about the success in the elections of May 1950.However, he was wrong. DP won 53.35 per cent of the votes whereas RPP won 38.38 per cent of the votes.¹¹⁶The DP victory was the turning point in Turkish history.After that date, Turkey was increasingly articulated into the liberal capitalist world system, leaving its introvert character in many areas behind.Roles were reversed, RPP had become the opposition and power had passed into the hands of the new elites.

The main events that occurred beginning from the promulgation of the Republic in 1923 until the transition to multi-party political system in 1950 have been summarised above in detail. The novels which are going to be dealt with in the fourth chapter were produced during this very complex and influential period that caused unexpected outcomes.These social realities of the period were amalgamated into a literary heritage of less than a hundred years old.Therefore, these novels were the products of a still developing literary tradition, even for their authors.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. p.234

¹¹⁵ Ibid. p.234

¹¹⁶ Ibid. p.235

CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF TURKISH NOVEL

The announcement of the Tanzimat decree in 1839, which gave widespread rights to Ottoman subjects, especially to non-Muslims, and which was actually Sultan Abdülmecid's confirmation of and surrender to the Western supremacy, marks the beginning of a new period in Turkish literature, too. However, the first Ottoman-Turkish novel, the famous *Felâhî Bey ile Rakım Efendi* of Ahmet Mithat Efendi was written thirty six years later, in 1875. When the novel was born as a new literary genre, it confronted other forms of centuries-old traditional narrative such as mystical verse romances (*mesnevi*), oral epics (*destan*), the Karagöz shadow play and *meddah* storyteller improvisations, Turkish *commedia dell'arte* (*orta oyunu*) and minstrel (*âşık*) tales, as well as Qur'anic and sufic parables. However, this new literary genre was adopted quickly among urban literate population.

In fact, the semi-voluntary modernisation attempts of the Sultan that marked the beginning of the Tanzimat Era bore the purpose to consolidate the political and social foundations of the empire, instead of radically transforming it. It was a modernisation project, the borders of which were drawn carefully and strictly by greater energy and enthusiasm than the innovative steps taken. Thus, the innovative steps were exclusively taken in the framework of traditional norms or interpreted into these norms. Therefore, the Ottoman-Turkish novel was born into an environment of clashing epistemologies, by the Ottoman intellectuals who had to recognise the Western supremacy in material issues and were seeking a way to reconcile the West with the East in the framework of Islam. Their mission was that of a hard one, since the art they had given life was born into the seismic social and

political sphere of the nineteenth century-Ottoman Empire. In this fragile atmosphere, the authors took over the role of an innovator whose tutelary side outweighed. Because the Ottoman culture was in the urgent need of a ‘father’, a cultural tutor.¹¹⁷ According to Parla, as indicated by their attitudes, they must have misunderstood that behind the realist Western novel tradition which they were emulating, there was a totally different epistemology that followed the empirical, positivist epistemology.¹¹⁸

The tragic semi-colonisation period in the nineteenth century brought about the often encountered ‘dandy man’ who had been fulfilled with numerous symbolisms of social concerns in countless novels. In this context, dandiness is always defined as an extremism which is based on excessive imitation. Therefore, the criticism of dandiness is always a criticism of extremism, the existence of which provides us the security of feeling ourselves real.¹¹⁹ Bihruz of *Araba Sevdası* (1898) is not the first, but the first best-portrayed dandy man of Tanzimat literature, who finds people’s culture unbearable and therefore is estranged to Ottoman values and is an unconditional admirer of the Western civilisation. Gürbilek claims that the humiliation against this dandy stereotype is not imprisoned only into literary sphere, since he’s got an important position in political discourse, too, which makes him the antithesis of warrior masculine values and social norms even at this

¹¹⁷ Parla, 2011, p.15. The “father” metaphor which also gives its name to Parla’s work is crucial in understanding the Tanzimat epistemology. According to Parla, the fact that Sultan Abdülmecit was just a sixteen-year-old boy caused the birth of this metaphor. In the Ottoman system of cultural norms, the authority that supported these norms fell into a weakness. Since there was not an absolutist authoritarian father figure, the sultan and imperial institutions had the possibility of failing which made Ottoman intellectuals’ search for a symbolical father crucial. Because the texts were “orphan”, just as the Tanzimat which needs to be protected like a child. For more on this, see, pp.15-16.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. p.14

¹¹⁹ Nurdan Gürbilek, *Kötü Çocuk Türk*, (Istanbul:Metis, 2012) p.105

day.¹²⁰ Moreover, she argues that the frequent appearance of the dandy man stereotype in Ottoman literature stems from the populist aims of the authors who blame the high bureaucracy of the Tanzimat of creating new elites and forgetting the people. Therefore, they base their struggle against the bureaucrats on anti-dandiness and aim to mobilise public masses around their limited modernisation project.¹²¹ Additionally, Gürbilek claims that the centrality of dandiness theme is at the same time an expression of the author that was divided between his ideal and ‘himself’ who aimed to render his inner conflicts bearable by reflecting his own concerns to others.¹²² As another approach to dandiness issue that could be beneficial for our reading of masculinity concerns in Ottoman-Turkish novels, Sander L. Gilman claims in his comprehensive work on stereotypes of sexuality, race and madness that degeneracy is closely tied to sexuality in the nineteenth-century thought.¹²³ Novel as a new literary genre was born into such an ideological environment that was based on classifications, stigmatisations and eventually exclusions. In this respect, it can be claimed that the emergence of effeminate men and their deviancy from masculine norms in Ottoman-Turkish novels were closely related to the zeitgeist of the nineteenth century that was in search of providing paradigms to understand human development via classifying and stigmatising certain stereotypes as pathologies. Effeminate men, in this context, were mentally and physically ill, degenerate men who needed medical treatment according to the nineteenth-century thought.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Ibid. p.106

¹²¹ Ibid. p.106

¹²² Gürbilek, 2010, p.182

¹²³ Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology, Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), p.191

¹²⁴ Mosse, p.83.

As Taner Timur indicates, although bearing realistic elements, the Ottoman novel was far from modern realism because of Ottoman cultural eclecticism and vulgarisation.¹²⁵ Other than the very central ‘dandy man’, main themes of the first Ottoman novels were modernisation, women’s changing position in society, a new understanding of love and scenes of daily life in Istanbul, as well as the indispensable father-son-house triangle. The Ottoman novel, as indicated by Gökna, was “arguably ‘Ottoman’, ‘Muslim’, ‘Turkish’ and ‘European’ all at the same time”.¹²⁶ Especially after 1840, women were increasingly involved in a struggle to overcome being the sexual objects, slaves of men.¹²⁷ Therefore women’s public visibility increased parallel to their literary visibility. Moreover, since a new understanding of love, the heteroerotic romanticism was becoming the idealised love, taking the place of (homoerotic) sufi love, the ‘proper’ way of heterosexual love had begun to be portrayed in literature.

As another interesting point that is indicated by İnci Enginün, the characters were involved with poetry at some level in most of the novels.¹²⁸ Three of such characters who are full of symbolic meanings are represented in Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil’s *Mai ve Siyah* (1889) by Ahmet Cemil, Hüseyin Nazmi and “another poet of the old tradition”.¹²⁹ Likewise, Samipaşazade Sezai’s *Sergüzeşt* (1888) and Halide Edip’s *Son Eseri* (1913) had poet characters. However, it has to be noted at the same time that the more a male character is engaged in arts, the weaker, the dandier, the more effeminate he is in many novels of this period. Such men

¹²⁵ Taner Timur, *Osmanlı-Türk Romanında Tarih, Toplum ve Kimlik*, (Istanbul:İmge, 2002), p.398

¹²⁶ Gökna, p.476

¹²⁷ Ibid. pp.25-26

¹²⁸ İnci Enginün, “Turkish Literature and Self Identity: From Ottoman to Modern Turkish” in *Ottoman Past and Today’s Turkey*, (Boston:Brill, 2000) p. 223

¹²⁹ Ibid. p.223

represent the inappropriate way of Westernisation. As a whole, Parla summarises the ideological, contextual and narrative outlines of the Tanzimat novels as follows;

1. Epistemologically, the realism of Tanzimat novels is the realism of an absolutist and apriorist epistemology that was included in the Islamic philosophy. Therefore, the reality is given and the ways to reach it is determined by the Islamic epistemology.
2. In terms of personification, novel characters are members of a communitarianist culture, who are firmly bound to social norms. The novels are full of exemplary stories of characters that behaved against these norms. The personifications are made according to ideal cultural typologies and allegorical models, instead of behavioral principles.
3. In terms of the dominating theme in novels, sensibility always represents the evil in a worldview where the good and the bad collides, and is used not for technical purposes such as expression, imagination, portrayal of personality, but for moral aims.
4. In terms of narrative, the intervention of Turkish novels' author to text is much more dominant than that of the Western author. In order to intervene, he can get into contradiction with his own novel's narrative and personifications. Because allegorical logic, instead of causal, directs the narrative.¹³⁰

Moreover, she argues that the Tanzimat literature was not about an East-West conflict at all, since the authors of this period openly reflected their belief in the supremacy of the Islamic epistemology, philosophy and worldview over those of the West, which determined the strict limits of innovations.¹³¹ It was a patriarchal marriage of East, the man and West, the woman that the first novelists imagined. However this fantasy did not become real since the future of the Empire was clearly proceeding into a worse direction. Therefore, the relationship between two civilisations turned into a mother and son relationship in which East represented the mother, although in different forms by different authors, while West represented the son. This attempt was a response to overcome the tensions caused by the defeat against the West. Obviously a sorrowful surrender replaced the optimism of the Tanzimat authors, especially in the literary works given during WWI. Gökner claims that by the early 1910s, novels became overtly politicised and

¹³⁰ Parla, 2011, p.21

¹³¹ Ibid. p.37

were used for intellectual debates.¹³²He continues in his article by giving the example of Halide Edip's novel *Yeni Turan* (1913) from that period. In that novel, the heroine Kaya (literally, 'rock') is politically devoted to community to such a degree that she does not have any individual desires.¹³³She sacrifices herself for the greater good of Turkism which is going to be the dominant theme of Republican novels, that is, sacrificing one's self for the good of the nation.

After this brief birth period of the Turkish novel comes the republican novel which is centered much more around social topics and nation's story than individual stories.

3.1. Early Turkish Republican Novel

In 1920s and 1930s, novels were used increasingly as a tool for the expression of social problems and the nationalist indoctrinations. In this period, the authors tried to totally comprehend the Kemalist regime and complete the deficiencies of the Kemalist revolution in their imaginations. According to Timur, the most striking feature of Republican authors was that they did not avoid social criticism despite the authoritarian regime and the Atatürk cult.¹³⁴

With the alphabet reform of 1928-1929, literary works began to appear in Latin script for the first time. Moreover, the alphabet revolution, as well as reforms in Turkish language aimed to make Turkish easier to learn and render it more accessible to the populace. However, it created a barrier between the Ottoman cultural heritage and the newly established Republic. At the same time, the

¹³² Gökner, p.473

¹³³ Ibid. p.481

¹³⁴ Timur, p.318

Republican era witnessed the formation of diverse cultural groups such as *Yedi Meşaleler* (Seven Torches) , *Kadro* (Cadre) and *Garip* (Strange/Poor) schools of poetry. The literary spirit of this era emphasises the importance of individual sacrifices for the cause of national-social collective. Briefly, as indicated by Gökner, this era witnessed the historically grounded representations of new men and new societies with a nationalist colouring.¹³⁵ The characters from the novels of this period advocate a nationalist idealism which is a frequently encountered situation in Yakup Kadri's novels. This positive hero/heroine is usually an urban elite who surrenders to social collective, to the resurrection in Anatolia. Timur interprets this character as the "petty revolutionary".¹³⁶ In this period, when an overt criticism of Kemalism was not possible, some authors had to transfer their stories to the pre-republican period in order to make a criticism. Timur claims that in such works, it seems obvious that the society in question was the Kemalist Turkey and the petty revolutionaries, such as teachers, soldiers and governors were sentenced to defeat since there was not a structural change in society, as the authors of these novels defended.¹³⁷

Although the outlines of the Republican novel show a continuation trend with the pre-republican novels in terms of ideological tendencies, women begin to appear as more 'independent' and more decisive characters in the novels of this era, in the sense of Republican democracy. As an example, Feride in Reşat Nuri Güntekin's *Çalılıkuşu* (1922) portrays the ideal woman of the new regime in her personality and acts. Feride falls in love with her aunt's 'effeminate' , good looking

¹³⁵ Gökner, p.485

¹³⁶ Timur, pp.399-400

¹³⁷ Ibid. p.400

son Kâmran and gets engaged with him. However, upon Kâmran's betrayal, Feride leaves her home and sacrifices herself to the education of Anatolian children. She serves her nation, lives on her own but she can still preserve her honour. She brings in her personality both the enlightened woman and the affectionate mother together. But, upon difficulties caused by social pressure targeting her presence as a single woman in the town, an old, fatherly man, Doctor Hayrullah marries her in order to bring an end to rumours and dangers. In the course of the story, Hayrullah encourages Feride to turn back to Istanbul and marry Kâmran. Therefore, the male characters of the novels written in this period reflect the ideal republican men's superiority which determines the limits of women's liberation and independence, over ideal women of the Republic. This example is frequently found in the novels of this period.¹³⁸ It can be claimed that the 'orphan', the 'misguided' Turkish child of the Tanzimat had a father now. Simultaneously, the ridiculous dandy man turns into a dangerous traitor. Moran summarises this transformation by making a comparison between the dandy men of the Tanzimat and of the Republic as follows:

(...)we can say that Felatun and Bihruz are stupid and funny; but the latter dandies are educated, clever and dangerous. While the former are spendthrifts that go bankrupt for the sake of Europeanness, the latter make use of Europeanness in order to make a fortune. The former are ridiculed because of the difference between "who they are" and "who they want to be", however, the latter are not ridiculed, because they are who they wanted to be. Therefore, the way of narrative is humour in Ahmet Mithat, Recaizade Ekrem and Hüseyin Gürpınar and they laugh at the dandy man, feel pity for him. However, we see a sad satire instead of humour in Peyami Safa and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu. They hate, loathe the exploiter, putrid class they reflected, they feel pity for the exploited nation in war, instead of them. The only commonality among all the dandies is that they despise Turks and everything about Turks.¹³⁹

In other words, in the course of approximately fifty years, the fool and pathetic dandy men turn into dangerous traitors that collaborate with exploiters.

¹³⁸ Ayşe Saraçgil, *Bukalemun Erkek, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Ataerkil Yapılar ve Modern Edebiyat*, (Istanbul: İletişim, 2005), pp.265-295. Saraçgil gives many examples of this male superiority in republican novels by excerpts from Halide Edip Adivar, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Memduh Şevket Esendal.

¹³⁹ Moran, p.267

In addition to the changing concept of ‘dandiness’, the contradictions between Istanbul and Anatolia, such as in Memduh Şevket Esendal’s *Vassaf Bey* (1930s) and even those between the different neighborhoods of Istanbul, such as in Peyami Safa’s *Fatih-Harbiye* (1931) appear as a central theme in the novels. In the 1920s and 1930s, the prominent feature of Turkish novels was the identity problems and an attempt of universalising the specific conditions of Turkish revolution. However, the revolutionist optimism of early Republican authors gives way to an increasing pessimism after the first decade of the Republic, probably upon realising that the values of the Republican nationalist ideology were not at all embraced by the populace. Because the ones who wanted to consider Kemalism a radical, fundamental cultural revolution were disappointed after seeing that Turanism was rising simultaneous with the agreements signed by the Turkish government during WWII with Nazi Germany and, therefore, with suspending of the democratic progress. But it also has to be noted that the domination of the official nationalist ideology in novels gave way to various identity syntheses in this period.

Timur gives the example of Reşat Nuri Güntekin’s *Miskinler Tekkesi* (1946) to support his claim about the pessimism of authors in 1940s.¹⁴⁰ In this novel, Güntekin makes a serious criticism of the social inertia and injustice. It is also a significant novel considering the period it was written. It was written after the end of WWII when Turkey was leaving the single-party rule behind and getting into the process of democratisation. According to Timur, Güntekin created a beggar hero, the lazy ‘Kocabaş’, in order to satirise the democratisation claims of a political party

¹⁴⁰ Timur, p.322

that was actually born to oppose the land reforms, however, claimed to be an apostle of democracy.¹⁴¹

As another post-war novel, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's *Huzur* (1949) sheds light to the ideological tendencies in the Turkish literary sphere just before the multi-party era.¹⁴² In this partly autobiographical novel, Tanpınar evaluates the individualist and communitarianist worldviews in Turkey's specific case, reflects his own ideas and defends a synthetic worldview. Moreover, by his characters Mümtaz and İhsan Bey's words, he accuses Kemalism of absolutist enlightenment and proposes the features of a new Turkey. Although he does not get into details about his ideal new Turkey, he praises communitarianism over individualism for an ideal social order. Timur indicates that, this symbolically important novel which carries the features of an essay instead of a novel, lines up with a reconciliation between our old cultural values and a constructivist progression.¹⁴³ It can be said that there was a slight return to the ideology of Tanzimat authors. However, the possible ways of reaching a synthesis between East and West is not clearly defined by Tanpınar, unlike the authors of Tanzimat Era. Therefore, Timur interprets this novel as the product of an ideological unrest which reflects serious problems about our national identity by asking questions, but not replying them, at the moment of an important twist in Turkish history.¹⁴⁴ And this fact alone makes it an important work in our literary history.

When we reach 1950s, the epistemological framework of Turkish novel since the Tanzimat era, that is the East-West conflict, comes to an end and gives way to a

¹⁴¹ Ibid. p.322

¹⁴² Ibid. pp.336-344

¹⁴³ Ibid. p.343

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. p.344

national introspection. As expressed in the previous chapter, the democratisation of Turkey through passing to a multi-party system was realised semi-voluntarily by İsmet İnönü. Although he was willing to democratise the state by taking certain steps in a changed world order, his politics of attempting to revive the bourgeois reformism by *Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu* (Law On Giving Land To The Farmer) and *Köy Enstitüleri* (Village Institutes) kicked back and prepared the expected end. However, these developments in political sphere were reflected into Turkish literature by the intense introduction of villages and peasants into the novels written in 1950s, forming the genre of ‘village novels’.

CHAPTER IV
REPRESENTATIONS OF MASCULINITY IN TURKISH REPUBLICAN
LITERATURE

4.1. Men and Masculinity In Halide Edip Adıvar

Before getting into a profound analysis of Adıvar's books in terms of masculinity, it is of great importance to take a brief look at her life story in order to build possible connections with her own life and her novels.

Halide Edip Adıvar was born in Istanbul. She graduated from *Amerikan Kız Koleji* (American School for Girls). She was given private lessons from prominent Ottoman intellectuals such as Rıza Tevfik and Salih Zeki. She gained a strong educational background, stretching from humanities and natural sciences to Turkish literature. She married Salih Zeki, the man who was giving her lessons in mathematics. However, she divorced her because she rejected a co-wife. She worked as a director and inspector at the Ministry of Education. For a time, she gave lessons at the *Darülfünun* on Western literature. Her writings began to appear after 1908 in the journals. Her first novels were on different aspects of female psychology and individual problems. Among those novels, the best known is *Handan* (1912). Upon the occupation of Izmir in 1919, she joined the Anatolian Nationalist movement. She worked as a nurse on the front during the National War. She participated at the Committee of Investigation of Greek Cruelties which gave her the opportunity to see many regions of Anatolia and collect her observations in a book, *İzmir'den Bursa'ya* (From Izmir to Bursa) (1922). By time, she started writing on social issues, especially after the War of Independence. After the end of the war, she went abroad with her second husband, Adnan Adıvar. She gave several conferences about

Turkey. In 1939, she returned to Turkey and worked as a professor of English Language and Literature. In the period between 1950-1954, she was a deputy in the parliament. Her books have been pioneer works of Turkish literature and attracted the academic interest of sociologists, historians, people of letters and psychologists.

In the previous chapters, the conceptual framework of this study as well as the historical background of the period in which the novels handled in this study were written have been put forth in order to render the masculinities under the spotlight of this study comprehensible. In this chapter, I will look for the representations of masculinity in my primary sources and analyse the material depending on the conceptual framework.

“Because, as a collection of texts that describe the story of the nation, the literary canon facilitates the solidarity experience by rendering the readers imagine themselves as citizens of a united nation.”¹⁴⁵ This approach and belief that literature works as a device for ideology is one of the main motivators of this study. Thus, the characters found in literary works are role models, both good and bad, which were consciously depicted. This situation is much more visible if we are talking about Halide Edip Adivar and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu who had very close ties with political power. In the search for ideal masculinities of a new nation-state, the novels of each author will be evaluated according to their chronological order. In other words, each novel of each author will be dealt with according to its first publication date, beginning with Halide Edip Adivar.

Considering the high status of Adivar as a woman among the Republican elites, her novels had for sure the aim to help form the Republican male and female

¹⁴⁵ Ömer Türkeş, “Güdüklü Bir Edebiyat Kanonu” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, Cilt 2/Kemalizm*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2001) p.425

identities. Among her works these three novels have been selected: *Kalp Ağrısı* (1924), *Zeyno'nun Oğlu* (1928), the plot of which is the continuation of *Kalp Ağrısı*, and *Tatarcık* (1939), which we may call the continuation of *Zeyno'nun Oğlu*. As an iconic female figure in republican history, Halide Edip Adivar has been influential in both politics and culture. She wrote several novels other than these three novels selected for this study. Although the emphasis in her novels is on female characters, control of their bodies and sexualities to portray the ideal modernisation of the new-born republic, as a researcher in masculinity studies, one can find quite a bit of materials to be analysed under the scope of masculinity studies, too.

The first novel of Adivar to be evaluated is *Kalp Ağrısı* which was published in 1924. *Kalp Ağrısı* begins with a dialogue between a father and his daughter, the daughter being the main character of the novel. Main theme is a love triangle between one man and two women in the early days of the newborn Turkish Republic. But what makes this novel special is that this love triangle is only a part of a greater plot around modernity concerns of the newly established republic which frequently constitutes the main theme of Halide Edip Adivar's novels. How to be a proper republican woman/man is being discussed via this love triangle. Along the novel we observe gender-based modernity concerns of the main characters as well as a praise to the new order via depictions of social scenes. Throughout the novel our main character Zeyno suffers because of the impossible love affair between her and a soldier named Hasan. This love affair is forbidden, because Zeyno's close friend Azize loves Hasan, too. During the course of the story Azize and Hasan get married. To forget Hasan, Zeyno responds to the affection of an older man named Muhsin.

Leaving the generalisations on men as a whole made by our heroine Zeyno aside, there are three main male characters in this novel. These men are Saffet, Hasan and Muhsin Bey.¹⁴⁶ Saffet is Zeyno's fiancé, a well educated Republican man. However, Zeyno falls in love with Hasan. But, because of the twists of fate, she marries Muhsin Bey, a relatively older man while Hasan marries Azize, Zeyno's best friend.

The novel begins with a confession made by Zeyno to her father who is also a doctor. She confesses her love for a man she has recently met at a friend's European-style party where champagne was drunk and Western literature was discussed. This setting is a frequently encountered background theme in the novels of this era, probably pursuing the objective of tempting the readers and normalise the Western life style.

In this party she attended, she gets bored by the scene where 'men with gelled hair, manicured nails, young and pink faces' made her think of Saffet with great longing who is an intellectually mature doctor that had a good education, and therefore representing a somewhat ideal man of the era. However, his looks are not very desirable for Zeyno, as we can understand from the sarcastic tone in her words;

Saffet was not there and because of this I was angry with him. But, however, those men with gelled hair, manicured nails, young and pink faces reminded me of Saffet's myopic eyes behind his huge glasses, his huge head, his walking in the laboratory or visiting his patients wearing his scrubs, with a great longing. On that day I became estranged to myself, to that girl with wavy hair, manicured nails, and let me confess, with a lip-stick that was put on to minimise the huge lips, with lined eyes, and who unfurled her arm and shoulders. I missed Saffet, I thought of his highly intellectual way of speaking and recognised that I love him more than I think.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ Halide Edip Adivar, *Kalp Ağrısı*, (Istanbul:Can, 2011) p.18. The original text is as follows: "Saffet gelmedi ve gelmediği için evvela ona darılmışım. Fakat ne bileyim, o akşam saçı pomatlı, tırnakları manikürlü genç, pembe yüzlü beyler bana, Saffet'in kocaman gözlüklerinin arkasındaki miyop gözlerini, koca kafasını, doktor gömleği içinde hastaları, yahut laboratuvarı içinde dolaşışını hayli

In these words, we see that our heroine Zeyno ridicules men that take ‘too much’ care of themselves, causing even Zeyno to become estranged to herself by the existence of these ‘effeminate’ men. It may be claimed that, even decades after the birth of Turkish novel, in which the ‘dandy man’ stereotype appeared as an element of humour, as well as an indicator of false modernisation and a crude Westernisation, he still survives as the contradictory figure of proper modernisation in this novel. While ridiculing the men who take good care of themselves, Zeyno praises the intellectual qualities of Saffet, giving us a sign of the supremacy of intellectual qualities over physical appearance. However, her stance about the unimportance of looks, unless she is talking about effeminate men, is going to change in the course of the story by meeting Hasan at the party, although it is not going to be expressed openly.

Simultaneously, what I saw in the mirror was a strong, dark and young head on top of a somewhat tall, lean, well-built male body, two eyes, the colour of which I can not guess because of the darkness of his skin were staring only at me, were seeing only me. His shapely lips under his cut moustache were a bit opened, in my whole life no one ever had looked at me with that much amazement and attraction and never ever in my life had I felt myself both so bored and so proud because of such looks. I have immediately forgiven Azize’s beauty. There, I was feeling dizzy as much as I was happy in that meaningless game recently, because of having amazed this officer from Anatolia as if I bewitched him, because of making him stare at me as if I was the most beautiful and the most dangerous being in the world¹⁴⁸

tahassürle hatırlattılar. O gün saçlarını bir yerde dalgalandıran, tırnaklarını manikür yaptıran, itiraf edeyim; biraz kocaman dudaklarını küçültmek için boyayan, gözlerine sürme çeken, kolunu ve omzunu fora eden kız, yani ben, kendime yabancı geliyordum. Saffet’i özledim, onun fikir unsuru fazla olan konuşmasını düşündüm ve zannettiğimden çok fazla sevdiğime kanaat getirdim.”

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. p.22. The original text is as follows: “Aynada aynı zamanda gördüğüm şey biraz uzun, sırf adaleden örülmüş ince bir erkek vücudu üstünde yanmış, kuvvetli ve genç bir baş, koyu yanık derisi kızaran bu yüzden rengini tahmin edemediğim iki göz yalnız bana bakıyor, yalnız beni görüyordu. Kesik bıyıkları altında düzgün dudakları biraz açılmıştı, ömrümde hiçbir insan gözü bana bu kadar hayretle ve incizapla bakmadı ve ömrümde bir bakıştan bu kadar hem sıkılıp hem mağrur olduğumu hissetmedim. Azize’nin güzelliğini hemen affettim. Biraz evvel manâsız çocuk oyununda ne kadar mesutsam orada bu Anadolu’dan gelen zabiti büyülemiş gibi hayrete uğratmaktan, kendime dünyanın en güzel ve tehlikeli mahlûku imişim gibi baktırmaktan o kadar başım dönmüştü.”

Apparently, Hasan's very masculine physical features excite Zeyno very much. Physical features of a man increase the respectability of a man's masculinity if we compare the 'effects' of Saffet and Hasan on Zeyno.

In the following pages, Azize, Hasan and Zeyno go to a country side near Istanbul. There, Zeyno and Hasan organise a boat race in which the loser will have to prepare the tea and do all the work. At this point, Zeyno makes a generalisation about men which reflects the dichotomist gender assumptions. At the same time, contradicting to her apparent excitement by the looks of Hasan, she expresses that looks is not enough for a man. However, she does not get into detail about how a man should impress a woman.

I don't know why I feel this way, but being a man is not enough for men to impress women; I suddenly came close to recognise that, materially and spiritually; if they feel obliged to spend their last bodily and hearty energy to struggle against that woman, they feel a pleasure mixed with fury and violence to stomp her and this recognition gave me strength and silence.¹⁴⁹

This generalisation about men's tendency of violence against women they compete with inspires Zeyno to compete more decisively. It may be claimed that this masculine tendency of violence and fury is not questioned at all as if it is a natural part of being man.

It seems that although Adıvar was a prominent figure who was fighting for women's emancipation, she was either not aware of the sexist language of biological determinism about men's and women's social roles she adopted in this novel or she was using this language consciously. However, it is apparent that she

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. p.26. The original text is as follows: "Bilmem neden hissettim, fakat içimden erkeklerin bir kadına tesir etmek için sadece erkek olmaları kifâyet etmez; maddî, manevî; kafa, kol ve kalp kuvvetlerinin son çaresini sarf etmeye mecbur olurlarsa o kadınla mücadele, o kadını yere vurmak için gayızla, şiddetle karışık bir haz duyduklarını, birdenbire anlar gibi oldum ve bu anlayış bana kuvvet ve sükûn verdi."

did not intend to topple over the traditional roles as a whole. What she suggested was a moderate reconciliation with the traditional order. Even if she had the idea to topple over the existing order, probably this reconciliatory attitude of hers was the most reasonable solution for women to become public actors in those years.

In the following pages, upon being tied up with Zeyno at the boat race, Hasan says to Zeyno: “I thought that new women were brave and open like men, you aren’t obeying the sports rules, you’re escaping.”¹⁵⁰ Obviously, sports is a masculine sphere that requires ‘manly’ behaviours as expressed by Hasan, although women can take part in it as competitors. Moreover, it is understood that ‘new women’ were idealised as manly beings in female bodies, as comrades, instead of sexually attractive members of the opposite sex. This is expressed by Zeyno while she thinks to herself about her relationship with Saffet. Since Saffet did not attend the party with Zeyno, he asks about how the party was and what they did together with Azize, at their first meeting after the party. Zeyno gives details but feels disappointed about Saffet’s peaceful reaction while she was expecting him to be jealous of her.

As the doctor of Azize’s family, Saffet was just asking his patient’s condition. I don’t know why but I didn’t like this situation. I wished that he flustered, that he be busy with me, be jealous of Azize’s nephew. Maybe I wanted to express my weird feelings and speak to him. Because, until this Major Hasan Bey issue, we used to analyse, talk about every feeling, every idea of ours just like two friends, even like two scientists. But at the same time, I thought that there was nothing extraordinary about the Hasan Bey issue. I didn’t distinguish my male friends from my female friends both during those years when I was in Germany and during that year when I was studying at the university in Istanbul. We used to race, wander but we never ever were involved in a strange situation or had a feeling for each other. Saffet was also a beloved male friend of mine. We needed each other’s peace, ideas, feelings in this friendship, which were

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. p.28. The original text is as follows: “Ben, yeni kadınları erkekler gibi mert ve açık zannettim, siz spor kaidesine riayet etmiyorsunuz, kaçıyorsunuz.”

satisfied by nothing else. This need attached us more than an attraction between a woman and a man.¹⁵¹

According to Zeyno's words, it was a desexualised relationship between them which was based merely, perhaps solely on the mental qualities and friendship between each other. It has to be recalled that Saffet did not excite Zeyno with his looks at all. However, the wild, bestial, rural Hasan Bey attracts Zeyno irresistibly.

Hasan Bey was not the man of cities. Because of this, he had to accompany you in the deserts, in dangers, in fires. He had such a primitive but natural strength that, after having decided to say yes to him and spurn Saffet, Azize and everything if he proposed to marry me the next morning, I forgot the memory of his fingers' domination while he was holding my fingers, the vehement and passionate cruelty in his voice, the stinging memory of the desire in his passionate eyes, and fell asleep like a man who was beaten up until he was torn into pieces.¹⁵²

Apparently, the bestial manliness of Hasan Bey which appeals to her flesh causes Zeyno to feel guilty. Hasan Bey's portrayal in a negative way, equating him to desire and bestiality is strange since he's a soldier which had to make him very respectable in the Republican setting. However he represents an evil masculinity which implies sexuality.

Depending on Zeyno's expressions, there is no single sign that Saffet is sexually attractive for her, instead the reader starts to think that this is an asexual

¹⁵¹ Ibid. p.33. The original text is as follows: "Saffet, Azize'nin ailesinin doktoru sıfatıyla sadece hastasının sıhhatini soruyordu. Bilmem neden, ben Saffet'in bu vaziyetinden memnun olmadım. Onun telâş etmesini, benimle meşgul olmasını, Azize'nin yeğenini kıskanmasını istiyordum. Belki de ona acayip hislerimi anlatmak ve konuşmak istiyordum. Çünkü bu Binbaşı Hasan Bey hadisesine kadar onunla her hissimizi, her fikrimizi iki serbest arkadaş, hattâ iki fen adamı gibi tahlil eder, konuşurduk. Fakat aynı zamanda, düşünüyordum ki Hasan Bey hadisesinde hiç fevkalâde bir şey yoktu. Ben Almanya'da bulunduğum senelerde de İstanbul'daki Dârülfünûn'a gittiğim bir sene zarfında da erkek arkadaşlarımı hiç kadın arkadaşlarımdan ayırmamıştım. Kaç defa yarış yapmış, kaç defa gezmiştik, fakat hiç, ama hiç dikkati çekecek bir hâl, hattâ bir his olmamıştı. Saffet de sevdiğim erkek arkadaşım. Bu arkadaşlık arasında hiçbir şeyin tatmin etmediği, birbirimizin huzuruna, fikrine, hissine karşılıklı bir ihtiyaç hissederdik. Bu ihtiyaç bir kadın ve erkek incizâbından fazla ikimizi birbirimize bağlamıştı."

¹⁵² Ibid. p.47. The original text is as follows: "Hasan Bey şehirlerin erkeği değildi. Onun için beyabanlarda, tehlikede, ateşte insana eş olmalıydı. O kadar iptidâî, fakat tabiattan gelen bir kudreti vardı ki ertesi sabah bana evlenme teklif ederse kabul etmeye, Saffet'i, Azize'yi, her şeyi tepmeye, fırlatıp atmaya karar verdikten sonra, parmaklarıma parmaklarının sarılışındaki tahakkümü, sesindeki hararetili ve ateşli zulmü, ateşli gözlerindeki arzusunun ıstırap veren, acıtan hatırasını unuttum ve parça parça oluncaya kadar dayak yemiş bir adam gibi uyudum."

relationship between them. This impression is intentionally given by the author, because a woman has to marry a man with intellectual and emotional qualities instead of bodily attraction, since happiness can not be found by marrying that type of men which is expressed directly by Zeyno. She thinks of an imaginary situation in which she and Hasan gets married. At the end she gets convinced that this marriage would not have lasted much because of the reason explained above.

It is not going to happen but in case Hasan Bey and I had met each other without the existence of Azize and Saffet, and had married each other, despite the strong and bodily attraction, I would have been very unhappy. Maybe he would have gone after every beautiful, exciting, desirous woman. After a while, I would have found him distasteful and mediocre. Maybe he would have got bored of me rapidly because I looked very much like a man and I was very simple.¹⁵³

Moreover, to support her argument, Zeyno's 'friendly' ideas about Saffet and their relationship are repeated and emphasised from time to time in the course of the story as such: "He is a young father, a doctor, a brother, a friend, briefly, he collected every single bond that one needs to put up with life, in his personality."¹⁵⁴

The idea which claims that a woman can achieve happiness only by marrying a desexualised man like Saffet is not very surprising at all. It can be claimed that this argument originates from the nationalist narrative that designates the members of a nation as sons and daughters of the motherland by putting emphasis on the family metaphor as the unifying element. As a result, an ideal man should have the features of anyone from within the 'family' which will be re-expressed in the course of the story. Therefore, an ideal man and woman should be like siblings and their love should be constructive instead of a passionate, destructive love.

¹⁵³ Ibid. p.51. The original text is as follows: "Olmayacak şey ama, Hasan Bey ve ben tamamıyla Azize'siz ve Saffet'siz tesadüf etseydik ve evlenseydik herhalde çok kuvvetli ve maddî bir incizâba rağmen ben, şiddetle bedbaht olacaktım, o, her süslü kadının, heyecan ve arzu veren kadının arkasından belki gidecekti. Bir zaman sonra ben, onu tatsız ve alelâde bulacaktım. O, benden, belki fazla erkeğe benzediğim ve basit olduğum için çarçabuk bıkaçaktı."

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. p.58. The original text is as follows: "O, bir genç baba, bir doktor, bir kardeş, bir arkadaş; hülâsa, hayata tahammül için insana destek olan her temiz rabıtayı şahsında topluyordu."

After Hasan and Azize leave Istanbul for Vienna where Azize will be cured for her illness, our heroine Zeyno meets Colonel Muhsin Bey, a friend of his father. Muhsin Bey visits Zeyno's father at his clinic while Zeyno was there. At the door, Zeyno stares at this tall, lean man in uniform with affection.

As soon as the tall and rigid body of Muhsin Bey appeared at the threshold of the open door, the father and daughter looked at him with different feelings. The doctor was feeling a bit of hostility towards soldiers since he guessed that the uniform made Zeyno recall painful memories. However, Zeyno looked at this elegant dream man with a real pleasure. He had a very strong body in his elaborate and tight uniform, and his head upon his wide shoulders looked like the soldier portraits of great painters. It was contradicting weirdly with his healthy, young face and grey hair under his headgear. His dark blue eyes between black eyelashes were looking powerful and dominant. His shapely nose, cropped grey moustache and his lips which looked as if they were going to be opened up immediately to give commands constituted a hard, masterful but a very masculine face.¹⁵⁵

It is not astonishing that a man whom Zeyno finds attractive is again a soldier. Moreover, 'power' and 'dominance' are emphasised as very masculine features in Muhsin Bey's portrayal. In the following pages, his very manly features are emphasised again in a letter Zeyno wrote to Azize fifteen days after she met him. During this period, she and Saffet breaks up after deciding to keep their friendship. This fact can be found righteously strange since the author reflects this breakup as a peaceful process that does not harm Saffet's manhood.

In her letter, Zeyno describes Muhsin Bey to Azize with details;

He is a very attractive man that is always appealing. It's been fifteen days since I saw him at my father's clinic. He's an old friend of my father. Naturally, he must be an older man. I asked his age. He said: "I tell my age only to the woman who will fall in love

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. pp.195-196. The original text is as follows: "Açık kapının eşiğinde Miralay Muhsin Bey'i uzun ve dik vücudu teressüm eder etmez, baba-kız birbirine benzemeyen hislerle ona baktılar. Doktor, Zeyno'da üniformanın uyandırdığı acı hatıraları pek iyi tahmin ettiğinden biraz askerlere husumet besliyordu. Zeyno, bilakis bu zarif erkek hayaline hakikî bir göz zevki ile baktı. İtinalı ve dar üniforması içinde çok kudretli bir vücudu vardı ve enli omuzları üzerindeki başı büyük ressamların asker tablolarına benziyordu. Kumral kalpağı altında şakaklarında görünen, fazla kır saçlı, sıhhatli, genç yüzüyle garip bir tezat yapıyordu. Siyah kirpikleri arasından iki koyu mavi göz kudretle, tahakkümle bakıyor, düzgün burnu, kırpık, kır bıyıklar, hemen kumanda vermek için açılacak zannedilen dudaklarıyla sert, âmir, fakat çok erkek bir çehre gösteriyordu."

with me.”You see!To discover this secret, one has to fall in love with him!But it is not that easy for me.But his age is not an issue since he’s a good looking man.He looks like an imaginary portrait.His eyes look very tender sometimes, and sometimes very cold and dominant like steel!(...)He’s got such a shapely nose and eyebrows with mocking tips that they collect sufficient beauty and sensibility around the meaning of strength and domination surrounding his mouth and eyes.(...)He’s got pretty hands with thin fingers that express a sufficiently hard and manly meaning.He also has additional spiritual appeals that can be added to the appearance of this attractive body.¹⁵⁶

By ‘spiritual appeals’ Zeyno implies his taste of literature and music as well as his ‘fatherly’ behaviours against her.¹⁵⁷ Upon all the positive features he embodies, he rules his house as if he’s ruling an army, with great orderliness. Moreover, in a conversation between the Colonel and Zeyno about their past relationships, at his mansion in Erenköy where Zeyno was visiting with her father upon Colonel’s invitation, monogamy is praised which was also the subtext of Zeyno’s breakup from Saffet:

-(...)Sometimes life makes you hold on to a single little face, a beautiful pair of eyes. At least, I never saw two people simultaneously in my life.

-Really?

-Yes

-How can I believe it?

-Believe in everything I say.

-Why? Aren’t you a man?

-Did a man ever betray you, Zeyno?

-No. No one betrayed me.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. pp.200-201. The original text is as follows: “Çok şayan-ı dikkat, mütemadiyen insanın merakını, tecessüsünü kamçılayan bir adam. On beş gün oluyor, onu babamın odasında gördüm. Babamın eski arkadaşı imiş. Tabii yaşı ilerde olacak, “Kaç yaşındasınız?” diye soruyorum. –Yalnız bana âşık olacak hanıma hakikî yaşımı söylerim, diyor. Görüyorsun ya! Bu sırrı öğrenmek için mutlak âşık olmalı! Bu da benim için o kadar kolay değil; fakat yaşının ehemmiyeti yok; çünkü çok güzel bir adam. Muhayyel bir kumandan tablosuna benziyor. Gözleri bazen çok yumuşak, bazen de çelik gibi soğuk ve mütehakkim!(...)Öyle düzgün bir burnu ve gözleri üstünde öyle mevzun ve uçları alaycı ince kaşları var ki, ağzının ve gözlerinin kudret ve tahakküm manâsı etrafında kâfi miktarda güzellik ve hassasiyet topluyor.(...)İnce parmaklı, zarif, fakat yeter derecede sert ve erkek bir manâ ifade eden elleri var. Bütün bu şayan-ı dikkat vücudun görünüşüne ilave edilecek manevî cazibeleri de mevcut.”

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. p.202; “Bana kızı gibi muamele ediyor, babamla ne kadar arkadaşsam onunla da o kadar arkadaşım.(...)İtiraf edeyim ki çok nefis bir kütüphanesi var. Edebiyat ve musikiyi çok seviyor, hayli de iyi piyano çalıyor. Bundan başka bir de ev idaresinde korkunç denilecek kadar inzibat ve intizam temin etmiş.”

-Then, never make a distinction between men and women in these issues. Because women can betray, too.¹⁵⁸

Although Zeyno's words reflect a naturalising sexist perspective which correlates betrayal with men, Muhsin Bey's character appears contradictory to her claim in this scene. Additionally, he appears as the 'mind' and high level of consciousness by the image of 'teaching man'.

The following pages consist of parts from Zeyno's diary until the reader is transferred into the scenes in Vienna where we get to know Dora, an Austrian woman, the antithesis of Azize and Zeyno who seduces Hasan while Azize gets cured for her illness. Dora is portrayed as a hedonistic, 'natural' Westerner. "She was a creature who took life as it was and who looked more like a vagabond boy than a woman."¹⁵⁹ Eventually, her qualities are considered masculine in author's mind since she is free to move, to have sex with whoever she desires, a woman who does not get into strict emotional bonds with men and who lives the moment. Therefore she is not the ideal woman in Hasan's (author's) opinion. "If Dora did not regard the female life as free as the male life, she would have been the most ideal life partner. It would have been very good if this friendly woman who sets her man extremely free and who is very entertaining with her ever-changing joy and

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. p.215. The original dialogue is as follows:

"-(...)Hayat böyle devre devre insanı bir tek küçük yüze, bir çift güzel göze bağlıyor. Hiç olmazsa ben hayatta aynı zamanda bir tek yüzden başkasına bakmadım.

-Sahi mi?

-Evet.

-Nasıl inanayım?

-Benim söylediğim her şeye inan.

-Niçin? Siz erkek değil misiniz?

-Seni hiçbir erkek aldattı mı, Zeyno?

-Hayır, kimse aldatmadı.

-O halde bir daha bu bahislerde kadın, erkek deme, çünkü kadın da insanı aldatabilir."

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. p.234. The original text is as follows: "Hayatı hiçbir esasa bağlamayan, geldiği gibi alan, kadından ziyade hovarda bir delikanlıya benzeyen bir mahlûktu."

sparkling intelligence, did not ask to have the same rights as men.”¹⁶⁰ Even though it may not be totally true to consubstantiate a narrative wholly with its author’s personality and real thoughts, Adivar’s assumptions about men, women and their relations in this novel is strikingly confusing when taking into account that she served as a role model for women’s emancipation in Turkey.

After reading author’s thoughts about Dora, we are taken into a scene where Dora and Hasan are having a conversation about monogamy, betrayal and therefore, about Azize and Zeyno. At that moment, Hasan reacts to Dora’s words that prove the impossibility of monogamy in marriage. Dora exemplifies the situation with Zeyno, Azize and herself. Upon that, Hasan says: “I can’t say anything, Dora. But, please don’t tell me about that, in my opinion, men are different after all. I understand, we are more stupid, more egoistic, we are worse but anyhow, we are stronger. Therefore, it’s us, who will make the laws for ourselves.”¹⁶¹ Hasan’s words can be regarded as either a confession or an assignation of the author about the social order. By putting this claim forth and not even trying to refute it in the rest of the novel, Adivar confirms this point of view and in this context Hasan appears as a man who believes in male hegemony and forms the other tip of the sexual dichotomy that provisions a limited liberty for women.

Briefly, if we evaluate the novel as Zeyno’s decision process about choosing the right man to unite her life with, we see that she makes her choice in favor of

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. p.235. The original text is as follows: “Eğer Dora, kadın hayatını da erkek gibi serbest telakki etmese, en ideal hayat arkadaşı o olacaktı. Erkeği son derece hür bırakan, her an değişen neşesi, parlak zekâsıyla insanı eğlendiren bu arkadaş kadın, kendisi için de aynı hakkı istemese çok iyi olacaktı.”

¹⁶¹ Ibid. p.236. The original text is as follows: “Bir şey diyemem, Dora. Yalnız yalvarırım, bunlardan bahsetme bana, ne de olsa erkek başka gibi geliyor. Anlıyorum, biz daha aptalız, daha hodbiniz, daha fenayız, fakat herhalde daha kuvvetliyiz. Binaenaleyh kanunları biz ve bizim için yapacağız.”

'mind' and fatherly personality of Muhsin Bey after struggling Hasan's irresistible manliness that opens him the way to betray whenever and with whomever possible. Therefore, she makes her choice in favor of the trustworthy man. Ayşe Saraçgil claims that this plot is frequently put forth in the novels of the era which reflect the decades-long yearning for patriarchal authority that is lacking in the fragile social and economical atmosphere of the new-born Turkish Republic. Thus at the moments of crisis in the novels, the father figure intervenes.¹⁶²

At the end of this novel, Azize dies of her illness, Zeyno marries Muhsin Bey and Hasan becomes a widow with a daughter. The story continues in *Zeyno'nun Oğlu*, that is handled in this study as the second novel of Adivar which was published in 1928. The novel takes place in Diyarbakır just before the Kurdish Revolt of 1925. Zeyno is now married to the older man, Commander Muhsin of the previous book. Commander Muhsin is on a mission in Diyarbakır and asks a major in Istanbul to escort her wife to Diyarbakır. The book begins with this letter of request from the Commander to Major Hasan, the man we know from the previous book. Zeyno moves to Diyarbakır to live together with his husband. After this event the main plot begins. We meet a little Kurdish boy and his mother, whose name is also Zeyno and who suffers domestic violence from her husband. Her husband Ramazan does not love his son Haso either. Because, according to what we later find out during the course of the story, he is not Ramazan's biological son. The story vaguely emphasises the civilizing mission of Turkish army in the mostly Kurdish province of Diyarbakır in southeastern Anatolia. Of course, our main character, Zeyno from Istanbul is a part of this mission. Like the previous novel, the main

¹⁶² Ayşe Saraçgil, *Bukalemun Erkek, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Ataerkil Yapılar ve Modern Edebiyat*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005) pp.268-271

theme of this novel is focusing on how to become modern citizens and how to form a modern society in the most proper way. This problematic is explained, as usual, by gender-based dialogues and thoughts. In the course of the story it is discovered that the little Kurdish boy Haso is actually the son of Major Hasan. Towards the end of the story the Kurdish Revolt breaks out. After the revolt is suppressed, main characters move back to Istanbul and the story ends with a remarkable dialogue on the state of Turkish youth's modernisation.

In this novel there are five prominent male characters which are Hasan of *Kalp Ağrısı*, Ramazan, a Kurdish peasant who keeps his real name Haso as a secret, Muhsin Bey, namely, Zeyno's husband, Saffet, Zeyno's ex fiancé and Şaban, a local Kurdish man.

In the following pages the reader is taken into a scene where Zeyno's father, Dr. Asım is visiting a long-time patient of his, Mazlume. In this plot, Dr. Asım, Mazlume and her mother Mesture make criticisms of the new social order, new men and new women of the Republic. At that moment the author intervenes by commenting on the supremacy of the new women over new men: "Although their clothes were elegant and simple, their ideas were prone to exaggeration, their characters were prone to excitement and imagination, they were more independent and less pedantic than the contemporaneous young men and were acceptably spoiled and special."¹⁶³ Adivar claims that it was the new women who embodied the ambitiousness and courage of the young state, instead of men. Right on the next page, Mazlume complains about the looks of the new men while she and her mother

¹⁶³ Halide Edip Adivar, *Zeyno'nun Oğlu* (Istanbul: Can, 2010) p.35. The original text is as follows: "Kıyafetleri zarif ve basit, fikirleri azıcık mübalağaya, mizaçları heyecana, hülyaya mütemâyil olmakla beraber, zamanlarının genç erkeğinden daha fazla müstakil, daha az ukalâ ve cazip bir surette şımarık ve hususî idiler."

are talking to Dr. Asım about her father's call to Diyarbakır, just like Muhsin Bey called Zeyno. Her mother Mesture Hanım does not want to go to Diyarbakır although the ambitious and young Mazlume wants the opposite. Mazlume says to her mother:

-It was me who wrote to my father to call us to Diyarbakır. Mother, if you don't want to come, then don't. I got rid of this artificial life. Believe me doctor, nothing new is happening; dance, bridge, poker, gossip, dance again, poker and so, plus, the pretty men with manicured nails and powdered faces.

Her mother replies:

-Goodness gracious! Should a man keep his nails like a porter's because of being a man? I see. The Anatolian soldier came into vogue and our civil lads have fallen from grace. However, if this ignorant girl had seen that the soldiers are both more elegant with powdered faces, and...¹⁶⁴

Just like Zeyno complained about the false modernised effeminate men of the Republican order in the previous book, Mazlume finds their taking care of themselves as an extremism. However, her mother who represents the false modernised women of the new state, and knows nothing else than attending balls, tea parties and wearing expensive dresses reacts to her daughter's words by telling that her taste of men is a result of the increasing fame of Anatolian soldiers who embody the ideal men in themselves. Therefore, it can be claimed that, during this era, the men in military uniform represented the physical side of the masculine ideal that had to be reached.

At the end, Mazlume's mother, Mesture Hanım gets convinced to go to Diyarbakır. They accompany Hasan and Zeyno on the way there. After they arrive and settle in Diyarbakır, the scene begins to take place in the military headquarters

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. p.36. The original dialogue is as follows:

“-Babama ben yazdım, bizi istemesini rica ettim. Sen istemezsen gelme, anne, ben bu yapmacık hayattan bıktım usandım. Vallahi Doktor, hiç yeni bir şey olmuyor; dans, briç, poker, dedikodu, yine dans, poker filan, bir de eli manikürlü, yüzü pudralı cici beyler.

-Allah Allah, erkek oldum diye herkes tırnaklarını hamal gibi mi tutsun? Ben anlıyorum, bir Anadolu zabiti modası çıktı; bizim sivil gençler gözden düştü. Halbuki, bu cahil kız görse, zabitler daha şık, hem yüzleri pudralı, hem...”

which is next to the house of an old Kurdish lady, Perihan Nine who was living with her daughter Zeyno, Zeyno's husband Ramazan and Zeyno's son, Haso.

Ten years ago, before the establishment of the Republic, Muhsin Bey was again in Diyarbakır, coordinating the army during WWI, with Hasan being a soldier under his command. Perihan Nine's daughter Zeyno was at that time engaged to Selman, a local man. However Zeyno fell in love with Hasan and got pregnant. Although her fiancé did not know that she was pregnant, he was jealous of her since she was very close to Hasan. As expected, Selman tried to kill Hasan, but could not succeed and got arrested. Simultaneously, Haso who was his accomplice escaped from Diyarbakır. After a while he returned with his new name Ramazan, not to be prosecuted. In the meantime, Muhsin Bey and Hasan left Diyarbakır for Çanakkale to fight against the enemy. In these circumstances, Perihan Nine arranged Ramazan to marry Zeyno, in order to protect her honour, however, she did not tell him that Zeyno was pregnant. At the end, Ramazan agreed to marry her and went into their house to see her. In this scene, Ramazan who embraces Zeyno is described in detail:

His long black moustache, his black eyes that sparkle with greed and fire between the shadows of his black eyelashes, his combative, violating eagle nose, and his somewhat wild, somewhat glorious national clothes gave Haso a very fierce meaning. Despite his acrimony, Haso had the impression of a civilised human in his tightly buttoned up military jacket with his smooth-shaven cheeks and a cavalryman's headgear, who was subject to orderliness until three days before. But now with this headgear, his rich-looking clothes and his unshaven face, he looked like a creature, the desire and movements of which were not subject to any condition and force.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. p.63. The original text is as follows: "Uzun siyah bıyıkları, yanaklarına düşen siyah kirpiklerinin gölgesi arasında ateşle, hırsla ışıldayan siyah gözleri, kavgacı, mütecaviz kartal burnu, bu biraz vahşî, biraz muhteşem millî kıyafeti Haso'ya çok azgın bir mâna vermişti. Haso sınıksız iliklediği dar asker ceketi içinde, tıraş olmuş düz yanakları ve süvari kalpağıyla bütün şirretliğine rağmen üç gün evveline kadar nizam ve intizama tâbi medeni bir insan hissini veriyordu. Şimdi bu kavuğu, bu zengin esvabı ve tıraşsız yüzüyle arzu ve harekâtı hiçbir kayıt ve kuvvete tâbi olmayan bir mahluk gibi görünüyordu."

In a military uniform, with his shaven cheeks, Haso was ‘civilised’ by the Turkish state. However, when he turned back to his original looks, he was again a wild, beastly Kurdish man. This description of Haso gives us the signs of the role that Adivar assigns to Turkish state as the civilising sovereign nation. This can be interpreted as the author’s need for an orientalist gaze upon the social reality of the homeland, that was based on the adoption of the West and exclusion of the East from national identity to justify the Turkish nation-building process. In that sense, “the Kurdish geography is depicted as a land of noble savages that was waiting to be civilised”¹⁶⁶. Therefore Haso’s incapacities and primitivity are emphasised as much as possible:

He forgot that the reason to have Zeyno was his exuberant love for her and began considering himself as a powerful and brave lord that protected the weak. (...) Zeyno was going to be Haso’s: his property, the one he was going to love, he was going to kill and let live; in summary, she was going to be his property, the destiny of which he owned like that of a sheep or a cow that he was able to do whatever he wanted!¹⁶⁷

While comparing him with Major Hasan, Adivar describes him as such:

(...)the complicated dreams occupying her heart and mind were; primitive Haso, with his fur poking out from his bare chest, his intermixing trunk-like neck muscles, his black fringes hanging under his headgear onto his dark forehead and who invaded the room with his tobacco and rose oil odour, on the other hand, the face of lean and civilised Hasan and the changing pictures of the various intimate moments she spent with him. Half of his bronze-tanned neck and his chest were white and tender as a child, his maroon-coloured hair was soft as silk and its odour as well as its touch, used to remind the newly-blossomed clover fields.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Tanıl Bora, *Türk Sağının Üç Hâli, Milliyetçilik, Muhafazakârlık, İslamcılık* (İstanbul: Birikim, 1998) p.48

¹⁶⁷ Adivar, 2010, p.64. The original text is as follows: “Zeyno’yu almak için kendi coşkunu aşkının sâik olduğunu unutmuş, kendisini zayıfları himaye eden kudretli ve cesur bir bey farz etmeye başlamıştı. (...) Zeyno Haso’nun olacaktı: Haso’nun malı, seveceği, öldüreceği, yaşatacağı; hulâsa istediğini yapabileceği, bir koyun gibi, inek gibi mukadderatına sahip olduğu malı!”

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. p.65. The original text is as follows: “(...) kalbini, kafasını işgal eden karışık hayaller; bu açık göğsünden sarmaşık gibi kıllar fıskıran, boynundaki adaleleri ağaç kütükleri gibi birbirine karışan, siyah perçemleri kavuğunun altından esmer alnına dökülen, tütün, gülyağı kokusuyla odayı istila eden iptidai Haso’ya mukabil; ince, medenî Hasan’ın siması ve onunla geçen muhtelif, mahrem dakikaların müteharrik resimleriydi: Onun tunç gibi yanmış boynunun yarısı ve göğsü, bir çocuk kadar beyaz ve nazikti; kestane rengi saçları ipek gibi yumuşaktı ve teması kadar, kokusu taze yeni açmış yonca tarlalarını hatırlatırdı.”

As clearly expressed by Adivar, it may be claimed that the differences portrayed between Hasan and Haso had unfortunately racist tones. The civilisation was equal to Hasan, who had a baby-like white skin and a lean body. The description of a Kurdish character, Haso actually conforms to the anthropological and cultural discourses of the early Republican era as a whole. Therefore, the masculinity represented by Hasan, the Turkish soldier was supreme over Haso, the Kurdish peasant. However, later it is found out in the following pages that despite representing a negative masculinity, Haso is also articulated to the Republican hegemonic masculinity.

Actually, every man that can be a sergeant in the Turkish army is exactly superior to the Anatolian milieu and has the ability to materially and spiritually command and manage. In case he is not innately intelligent, he exactly has boldness, pretension, either the muscle power or craftiness to make anyone do what he says, by force. Whether they be in military barracks or in coffeehouse, they talk about worldly matters and politics authoritatively. If the audience consists of soldiers, then they should not talk, but if they are villagers, the sergeant has for sure more personal and general knowledge on worldly matters. When Ramazan's goodlooking body, dominant and sharp eyes are added upon all these abilities, it could be understood why Ramazan's family did not undergo the cold treatment that the newcomers to a village from outside face. In a week, everyone, even the reeve, began to consult the most primitive issues to Ramazan.¹⁶⁹

As long as a man had served in the army, he was the authority in every social circle he entered, unless there were higher ranking soldiers there. Briefly, in the run of the daily routine, a warrior and self-sacrificing soldier who represented the high

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. pp.66-67. The original text is as follows: "Esasen, Türk Ordusu'nda çavuş olabilen her erkek, mutlak, Anadolu muhitinde etrafına faik, maddî, manevî kumanda ve idare kabiliyetini haizdir. Doğuştan zekâsı yok ise, mutlak, cüreti, gösterisi, dediğini cebirle, kahırla yaptırabilecek ya pazu, yahut da kurnazlık kabiliyeti vardır. Onlar, ister kışlada, ister köy kahvesinde olsun, dünya ahvalinden, siyasiyattan, yüksek dedikodudan slahiyetle bahsederler. Kendisini dinleyenler askerse, onlara söz düşmez, köy halkı ise, mutlak, çavuşun onlardan fazla şahsî ve umumî dünya malûmatı vardır. Bütün bu kabiliyetlere Ramazan'ın yakışıklı vücudu, mütehakkim, keskin gözleri de ilâve edilince, bir köye hariçten yerleşmek için gelenlerin uğradığı barit muameleye Ramazan ailesinin niçin uğramadığı anlaşılırdı. Bir hafta içinde, muhtara varıncaya kadar, en iptidâî meseleleri Ramazan Ağa'ya danışmaya başladılar."

qualities of the republican citizenship was the idealised example of the hegemonic masculinity concept of the period in question.¹⁷⁰

Back in the plot, Ramazan again escapes from Diyarbakır as a result of Perihan Nine's tricks that were staged to prevent him from witnessing Zeyno's pregnancy process. At the same time Ramazan admonished his partner Şaban who was married to his dead brother's ex wife, to keep an eye on these women.

Şaban was from a Turkish family, whose grandfather immigrated to the K. village from Kemah and, preserved the silence and tenderness of Eastern Turks although he had taken fervent Kurdish blood from his mother's family. He was a materially and spiritually strong, affectionate man against little and weak things.

He was forty five, a bit cynical, had a grey goatee, a big crooked nose, deep blue eyes that looked with a childish innocence in his dark brick-coloured face. He was a friendly man who liked to chat.¹⁷¹

In Şaban's portrayal, the ethnically essentialist perception of the author is maintained as his positive personal qualities are told to be belonging to his Turkish ancestry. "Actually, he (Şaban) had a great capability of loving, was modest and had fear of God. After giving up his personal ambitions, Zeyno's beauty, diligence and patient response against Ramazan's tortures had again totally awakened the feelings of protection and fondness in his heart, like every good Turk had for the weak."¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Güven Gürkan Öztan, "Türkiye'de Milli Kimlik İnşası Sürecinde Militarist Eğilimler ve Tesirleri" in Nursel Yeşim Sünbuloğlu ed. *Erkek Millet Asker Millet, Türkiye'de Militarizm, Milliyetçilik, Erkek(lik)ler*, (Istanbul: İletişim, 2013) p.82

¹⁷¹ Adivar, 2010, pp.70-71. The original text is as follows: "Şaban, büyükbabası Kemah'tan K... Köyü'ne hicret etmiş bir Türk ailesindendi ve Şark Türklerinin sükûnunu, tatlılığını –ana tarafından ateşin bir Kürt kanı almış olmasına rağmen, mizacında muhafaza etmiş, küçük ve zayıf şeylere maddî, manevî kuvvetli erkeklerin hissettiği şefkatle, himaye ile dolu bir adamdı. Kırk beş yaşlarında, kır, top sakallı, biraz müstehzi, büyük ve çarpık burunlu, derin ve halim mavi gözleri koyu kiremit rengi alan çehresinde bir çocuk saffetiyile bakan, sohbeti seven, dost mizaçlı bir adamdı."

¹⁷² Ibid. pp.94-95. The original text is as follows: "Esasen sevmek kabiliyeti çok, mütevazı, Allah'tan korkar bir adamdı. Şahsî emellerinden vazgeçtikten sonra yine kalbinin bir tarafında Zeyno'nun güzelliği, çalışkanlığı, Ramazan'ın gadrine, işkencesine karşı sabırla mukabelesi, her iyi Türk'ün zayıflara karşı duyduğu himaye ve muhabbet hasletini kökünden uyandırmıştı."

When Ramazan turned back to Diyarbakır a few years later, he saw Haso, the boy whom he believed to be his own son. However he ‘instinctively’ did not like him and beat him almost every day. Since Zeyno and Perihan Nine were doing all the work to run the house and survive, he was not even working, a situation that was consolidating him as a negative example by being a lazy, parasitical man. In the meantime, Şaban appears as the protector of the little child when Haso ran away from Ramazan’s house because of his continuous violence towards him. After a while, a prominent sheikh in the area hires Ramazan, Zeyno and Haso as his servants at his mansion. Therefore, Haso begins to live with his family again. However, Ramazan does not treat him as bad as he did before. Following these events, Zeyno and Muhsin Bey rent sheikh’s house by accepting the sheikh’s precondition that Ramazan and his family will continue to live there as servants. In the following plot of the story *Mazlume and Mesture Hanım*, as well as Sergeant Hasan and Saffet get involved into the scenes in Diyarbakır. Hasan meets Haso, his son, by having no idea about this fact. All these characters counted here come together in different combinations or as a whole during the course of the narrative where they discuss modernising, changing Turkey and the West, as well as the events taking place in their circle. Towards the end of the novel, Sergeant Hasan finds out that Haso is his son from Zeyno, the Kurdish woman. In the meantime, at a ‘modern’ costume party organised by Mesture Hanım, her daughter Mazlume gets attracted to a soldier called Ali Nuri Bey. Mazlume wears the same costume as Ali Nuri Bey’s, that being a Circassian costume. As expressed by the author, in this costume, Mazlume looks like a genderless but beautiful being. Interestingly, these queer looks attract the men at the party, primarily Ali Nuri Bey. While he was

teaching her how to do a military salute, he falls in love with her. This event is portrayed exaggeratedly;

(...) while she was saluting the flag, the soldier, the man, the human, whatever there was in Ali Nuri Bey's personality, an ecstatic adoration fell down under her small feet that were standing in the saluting position and prostrated in front of her.(...)Tonight, Ali Nuri Bey's salutation and situation made Mazlume feel the other side of the soldiers that adored the ideas, the people they loved, they were attached to, for which they died, that laughed at the hardest difficulties, instead of their fighting side, but something inside her prevented her from laughing and having fun.

(...)She heard him saying;

-I love you as I love my flag. Would you marry me?¹⁷³

The last line where Ali Nuri Bey proposes to Mazlume is significant, since it shows how the Turkish flag can be (hetero)eroticised and personalised as an object of love just like a woman who needs his man's protection and sacrifice. This nationalistic eroticisation of the homeland, as well as the objects that symbolise it, was and still is a frequently encountered theme in the masculine and the national identity building processes. Moreover, in the scene handled above, the nationalist soldier falls in love with the woman, as soon as she is purified from her sexuality or defeminised we may say, and gains a genderless look while wearing boots, trousers and a headgear as if she was a soldier. Right at that moment when she puts forth a nationalist performance by saluting the flag, she becomes the ideal woman for the ideal man.

Towards the end of the story Sergeant Hasan marries the Kurdish woman Zeyno and therefore consolidates his Turkish nationalist masculinity as the

¹⁷³ Ibid. p.297. The original text is as follows: “(...)bayrağı selâmlarken Ali Nuri Bey'in benliğinde asker, erkek, insan ne varsa hepsi vecd ile, kendinden geçmiş bir taabbüt, birbirine sımsıkı yapışmış gibi selâm vaziyetinde duran küçük ayakların altına düştü ve secde etti.(...)Bu akşam Ali Nuri Bey'in selâmı ve vaziyeti Mazlume'ye askerin dövüşen tarafından ziyade sevdiği, bağlandığı fikirlere, simalara tapan, onlar için ölen ve en çetin meşakkate gülen tarafını hissettirmiş, içinden bir şey onu eğlenmekten, gülmekten menetmişti.

(...)

-Sizi bayrağım kadar seviyorum. Benimle evlenmez misiniz, dediğini duymuştun.”

protector of his wife and son. At the end, all the main characters handled here, except Ramazan, move to Istanbul and begin to live happily. The last dialogue of the novel is between Sergeant Hasan and Mazlume's husband Saffet in Muhsin Bey's garden, which depicts an optimistic future of the country that will be formed by the little child Haso and Mazlume who will represent the ideal men and women, respectively.

The story of the third book, *Tatarcık* which was published in 1939 takes place in Istanbul where we will encounter the teenager Haso of *Zeyno'nun Oğlu*. *Tatarcık* takes place in a fishing village along the Bosphorus. The main plot of the novel is the ascension of our main character, Lale, namely 'Tatarcık', in the modern Turkish society. Lale is the daughter of a captain, Tatar Osman. At the beginning of the novel we read a detailed life story of the captain, including his deeds. He is portrayed in a mostly positive, laudatory way. His masculinity shows signs of what an ideal Turkish male citizen should be. Then Tatar Osman dies, leaving his daughter and wife alone. After this event, Lale grows up and we get to know the other characters of Lale's neighborhood, and the 'Yediler', literally 'The Seven', a gang of seven young boys that will frequently fill the scene throughout the novel. One of these boys, Hasan, the son of Major Hasan of the previous novel *Zeyno'nun Oğlu*, is providing the link between two novels. Lale is a very hardworking and clever republican lady with 'boyish' looks and behaviours. Thus she finds the girls of her neighborhood very ordinary. Because being a modern woman is not equal to dressing flashy, putting on make-up and looking overly feminine. This perspective is often mentioned and affirmed in the novels of Halide Edip Adivar when she conveys her own ideas about female visibility in society. In the plot, Lale becomes closer with one of the boys, Recep from The Seven as the story

progresses. Throughout the novel, discussions between the characters continue on topics of modernity, religion, gender-equality and politics. At the end of the story Lale gets engaged to Recep and both characters declare their future mission in Turkish society.

Tatarcık is the nickname of Lale, the genderless-looking young girl who's living with her mother in Poyrazköy. She is the daughter of Lalezar Hanım and Captain Tatar Osman. Tatar Osman is portrayed as follows:

He had a stocky body but short and a bit crooked legs. (...) His arms that were as long as a gorilla's were hanging down below his knees, his hands that were large comparing to his body were frightening the ones around him.

Osman, who once studied in Heybeli was doubtlessly a good captain. Moreover, comparing to his entourage, he was well educated. Especially, it was told that he had a good command of English. When he was at home he used to be seen always by the window with a book in his hands and generally he used to have his daughter sit in front of him and tell her things from the book he was reading.

(...) Despite being unsympathetic he was proper to the degree of being the role model in the village. First of all, unlike other captains, he did not revile anyone. As long as he was on the land, he did not miss a single Friday prayer. (...) He was the most helpful one when İbrahim the driver broke his leg and Sami the junkman fell ill because of rheumatism.

(...) Before twenty eight years, Tatar Osman arrived at the village for the first time wearing his lieutenant uniform. (...) He was not only honourable, in the most meticulous, narrowest sense, he tried to make his entourage acquire his moral values.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Halide Edip Adivar, *Tatarcık*, (Istanbul: Can, 2009) pp.18-21. The original text is as follows: "Kaptan'ın gövdesi enli, hatta heybetli, fakat bacakları kısa ve biraz çarpıktı. (...) Bir gorilinki kadar uzun kolları dizlerinden aşağı sarkar, vücuduna göre fazla büyük olan elleri etrafındakilerin içine garip bir korku salardı. Tahsilini vaktiyle Heybeli'de yapmış olan Osman, şüphesiz iyi bir kaptandı. Fazla olarak muhitine göre okumuş bir adamdı. Bilhassa, iyi İngilizce bildiği söylenirdi. Evinde oturduğu zaman onu hep pencerede bir kitapla görürler ve ekseriya kızını da karşısına alır, ona okuduğu kitaptan bir şeyler anlatırdı. (...) Bütün sevimsizliğine karşın köyde ahlak modeli olabilecek kadar hareketinde, münasebetinde düzgün ve mazbuttu. Evvelâ başka gemiciler gibi sövmezdi, kimseye küfür etmezdi. Karada oldukça bir tek Cuma namazını kaçırmazdı. (...) Sürücü İbrahim'in bacağı kırıldığı, eskici Sami'nin romatizmadan yattığı zaman en çok arayan, yardım eden o olmuştu. (...) Tatar Osman, köye yirmi sekiz sene evvel yüzbaşı üniformasıyla ilk defa olarak geldi. (...) Yalnız namuslu değil, en titiz ve dar mânasıyla çevresine kendi ahlak kıymetlerini kabul ettirmeye çalışırdı."

Reminding us Saffet of *Zeyno'nun Ođlu*, the ugly looking but morally and intellectually improved male figure appears at Osman's character. However, unlike Saffet, Captain Osman has a military past like the other characters of the previous novel which is an inescapable element of the ideal male characters in Ađıvar's novels and also one of the fundamentals of Turkish masculinity construction in general. Because military service functions by introducing young men to modern discipline, giving them form and by determining the ideal citizen and nation.¹⁷⁵ The appearance of ideal male characters as soldiers is therefore remarkable. Moreover, taking the fragile domestic and international political situation, this frequent appearance of soldier men in Ađıvar's works is not surprising at all. Because the Turkish state was on a constant military alert throughout 1920s and 1930s as a result of both domestic and international threats. From this respect, these soldier men of Ađıvar were in these novels for a very comprehensible cause.

Turning back to Captain Osman, one thing distinguishing his masculinity from the other soldiers of the previous novels is that he is a pious man. But even though he's pious, well-educated and has high moral values, he is not accepted by the village people since he wants to transform everyone the way he believes to be beneficial.

Because of his providing arms and transferring them secretly to Anatolia during the War of Independence, he was given a monthly salary after the victory. His daughter Lale does remind the villagers of her father very much since she goes fishing alone, swims in the rough sea which are actually very manly

¹⁷⁵ Ayşe Gül Altınay, "Askerlik Yapmayan Adam Denmez": Zorunlu Askerlik, Erkeklik ve Vatandaşlık" in Nurseli Yeşim Sünbulođlu, ed. *Erkek Millet Asker Millet, Türkiye'de Militarizm, Milliyetçilik ve Erkek(lik)ler*, (Istanbul: İletişim, 2013) p.220.

actions. Before reaching the age of sixteen, she begins giving English lessons to the children of wealthy families residing in Kandilli. By the insistence of the girls she is teaching English to, she gets into the social scene via home parties. When she finishes high school, she was appointed as an English teacher to Kandilli Girls' High School.

Later, as a prominent male character, we get to know Mr. Balta, a trickster who is residing in a luxurious mansion with tens of servants. He is a fat, old, wealthy man who was also a soldier during the War of Independence who commanded a band of twenty men. Another male character, Feridun Pasha, is a very old, affectionate, tall man with a wrinkled face and white hair, that has a high voice.

The Pasha was one of the fatherliest commanders of the time when military service was subject to a brave heart, a healthy mind, a good-commanding and soldiers that fought to death without asking "why?", instead of being subject to poisonous gases, plains, laboratories and machines. His eight sons were also soldiers. During numerous fights beginning from the Old Greek War to the end of the Great War, all of them were killed. Namely, he had no sons.

(...)All his three daughters married soldiers. They had many sons.¹⁷⁶

Although this novel was written just a little more than a decade after the War of Independence, author's comparing those times with late 1930s and yearning to the real braveries of those times is interesting. Feridun Pasha's military past is an enhancing element of his masculinity that reflects his ability to command and to rule masses, which are considered masculine actions. Plus, being the father of eight dead soldiers is also an implicit praise to him from the nationalist point of view. His

¹⁷⁶ Adivar, 2009, p.49. The original text is as follows: "Paşa Baba askerliğin zehirli gaza, tayyareye, kimyahaneye ve makineye değil, sağlam yüreğe, sağlam kafaya, iyi kumandaya ve ölüme "Niçin, neden?" diye sormadan yürüyen nefere tabi olduğu zamanın en babacan kumandanlarından biriydi. Paşa Baba sekiz oğlunu da askere vermişti. Eski Yunan Harbi'nden başlayarak Büyük Harp'in sonuna kadar süren sayısız kavgalarda sekizi de şehit olmuştu. Yani erkek evladı yoktu. (...)Paşa Baba'nın üç kızı da askerle evlenmişti. Onların bir alay delikanlı çocukları vardı."

daughters' marrying soldiers is also important in the same sense since that shows women's voluntary surrender to the supremacy of mind which is represented by soldier men. His ideas on women are expressed as such:

The most interesting thing for the enlightened youth of the family was the opposite ideas that the old man had about the concept of "woman". For him, in the broadest sense there were two types of women: mothers and daughters on one side, wives and odalisks on the other. The stance against the former does not change; however, the latter are personal properties that are either valuable and loved or not. Despite having spent quite a bit of time in France prevented him from simultaneously marrying two women, he had many odalisks whom he regarded mistresses.

(...) Shortly, the old man's spiritual stance against the beautiful sex can be summarised as such: Mothers are respected, wives are used as halal properties; men are to protect all the women. But whether the women be superior or inferior to men, they can never be equal to men.¹⁷⁷

Although representing positive features, the Pasha is not a modern, new man that believes in gender equality. Moreover he makes a distinction between women, some of them to be respected and some of them to be used as properties. Men's honour-based distinction of women still survives in modern Turkey even after almost a century, showing that a possible change of men's patriarchal mentality, if it can be talked about, occurs very slowly in social level. This distinction actually helps men to reinforce their masculinities by presenting them as the authority to determine the limits of women's freedom, the acceptable and the unacceptable women.

Feridun Pasha's son-in-law Colonel Nihat is also a soldier like the Pasha. He is a veteran of the Çanakkale War.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. pp.50-51. The original text is as follows: "Ailenin münevver gençlerini en çok alâkadar eden şey, ihtiyarın "kadın" mefhumuna karşı beslediği birbirine zıt olan fikirlerdir. En geniş mânasıyla ana göre kadın iki sınıftır: Bir tarafta analar, kızlar, öbür tarafta karılar ve odalıklar. Birincilere karşı vaziyet sarıhtır, değişmez, ikincilere gelince onlar kıymetli, kıymetsiz, sevilen ve sevilmeyen bir sürü şahsî maldır. Fransa'da bir hayli zaman bulunmuş olması onu aynı zamanda iki kadını nikâha almaktan menetmişse de, metres mukabilinde telâkki ettiği odalıkların sayısı çokçadır. (...) Hulâsa, ihtiyarın güzel cinse karşı ruhî vaziyeti şöyle hulâsa edilebilir: Analara hürmet edilir, karılar helal mal gibi kullanılır; kadınların topunu birden erkek himaye etmekle mükelleftir. Fakat kadın erkekten daha yüksek, yahut alçak ne olursa olsun hiçbir zaman erkekle müsavi addedilemez."

He is an example of those civilians or soldiers whose whole life is a struggle to build the new Turkey gradually by ideas or weapons.

(...)What distinguishes him from his father-in-law is the religion issue. Although being not very pious, the old man belongs to the generation that considers religion essential. By contrary, his son-in-law believes that the world can not civilise unless "religion" vanishes. He is the product of the materialist philosophy which prevailed at the end of the nineteenth century. (...)He is an unbeliever.

(...)Naturally, his father-in-law's generation never liked him and called him names such as "freemason, heretic, copycat of the European". Somehow he could not make the new generation like him, either. Therefore, he speaks very little, but reads and writes continuously.¹⁷⁸

It can be said that Nihat is an extension of the decadent man of the Tanzimat novel, who is falsely and over-Westernised. Unsurprisingly, as being a man out of the ideal masculinity scheme, he is an intellectual. Even in today's hegemonic masculinity discourse, intellectuality is considered feminine, attenuating a man's value, therefore constituting a danger for (his) masculinity.

In the following pages Haşim, namely the son of Colonel Nihat and his six friends come to visit Feridun Pasha's mansion, in the garden of which they will be camping for two months. They call themselves 'The Seven'. Haşim's cousin Salim who is among The Seven describes two young men to Mr. Nihat that he has not met yet, upon his wish.

-The first one is Safa...He's a lonely type! Not very appropriate for Galatasaray. Son of a muezzin. He's a law student. For you, this may be the most interesting thing about him. He's an unbeliever.

-Wow!

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. pp.54-55. The original text is as follows: "Asker, sivil yeni Türkiye'yi safha safha fikir, yahut bizzat silahla bina etmek için bütün hayatı bir mücadele olan örneklerden biridir. (...)Onu kayınbabasından en çok ayıran nokta "dın" meselesidir. İhtiyar, kendi pek mutekit olmamakle beraber dini elzem addeden nesilendir. Damadı bilakis "dın" tamamen kalkmayınca dünyanın medenileşemeyeceğine inanmıştır. O, on dokuzuncu asır sonlarında bariz şekilde teessüs etmiş görünen materyalist felsefenin mahsulüdür. (...)Dinsizdir... (...)Kayınbabasının nesli tabii olarak onu hiç sevmemiş, ona arkasından "Farmason, zındık, Frenk bozması" diye lakap takmış durmuşlardı. Fakat her nasılsa yeni nesle de kendini beğendiremedi. Ondandır dolay az konuşur, daima okur ve yazar."

-The other one is Ahmet.From the mathematics branch.He was more adequate for the School of Commerce. Son of a grocer.¹⁷⁹

Being the son of a muezzin, but being an unbeliever?Is it possible to comment on this combination as a vague message from the author with the subtext that an extremism (if any) procreates another extremism?This question remains unanswered and the author starts describing Salim.

Salim is calm.This calmness is felt in his sweet myopic eyes behind his tortoiseshell glasses.All the others are lean , have muscles stretched like a spear.Salim is fat, bulky but blond and dreamer...The others are like eagles that are ready to catch what they want. But no one really knows what Salim wants.¹⁸⁰

Salim is also an intellectual and dreamer like his uncle.However, his bodily qualities are below his friends', moving him out of the ideal masculinity scheme. He had philosophy and literature education in Sorbonne.Contrary to his uncle, he was thinking that the reforms were a result of spiritual elements. Mr. Nihat disliked his ideas since he was a rationalist.

While Haşim and Salim go to the pier to welcome their friends, they come across Zehra, a young, flamboyant girl residing in one of the neighbouring mansions.Haşim warns Salim about the dangers of Zehra and Tatarcık. The author intervenes right before that moment by saying that: "Camping means men!Although being normal about women, The Seven especially don't want women among themselves."¹⁸¹It is really intriguing, although being quite explicit, what kind of a subtext the word 'normal' has in this sentence.But the apparent

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. p.60.The original text is as follows: "-Birincisi Safa...Kendi başına bir tip! Pek Galatasaray'a uymaz. Müezzın ođlu. Hukuklu. Belki sizi en çok [o] enterese eder.Dinsizdir. -Ya!

-Öteki Ahmet.Riyaziye şubesinden...Daha çok Ticaret Mektebi'ne yaraşırđı. Bakkal ođlu."

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. p.60.The original text is as follows: "Salim ađırdır, durgundur, bu durgunluk bađa gözlüđü arkasındaki dalgın, tatlı miyop gözlerinde bile hissedilir.Ötekilerin hepsi sıırım gibi, adaleleri oktan fırlamış birer yay gibi gergin.Salim şişman, iriyarı, fakat gevşek etli, sarışın, hülya içinde...Ötekilerin sözlerinde, gözlerinde ne istediđini bilen, istediđi şeyi yakalamak için atılmaya hazır birer kartal hali vardır.Fakat Salim'in ne istediđini kimse pek bilmez."

¹⁸¹ Ibid. p.70.The original text is as follows: "Kamp demek erkek demek!Bilhassa Yediler, kadın meselelerinde normal olmakla beraber, aralarında kadın istemezler."

thing is the homosocial masculinity construction process which consists of women's exclusion in this group's camping activity.

Haşim especially hated Tatarcık more than he hated Zehra. Because he thought that "Tatarcık is a type of woman who introduced female dominance into a society that was famous for its masculinity."¹⁸² Since she was toppling the traditional order over, Haşim did not like her. His attitude against her proves his masculinity concerns caused by the new, relatively egalitarian order.

Similar to Zeyno, Tatarcık is also a desexualised young girl who looks like a young boy which makes Haşim feel insecure, probably because of making him question his own masculinity.¹⁸³ These sexless, 'queer' looking female characters, if we may call them, show the reader that a woman, a revolutionary woman can enter into public space as long as she leaves her sexuality behind. Briefly, she becomes masculinised in order to enter into the public space as an actor. This was totally overlapping with Republican womanhood design. Unsurprisingly, this boyish, brave, sexless 'new woman' which caused great concerns of masculinity was also extant in Western society and novel, as indicated by Mosse.¹⁸⁴ As a stereotype, she was feared of and praised at the same time.

Back in the plot, the boys take their place in the garden of the mansion and we get to know them one by one. Şinasi is the son of a wealthy Ottoman military judge who is very happy with the new regime in which he became one of the most European looking men of Istanbul. He was very successful at adapting modernity

¹⁸² Ibid. p.70. The original text is as follows: "Tatarcık erkeğin ağzından lokmasını alan, erliğiyle meşhur olan bir cemiyete kadın tahakkümü sokan tip."

¹⁸³ Ibid. p.71.

¹⁸⁴ Mosse, p.147

into traditions. Even though he was Westernised, he did not miss any prayers. Everyone in his household fasts during Ramadan. However, they do not avoid from celebrating the new year and Christmas, too. Therefore Şinasi is a product of such a synthetical cultural sphere. He is neither pious nor he overtly exhibits his unbelief. For him, the world is a stage where he will be both the actor and the audience. Therefore he wants to be an ambassador to earn money without working too much. He wants to be the “(...) lucky thing that is in touch with beautiful women day and night, eats at well-prepared tables.”¹⁸⁵ Apparently, he’s a shallow man who is in a constant search for joys of life. Additionally, he wants to write a book on republican men and women but only for his own satisfaction, without having any artistic or intellectual purposes in his mind.

Safa, another boy in the group is the son of a muezzin. His mother is Şinasi’s nanny. Therefore Şinasi’s family undertook the costs of his education at Galatasaray. He was not bearing the ideal features of a Republican man both physically and ideologically.

Among The Seven he was the only ugly one. He had short legs, a large body and a big head. (...) He had a crooked nose, meaty lips and yellow teeth.

(...) He could not adapt himself to the atmosphere at Galatasaray in which he lived for seven years. (...) Galatasaray was totally a Western institution. Şinasi deems Safa’s mentality suitable for the old medrese circle while the others deem him suitable for Moscow, or a circle that is suffering from an ideological illness such as Italy and Germany.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Adivar, 2009, p.87. The original text is as follows: “(...) gece gündüz güzel kadınlarla temasta, iyi sofralarda yemek yiyen talihli mahluk.”

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. pp.88-89. The original text is as follows: “Yediler arasında bir tek yakışsız, hatta çirkin olan Safa idi. Kısa bacaklı, enli gövdeli, koca kafalıydı. (...) Burnu bir tarafa doğru çarpık, dudakları kalın, dişleri sarı ve intizamsızdı. (...) Safa yedi sene içinde yaşadığı Galatasaray havasına kendini bir türlü uyduramamıştı. (...) Galatasaray bütün mânasıyla bir Garp müessesesidir. Safa’nın zihniyetini, Şinasi, eski medrese muhitine, diğer arkadaşları Moskova’ya yahut bugünkü İtalya, Almanya gibi ideoloji hastalığına tutulmuş bir muhite yaraştırır.”

As expressed before, Safa was an unbeliever and a rebellious boy. Moreover, he was a communist although he tried to look like a compatible type in the extremely Westernised atmosphere of Galatasaray. He was communist because of two reasons: “Firstly, he believed that communism was against religion, secondly, he wanted communists to establish the new society by force, blood and bullets. From time to time, when he heard that communists would obtain democratic European methods, he used to become suddenly estranged to them.”¹⁸⁷

Then comes Ahmet who is the son of a grocer. He is a hardworking and significantly clever man who has the ability to do business even when he was a child. He considers poverty as the greatest social disease. By entering the Galatasaray circle, his passion for making a fortune grew even stronger and wearing expensive European-style clothes became his ideal. “For him, the first and only ideal: Money=power. Only rich nations, individuals are strong and civilised.”¹⁸⁸ It seems that he represents a capitalist, entrepreneurial masculinity that does not have an ideological depth. Therefore he is an insignificant character of the plot.

Recep is a prominent character among The Seven. He is thirty years old, the oldest among the boys. However he looks younger. He is athletic, muscled, very handsome and the tallest one among the boys. “(...)at the same time, he is a totally masculine lad.”¹⁸⁹ Moreover, he had his university degree at Cambridge and is the most entertaining man among The Seven. “Additionally he has the bravery and the

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. p.91. The original text is as follows: “Biri, komünizmin din düşmanı olduğuna kanaat getirmesi, öteki komünistlerin cebirle, hatta kanla, kurşunla yeni cemiyet kurduklarını istemesiydi. Zaman zaman komünistlerin demokrat Avrupa usullerini alacaklarını işittikçe onlardan derhal soğurdu.”

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. p.92. The original text is as follows: “Onun için birinci ve tek ideal: Para=kudret. Yalnız zengin milletler, yalnız paralı fertler kuvvetlidir, medenidir.”

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. p.96. The original text is as follows: “(...)aynı zamanda bütün mânasıyla erkek bir delikanlıdır.”

friendship of old times. Whenever a friend of him has hard times, he consults Recep. In physical struggles, his punch, in spiritual struggles, his mental powers render the ones whose side he is on, strong. (...) Briefly, he is an example that the minds of the “materialist” world can not understand.”¹⁹⁰ All his features bring him close to being an ideal man.

Hasan, the youngest boy among The Seven is the son of Colonel Hasan from the previous book. He is a mature boy comparing to his age, because of the things he went through. His character is told to be resembling Recep’s. Therefore he is not described in detail.

During a gathering in the garden, when all the boys, Zehra and Tatarcık are present, the author intervenes to make generalisations about men:

The young man who hangs a photo of Greta Garbo on his bedside, puts the photo of pilot Mollison on his table, too. He likes the Zehra-type for giving him pain as well as pleasure, for asking dominance from him, for being engaged in apparel, and finally for flattering a man’s pride of ownership and dreams of supremacy. But this does not prevent him from fancying another kind of woman. Because he also likes the woman who fights together and settles down with him, and is a companion for him on every issue.¹⁹¹

As it has been observed in the previous novels, the question of why a man should like the supremacy and domination over women is not examined by Adıvar. She approaches to the personal qualities of her male characters as essential elements that are to be found in every man naturally. She uses the patriarchal language of the official discourse while she expresses her male characters’ expectations about

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. p.97. The original text is as follows: “Fazla olarak biraz da eski biçim mertliği, dostluğu vardır. Arkadaşlarından hangisi bir müşkülata uğrasa, Recep’e müracaat eder, maddî dövüşte yumruklarının, manevî dövüşte kafasının kudreti onun bulunduğu taraf için bir kuvvettir. (...) Hulâsa “materyalist” dünyada geçinen zihinlerin pek kavrayamadığı bir örnektir.”

¹⁹¹ Ibid. p.116. The original text is as follows: “Greta Garbo’nun resmini yatağının başına asan genç erkek, tayyareci Molison’un resmini de masasının üstüne kor. Zehra tipini azap verdiği kadar zevk verdiği için sever, kendinden himaye istediği, süs ihtiyaçları için çalıştığı ve nihayet erkekte mülkiyet gururu ve tefevvuk hülyalarını okşadığı için sever. Fakat bu, onu bambaşka bir tip kadını sevmekten menetmez. Çünkü kendisiyle omuz omuza dövüşen, el ele yuva yapan, her sahada yoldaş olan kadını da sever.”

women who will be their ‘companions’ in the nation-building process. Besides, the ideal women in a Turkish man’s mind are represented only by Western women.

The story comes to an end during a party given at Mr. Balta’s mansion. There, the most prominent male character of the story, namely Recep, talks to Tatarcık about his future projects where he appears as the ‘teaching man’ when Tatarcık asks him about what he is going to do for the residents of Poyrazköy village after learning that he wants to be a lawyer.

-Then, you will not have time to spend for the village?

-How come I won’t have? All my time is theirs. While you modernise the people to become someone like Mr. Balta and his entourage, I will teach them where they come from, their origins, their personalities and what it means to live.¹⁹²

In parallel with other ideal male characters of Adivar’s novels under question, Recep represents the mind, nation and history while the prominent female character, the ‘desexualised’ ideal republican woman represents the cultural sphere by being the one who is responsible for raising new, civilised citizens.

4.2. Men and Masculinity in Nahid Sırrı Örik

Nahid Sırrı Örik was the son of a high-ranked Ottoman official, Hasan Sırrı Bey. His mother, Meliha Melek Hanım was the granddaughter of a prominent man, Zorluoğlu Ali Bey. Therefore, he grew up in an Ottoman aristocratical circle. French and an ornate Ottoman language which he heard while growing up in mansions had been very influential in his works. After 1908, he was enrolled to Galatasaray High School but did not complete his high school education

¹⁹² Ibid. p.249. The original dialogue is as follows: “-Sizin o halde köye sarf edecek zamanınız olmayacak?

-Nasıl olmayacak? Bütün zamanım onlar için. Siz onları modernleştirirken, birer Sungur Balta ve avanesi misali tiplere benzetirken, ben de onlara nereden geldiklerini, köklerini, benliklerini, yaşamak ne demek olduğunu öğreteceğim.”

there. Through the people he met in his father's entourage, he grew an interest in literature and history. Between 1915-1928, he toured several European cities with his father, including Berlin, Copenhagen, Paris, Rome and Vienna. In 1928, he returned to Turkey and began working as a correspondent for the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper and published his first articles in the *Hayat* magazin. In 1930, he moved to Ankara and began working as a translator at the Ministry of Education. After 1930, he had difficulty getting his stories and novels published, since he was highly criticising, instead of praising the republican order and affirming the Ottoman life style in his works. Plus, he insisted on using the ornate Ottoman language, instead of the 'pure' Turkish of the republican era. Moreover, because of his homosexuality, he was bullied among the literary circles of his time. In sum, all these reasons caused him to be left out of the Turkish literary canon. Only very recently, in the last couple of decades, his works' real literary and artistic value have been understood and his reputation have been partially restored. Today, his works are considered as important pieces as those of Adivar and Karaosmanoğlu.

Three novels of Örik that have been selected for this study are *Kıskanmak* (1937), *Yıldız Olmak Kolay mı?* (1944) and *Gece Olmadan!* (1951). Unlike Halide Edip Adivar's novels, the plots of which are centered around social events and realities, Nahid Sırrı Örik's novels focus on characters and their seesaws. But it does not mean that his works do not ever touch upon social themes. As a pro-Hamidian author, Nahid Sırrı Örik especially compares the republican life style with its Ottoman counterpart in a nostalgic way and insists on using a Turkish with heavy Ottoman influences in his works. As a lover of Istanbul, he often compares the former capital with the new republican capital city and despises Ankara.

Kıskanmak is his first novel that I will deal with in this study. It was serialised in 1937 in the *Tan* newspaper and published for the first time as a book in 1946. It is the story of an ugly, unhappy and passionate woman living in the mining town of Zonguldak in early 1920s after the promulgation of the Republic. The main character Seniha is the sister of Halit. She lives together with him and his wife Mükerrerem. Because of her ugliness, Seniha has always been despised throughout her life. As a result, to survive this brutal life, she has developed a deep sense of jealousy and revenge in herself against her brother. Therefore she does everything for a reason. As the story proceeds we get into the forbidden love story of Mükerrerem and Nüzhet, the rich, pretentious and immature son of Nuriye Hanım. From the beginning of the story Seniha is aware of this relationship, but she connives Mükerrerem about her continuing to see him and acts as if she does not know anything. One night, while Mükerrerem was with Nüzhet, Seniha goes to where his brother stays and expresses her doubts and worries about a possible love affair between Mükerrerem and Nüzhet. Upon this event, Halit goes to Nüzhet's house. He can not find his wife there but after a brief squabble, he shoots Nüzhet with his gun and kills him. He gets arrested, Mükerrerem becomes a hostess who gets paid for drinking with men, Seniha moves to Trabzon and becomes a teacher. At the end of the story, Seniha's jealousy and evil prevails. What makes this novel interesting is the evilness of the main character which is not frequently observable in Turkish literature and the strange portrayal of characters, their intertwined, dubious sexualities.

The plot begins with a scene where we get to know Seniha, the ugly woman who feeds her jealousy by doing evil. As the first male character of the plot, we meet Nüzhet, the 'effeminate', degenerate son of Nuriye, an acquaintance of Seniha.

Nüzhet was an unsuccessful, extravagant man who was however very popular among the elites in Zonguldak because of his incomparable beauty. Halit, Seniha's older brother was detesting this young beautiful 'boy' and making fun of him whenever he saw him. Nüzhet's probably intentionally postponed physical description at the very beginning of the novel is made in the following pages when he, Seniha, Halit and Halit's wife Mükerrerem attend a republican ball in Zonguldak.

A tuxedo that was the work of a great tailor wrapped his wide shoulders, thin waist and narrow hips like a glove. Diamond buttons of his white shirt were shining. His wavy black hair which could have been considered bluish, was blended so masterly in such a harmony that one would have sworn that the hairdresser who was especially brought from Istanbul for women had spent a long time with this man's hair, too.¹⁹³

In Nüzhet's portrayal, it is possible to observe the same features of the dandy man of the Tanzimat era whose every act was something like a part of a show. He was not good at anything and had nothing else except his beauty. Going parallel to the general approach of Turkish novel, beauty brings problems and defects with itself.

After marrying Mükerrerem, Halit moves to Ankara as a result of having found a new job in the capital city of the new-born republic. There, they move into the old apartment of a Jewish man, Moiz Volpi, who bears all the stereotypical qualities about Jewish men, such as being rich, thrifty and having stocky looks.

In the first months of their marriage, Halit is portrayed as a content man. However, later, he starts finding Mükerrerem not enough to satisfy his needs since he was very used to living a libertine life before getting married. Therefore he starts betraying Mükerrerem with numerous prostitutes. Upon losing the excitement of

¹⁹³ Nahid Sırrı Örik, *Kıskanmak*, (Istanbul: Oğlak, 2009), p.49. The original text is as follows: "Omuzları geniş, beli ince ve kalçaları dar vücudunu, mükemmel bir terzinin elinden çıkan smokini bir eldiven gibi sarmıştı. Beyaz ve katı gömleğinde pırlanta düğmeler parlıyordu. Ve mavimtırak sayılacak kadar gür siyah saçlarının dalgaları o kadar ustaca birbirine karışmıştı ve ahenkliydi ki, kadınlar için İstanbul'dan hassaten getirilen berberin bu erkek saçlarıyla da uzun uzun meşgul olduğuna yemin etmek mümkündü."

the first months, Mükerrerem finds herself in the search of an affair, too. Seniha facilitates her way to betrayal via pretending not to have recognised the situation. The man in question, Celal Ferit was a former Ottoman bureaucrat who could obtain himself a place among the new republican elite in Ankara. “With his perfect and elegant outfit, nice attitudes, polite speaking, he amazed this new society that still did not know very well how to dress and act properly in public but needed not to make a mistake in these areas.”¹⁹⁴ It is noteworthy that Örik portrays a man of the former order in a very positive way unlike Adivar who associates the Ottoman order with any kind of corruption.

Despite Seniha’s great expectations, the affair of Mükerrerem and Celal Ferit did not go further to such a point that Halit would divorce her. Because they moved to Zonguldak as a result of Halit’s new job, where she met Nüzhet after a while. Nüzhet was such a beautiful man that it was not possible to distinguish his smooth body from a woman’s. “Like a prostitute who reveals all her beauty and coquetry to get the fee she wanted, he nodded his head while stretching his wide, smooth chest that did not have even a single hair and stared her with his half-closed big eyes.”¹⁹⁵ His problematic beauty emerges at this point with feminine and negative emphases that consider prostitution an evil, removing it out of its context, which is a very patriarchal way of thinking. The author wants us to think that Nüzhet is feminine and has the attitudes of a prostitute, therefore he is evil and far from being an ideal man. In the course of the story Nüzhet tries to seduce even Seniha. But

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. p.82. The original text is as follows: “Hakikaten çok kusursuz ve kibar giyinişi ile ve ince tavırları ve hoş konuşması ile, henüz kılık kıyafet kaidelerini ve salon âdabını pek bilemeyen fakat bu kaidelerde bir falso etmemek ihtiyacını da artık duyan bu yeni cemiyeti kendisine hayran ediyordu.”

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. p.108. The original text is as follows: “İstedığı ücreti koparmak için bütün güzelliğini seren ve işvesini kullanan bir fahişe gibi o bembeyaz, geniş ve en hafif tüyle kirlenmemiş göğsünü gerip perişan saçlı başını salladı, iri gözlerini yarı yarıya kaparken süzdü.”

she strongly reacts him by saying that she is not looking for a picture or a baby, she was looking for a ‘man’ instead.

At the end of the story, Seniha opens up about the forbidden affair between Mükerrerem and Nüzhet to his brother Halit. Upon learning this, Halit takes action to ask them about an explanation by hoping to take them by surprise at the seaside house. However, he finds there only Nüzhet and his friends drinking alcohol and shoots Nüzhet with his gun upon his insults. Nüzhet gets killed, Mükerrerem gets divorced and becomes a prostitute. At the end, Seniha reaches her goals and the story ends.

The second novel, *Yıldız Olmak Kolay Mı?* was serialised in 1944 until it was published as a book for the first time in 1996. Its plot takes place in Istanbul and portrays the social scene, the center of which is the night life and ‘star wars’ in the republican Istanbul. Selma, an ordinary girl, living with her mother, Hayriye Hanım in an old house in Beşiktaş, the last thing they own as a bankrupt family, becomes a star with the great efforts of her mother and with her beauty. To become a star, she finds herself in a relationship with the rich, music hall-owner Hasan Arif although she does not love him. At the same time she continues to see Cevat Servet, a young man from her neighborhood. In this novel we see a narrative that is centered around gender norms and public morals of early republican Turkey via the life story of Selma. At first Selma succeeds at being a star. But later, the audiences do not find her as interesting as they did when she appeared for the first time and the story ends tragically.

After having met Selma, her mother and their environment at the beginning, the plot gathers speed when Selma receives a love affair request from her boss. After

rejecting his offer and leaving the job, her adventure begins. One day her mother, Hayriye Hanım encounters Celâl, a violinist she knew from the past years when he was a regular of the rich tables that were set in Hayriye Hanım's mansion. But when this family went bankrupt, Celâl quit seeing them. By talking to him and convincing him that her daughter had a very special singing talent as well as a unique beauty, Celâl decides to introduce her to his boss Hasan Arif who was a very wealthy man. He was living with his mistress Eliza, an Armenian woman in a mansion near Taksim. There was a years-long relationship. Therefore the sexual attraction between them was already dead. Plus, Hasan Arif was not young and good-looking anymore, whereas Eliza was twenty five years old. As a result, both Hasan Arif and Eliza were having affairs with other people and both of them knew the situation. In the course of years, they became good friends sharing the same house. When Hasan Arif met Selma, he fell instantly in love with her. Although he is portrayed as a depraved man that is far from being a republican ideal, in his speech with Celâl where he confessed his interest for Selma, he states that he can not stand seeing her singing in front of audiences if she says yes to his possible marriage proposal: “-Would she say ‘yes’ if I propose to her? Because I don’t want to live without her. I will not be able to tolerate seeing her singing in front of everyone.”¹⁹⁶ Briefly, it is again observed that Örik's characters are neither devils nor pure, almost divine characters. They are as good as they are bad. So, Hasan Arif's expression which is/would be usually heard from ideal men is not surprising at all.

¹⁹⁶ Nahid Sırrı Örik, *Yıldız Olmak Kolay Mı?*, (İstanbul: Oğlak, 2009) p.70. The original text is as follows: “-Nikâh teklif etsem acaba kabul eder mi? Çünkü onsuz yaşamak istemiyorum. Hanende olup herkesin karşısına çıkmasına tahammül edemeyeceğim.”

Similar to what we have observed in *Kıskanmak*, beauty of a man is a problematic issue that degrades a man's masculinity in this novel. Male characters with fluid sexual features are one of the indicators of degradation. Such an example is one of the young lovers of Seniha Hikmet, the greatest star of Istanbul's nightlife with whom Selma was being prepared to compete. Seniha Hikmet's lover Cemil Mahmut was blond, slim and had narrow shoulders. The most interesting thing about him was that "he looked like a young girl instead of a man who was still under twenty years of age and still in high school."¹⁹⁷ However, his 'marginal' gender representation is not over yet. Örik goes one step further: "(...)and after leaving the bed with the attitude of a man who totally completed his task and had no reason to return to bed, Cemil Mahmut was in front of the dressing table, putting on the pearl necklace that he found on it and started examining himself with the pearl necklace on him."¹⁹⁸ With today's gender terms, Örik draws us a 'queer' character that is transitive between masculinity and femininity: "But now with his puffy hair, bright violet eyes, with his head kneeling on himself, his snowwhite chest that still had the pearl necklace on it, he was so beautiful that (...)."¹⁹⁹ Interestingly, such a genderless character represents decadence even in a novel written by a homosexual author.

The only male character that is close to being an ideal in this novel is Cevat Servet, Selma's lover from her neighbourhood: "(...) this Cevat Servet was a nice,

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. p.103. The original text is as follows: "Bir erkekten ziyade genç kıza benzeyen ve henüz yirmisine varmamış ve liseyi bitirmemiş bir gençti."

¹⁹⁸ Ibid. p.103. The original text is as follows: "(...)ve Cemil Mahmut vazifesini tamamıyla yerine getirmiş ve artık yatağa dönmesini gerekli kılacak bir sebep kalmamış bir insan edasıyla karyoladan kalktıktan sonra tuvalet masasının önüne geçmiş, bu masanın üzerinde bulunduğu inci gerdanlığı boynuna geçirmiş, kendisini böyle, boynunda bir inci gerdanlık bulunduğu hâlde tetkike koyulmuştu."

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. p.105. The original text is as follows: "Fakat şu anda kabarık saçları, berrak menekşe renginde gözleri ve üzerine eğilen başı ve hâlâ inci gerdanlık taşıyan bembeyaz göğsüyle o kadar güzeldi ki,(...)"

kind-hearted and seriously elegant lad.”²⁰⁰ Additionally, he cares about Selma and her honour very much to the degree that he pays extra attention to whom he is talking to about their relationship. Besides, he is very careful about not being seen together with her by anyone. His paying attention to traditional moral values about women makes him an antithesis of Hasan Arif. However, like all of Örik’s characters he has negative qualities, too. For example, he is not hardworking and therefore does not have great ambitions in life except becoming a well-known author. However, because of being a young man, Selma chooses him for her first sexual experience before being the mistress of Hasan Arif to reach her great goals in life. Unfortunately, her plans do not work out well. At the end of the novel, she dies because of pneumonia and her death symbolises that feminine greed can have fatal outcomes.

In this novel of Örik, the weight is on female characters as usual. Therefore, it provides us only very few datas about an ideal masculinity since Örik did not apparently devote himself to the portrayal of ideal citizens, as Halide Edip Adivar and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu did in their works.

Örik’s third novel under question in this study is *Gece Olmadan!* which takes place in Ankara and provides us relatively more material about different republican masculinities. It was serialised in the *Son Telgraf* newspaper in 1951. Decades later, as late as 2012, it was published as a book.

This novel portrays the different lives of men and women that passed by a guesthouse in early republican Ankara in 1920s. Extramarital relationships, love,

²⁰⁰ Ibid. p.124. The original text is as follows: “(...) bu Cevat Servet hoş, iyi yürekli ve cidden zarif manzaralı bir delikanlıydı.”

deceit, republican Ankara and its comparison with the imperial capital Istanbul are the themes of this novel. Main character of the book is Semiha, a greedy young woman who is the sister of Adnan Harun, an embassy clerk in Rome. Semiha has love affairs with wealthy men in search of a comfortable, luxurious life. After her last lover dies because of a heart attack, her brother urges her to move to Ankara, the new capital city, to become a state officer, so that she can meet wealthy single men to get married to. One day while she was walking with her brother at Galata neighbourhood, they come upon Jozef Tudela, a wealthy Jewish man from Ankara that her brother knows from the time he used to live in Ankara. After learning that Semiha has a plan to move to Ankara, Jozef Tudela offers her a room in his house and then the story progresses. At the end of the book Jozef Tudela decides to divorce his wife. Upon this, his wife Rebeka poisons him and Jozef dies. Semiha, devastated by this unexpected death, finds this sudden death very suspicious and applies to court for a deeper investigation. Rebeka gets arrested and dies because of a heart attack just a week after Jozef's death, marking the end of the novel.

The first prominent male character of the novel is Semiha's brother, Adnan Harun. Based on traditional Turkish moral values, he displays a very crude personality since he condones his sister's affairs with wealthy, old, and sometimes married men. However, this attitude is partly caused by the fact that he made a life with the financial help of his sister's lovers. By such financial supports, he managed to obtain a degree and became an officer at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ankara before going abroad for a mission. At that time, he stayed at Jozef Tudela's big mansion as tenant where Tudela's family was also living. There he met Jaklin, Jozef Tudela's daughter in law who was married to his ill son Moiz and therefore cheating on him with various male guests staying in their mansion, including Adnan

Harun. The fact that Mr. Tudela had an ill, weak and bad-looking son was very insulting for Jozef Tudela. Therefore, even after his death, Mr. Tudela did not find himself in an intense grief: “Moiz Tudela’s death was not going to affect his father destructively. In fact, being the father of this man who was now looking almost like a middle-aged man whose skin has become dead, whose face has shriveled, who has lost his hair and the brightness in his eyes, has recently begun to be a bit insulting for this old, wealthy Jewish man.”²⁰¹ These events are described in much detail to the reader by a flashback before getting into the current story that is centered around Semiha, the central character of the novel.

Semiha is a thirty two year-old, divorced woman who is chasing for wealthy, old men, whose fortunes she can take advantage of. Her story begins with the death of Ali Hayrettin Bey, her latest lover for the last two and a half years. Upon learning his death via newspaper, Semiha gets disappointed. Because all her plans seem to have failed for a while, upon this unexpected death. After Ali Hayrettin Bey’s death, as a new solution, Adnan Harun suggests his sister Semiha to move to Ankara in order to meet wealthy officers or bureaucrats in the new capital. She complies with his recommendation and moves to Ankara. There, Adnan Harun introduces her to the members of the Tudela Family, among which Jozef Tudela was the main issue of interest for Semiha. Before coming to Ankara, Adnan Harun mentioned about Jozef to Semiha as such: “(...), I have investigated about our Jozef Tudela. The man is told to be among the three wealthiest locals of Ankara. With the prudence and cowardice that are specific to his race, he is told to be concealing the real amount of

²⁰¹ Nahid Sırrı Örik, *Gece Olmadan!*, (Istanbul: Oğlak, 2012) p.83. The original text is as follows: “Moiz Tudela’nın ölümü babasının üzerinde yıkıcı bir tesir yapmayacaktı. Hele son zamanlarda mevta benzi bağlamış, yüzü buruşup saçları dökülmüş ve gözlerinde fer kalmamış olan, âdeta orta yaşlı insanlara dönen bu adamın babası olmak kıranta Musevi üzerinde garip, hatta biraz haysiyet kırıcı bir his vermeye başlamıştı.”

his fortune. But I have heard that he was horrendously rich and when he goes to Istanbul, he is told he is living very licentiously and spending a lot of money.”²⁰² In these sentences, Adnan Harun expresses essentialist, stereotyping thoughts about a Jewish man in the republican Turkey. Even today, these prejudices mixed with a sense of racism about Jewish people exist among Turkish people. Therefore, Jozef Tudela’s masculinity is on the very margins of being an ideal since he is a non-Muslim.

However, even Muslim men can not represent the ideal in this narrative, as we witness, when Semiha talks to Jozefin, Mr. Tudela’s daughter, about her past marriage. She describes her ex-husband as such:

He was a very well-hearted, polite and nice lad. He was as naughty as a child as well as he was proud of his beauty like the most seductive woman. He used to wear my necklace on his snow-white chest, my bracelets on his arms and say: ‘They look much better on me!’ and if I did not confirm him, he used to get angry. He used to surrender to all bitches that said: ‘Oh sir, you’re so handsome! I fell in love with you the moment I have seen you!’²⁰³

It is quite noteworthy that beauty and effeminate behaviours of an immoral man that we have encountered both in *Kıskanmak* and *Yıldız Olmak Kolay Mı?* are found in this novel with exactly the same descriptions and expressions.

After a period of five months since Semiha moved to Ankara, Jozef did not unfold his feelings for her. In the meantime, Semiha met new people.

²⁰² Ibid. p.124. The original text is as follows: “(...), bizim Jozef Tudela hakkında bazı tahkikata giriştim. Herif Ankara yerlileri arasındaki en büyük üç zenginden biriymiş. Irkına has ihtiyatkarlıkla servetinin hakiki miktarını gizliyormuş, fakat hem dehşetli zenginmiş, hem de İstanbul’a kapağı attıkça müthiş hovardalık ediyor, para yiyormuş.”

²⁰³ Ibid. p.134. The original text is as follows: “Çok temiz kalpli, nazik ve hoş bir delikanlıydı. Bir çocuk kadar hoppa, en şuh bir kadın kadar da güzelliğiyle müftehirdi. Bembeyaz göğsüne benim kolyemi geçirir, mevzun kollarına bileziklerimi takar, ‘Bana daha yakıştı!’ der durur, tasdik etmezsem hiddetlenirdi. ‘Aman ne kadar güzelsiniz beyefendi, size görür görmez vuruldum!’ diyen her şıllığa da teslim olurdu.”

Among them, there was a man called Ahmet Muhsin. “He was a quite handsome, forty year-old man who belonged to one of the good families from Adana.(...)Semiha met this suitor in a relative’s house and found in his attitudes a bit of a countryman rawness.”²⁰⁴ Since Jozef was not taking any steps for a possible extramarital affair or a marriage proposal, Semiha was planning a calm and less alluring life with Ahmet Muhsin despite his low qualities. Right after Jozef finds out that Semiha was intending to marry Ahmet Muhsin, he takes action and proposes Semiha to marry him as soon as he divorces his wife Rebeka. Semiha accepts his proposal and leaves Ankara not to stay in the battle zone. However, when Jozef tells Rebeka that he wants to end their marriage, Rebeka plans to kill him via poisoning. She succeeds at that and gets arrested shortly. After a weak, she herself dies of a heart attack in jail and the novel ends.

In this novel, we have observed the same masculinity patterns and representations of the previous novels of Örik. Just like in those works, there is not even one male character that symbolises, constitutes an ideal in terms of masculinity. As we have emphasised, Örik apparently builds his characters’ personalities on ambiguity which makes the direction of his narratives unpredictable.

4.3. Men and Masculinity in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu

Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu was born in Cairo. During his childhood, he visited Arab provinces. His family returned to Cairo after his father’s death. He

²⁰⁴ Ibid. p.136-137. The original text is as follows: “Adana’nın temiz ailelerinden birine mensup bulunan, kırkılık, oldukça yakışıklı bir adamdı.(...)bu talibi Semiha bir ahabap evinde görüp tanışmış, oturup kalkmasında da bir taşralı acemiliği bulmuştu.”

attended the French High School there and joined the local Young Turk movement. In 1908, his family moved to Istanbul. He was first enrolled to Faculty of Law but left the university and became a part of the literary school *Fecr-i Ati* (Dawn of the Future) that was composed of young intellectuals. These young men who were united around defending individuality and Western influence in literature published the literary journal called *Servet-i Fünun* (Riches of Sciences). In 1916, after the dispersal of the journal, he went to Switzerland to be cured for tuberculosis. During his years abroad, he became interested in non-orthodox Islamic sects, Western mythology and mysticism. Upon the defeats in Balkans, Libya and the WWI, he abandoned his beliefs in artistic individuality and began dealing with social problems. In 1919, he began writing in *İkdam*, a daily newspaper that advocated Turkish nationalism. He became a passionate defender of the Turkish nationalist movement against the Western occupation. He passed to Anatolia and took part at the Committee of Investigation of Greek Cruelties with Halide Edip Adıvar. Between 1923-1934, he was a deputy in the National Assembly. He married Leman Hanım, the sister of the famous intellectual and politician Burhan Asaf Belge. He wrote numerous articles in many newspapers. In 1932, he established the *Kadro* (Cadre), a journal that defended planned and centralist development. In 1934, *Kadro* was announced to be a harmful publication by the RPP government and closed down. Thereafter, he was appointed ambassador to Tirana. In addition to Tirana, he worked as an ambassador in Prague, The Hague, Bern and Tehran. Like Adıvar, his books have been one of the major sources for academical studies in social sciences, too.

Being at the same time a deputy, and later, in 1930s taking office as an ambassador, his novels clearly reflect his ideological background and missions. He

began writing in his twenties, much before the establishment of the Turkish Republic. As the years went by, his writing style and thoughts on social topics changed dramatically. According to some intellectuals, novels of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu are accurate portrayals of pre-republican and republican Turkey. However, some other intellectuals evaluate his works as having a more psychological depth than social and historical. In this study the following novels of him have been selected; *Sodom ve Gomore* (1928), *Yaban* (1932) and *Ankara* (1934).

The first novel which is going to be dealt with here is *Sodom ve Gomore*. Its plot takes place in Istanbul in the years of occupation (1918-1923). It was published just five years after the establishment of the Turkish Republic. It depicts the degenerate lives and characters of the pre-republican Turkey by using the topics of Westernisation, modernisation and morality. As usual, the central character of the plot is a woman, Leyla, the daughter of a wealthy family. The story begins with a tea party at Leyla's house where numerous soldiers of the occupant forces as well as high-class women of different nationalities residing in Istanbul at the time were invited. One of these soldiers, Captain Jackson Read is a flirtatious, degenerate English man who gets into complicated relations with numerous women, including Leyla and symbolises the evil side of modern life. There are also other negative characters who vaguely but at the same time very openly represent the evil side of Western life style by their acts. These people are Major Will, Madam Jimson, Miss Fanny Moore, Captain Marlow who frequently fill the scene throughout the novel. Especially Captain Marlow, as a homosexual male character, represents the 'ultimate degeneration' of a man. However, Leyla's cousin, Necdet is oppositely a positive character from some aspects who is very uncomfortable about the presence

of occupant forces in Istanbul and loves Leyla. The novel proceeds from beginning until the end with numerous parties, events and organisations of the wealthy in Istanbul. We observe a city full of debauchery. One of these events takes place in Leyla's house again. But almost no one attends the reunion and this causes Leyla to have a nervous breakdown. Her father sends her to Italy to get cured. This makes Necdet very sad. During her stay in Italy, she sends letters to Necdet. Necdet observes a positive change in Leyla while reading her letters. As the end of the story comes closer, the news from frontiers come announcing the victories of Turkish army. Necdet finds himself in the national cause and becomes happier more than ever in this euphoric state of the country. After Leyla returns to Istanbul, Necdet encounters her at a public celebration. Then, they go to Leyla's house. Leyla shows him her affection but Necdet does not want her anymore, since he found real love in the nation. Therefore he leaves her there, marking the end of the novel.

After this brief summary, we can take a closer look at the male characters of the novel.

The novel begins with a scene where we meet Captain Gerald Jackson Read, a soldier of the occupant British forces in Istanbul who is in love with the decadent Turkish girl Leyla. He was a smooth man with 'pink' skin. He was so beautiful that even his servants could not take their eyes off of him. One of them thought by herself in this way: "From the body of which Apollon statue was this head taken and put upon this carved neck with such great care? (...) this looks like an artwork, like a marble that was recently sculpted by an artist and did not suffer from the effects of time. (...) What is its sex? Is this a woman or a man? Moreover, is this a

human's head?"²⁰⁵ Based on these descriptions of this male character, we can tell that beauty and genderless, vague appearances of negative characters is a very dominant theme in republican novels, since they were also observed in Adivar's and Örik's works with the same intention. Captain Read is neither a woman nor a man, he is not even human. This portrayal equates him to nature which symbolises femininity. In addition to that, with his genderless looks, he represents the cultural degeneration of the occupant Westerners. This subtext actually means that we, the readers have to hold on to our own culture, moral values and origins, instead of taking the genderless, natural West that is addicted to carnal desires, as an example. However, Captain Read is an exception with his dignity among all the Westerners of the novel. But contradicting with my arguments on Captain Read's looks, Süha Oğuzertem claims that his genderless looks, as well as his being far from carnal desires unlike other foreign characters is actually a praise for him made by the author. However, he finds this situation strange, too. Because unlike the plots of such anti-imperialist novels of the world, an occupant commander becomes one of the most proper characters with many positive features in *Sodom ve Gomore*.²⁰⁶

Leyla's cousin Necdet was the antithesis of Captain Read. He was very patriotic and disliked the British presence in Istanbul, unlike Leyla and her family. However, he was deeply in love with Leyla although he was having serious disagreements with her about the British occupation. He was giving up on her frequently but still hoping that she will find the right way rather than spending her

²⁰⁵ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*, (Istanbul: İletişim, 2012) p.14. The original text is as follows: "Bu baş hangi Apollon heykelinin gövdesinden alınıp bin özenle bu yontulmuş boynun üzerine konulmuştu? (...) henüz bir sanatkârın elinden çıkmış ve zamanın cefasını hiç görmemiş bir sanat eserine, bir mermere benziyor. (...) Bunun cinsiyeti nedir? Bu kadın mıdır erkek midir? Hatta bu gerçek bir insan kafası mıdır?"

²⁰⁶ Süha Oğuzertem, *Karakterin Sıfır Derecesi: Sodom ve Gomore'de Aşk, Ahlak ve Millilik, Pasaj 4-5, 2006*, pp.86-87.

time with British soldiers in tea parties and balls. Oğuzertem interprets Necdet's weakness and inner tensions as a kind of psychological disorder of a character, referring to the ideas of the former intellectuals that criticised Necdet heavily.²⁰⁷ Moreover, he claims that, despite being the only nationalist character of the novel, his moral features are even worse than Captain Read, since Captain Read is not a slave of love or carnal desires, as Necdet is. Additionally, despite being a central character, we know nothing about Necdet except that he is twenty-five years old and was educated at Galatasaray High School for a time.

In the meantime, Leyla was a decadent woman who was very willing to live a Western life with Westerners. The more she was being talked about in the elite circles of Istanbul, the happier she was. Her life was symbolising the fall of the Empire. Therefore she is the most coherent character from beginning to the end of the novel.

Other than Captain Read and Necdet, there is an even 'worse' character in terms of masculinity, that is Read's colleague Captain George Marlow. He is a man who surrendered himself to 'oriental' pleasures, namely homosexuality. Author's attempt at forming such a character with a 'bizarre' sexuality arises from his need to justify the national cause as a way of salvation from all 'foreign' immoralities. But it is quite interesting that Karaosmanoğlu evaluates homosexual act both as a 'local' phenomenon and as a 'foreign' phenomenon, at the same time. At one point, Captain Marlow even strongly advises Captain Read to taste this 'mind-blowing' oriental pleasure. However, Captain Read underestimates Captain Marlow about his homosexuality:

²⁰⁷ Ibid. p.80.

-Come on...Don't I know your joys? You will exactly tell me about the muscles of a dark lad or the skin of a young boy again.

-Yes, among the things I want to tell you, there are these, too.(...)My dear friend; do you know what it means to drink alcohol and have fun for eight hours and then wake up at a Turkish bath?²⁰⁸

Apparently Captain Marlow is the ultimate degeneration that a man can be since he is the slave of bestial pleasures, such as homosexuality, as Captain Read calls it:

-George, you're such a beast!

Upon his friend's words, he laughed like a neighing horse:

-Beast? Come on...I am just the way God created me.I am doing what I am destined to do.²⁰⁹

According to what we have seen so far, bestiality is as bad as genderless looks that are also emphasised while describing Leyla, a negative character, as having a sportsman's body with no apparent feminine features such as large breasts and wider hips. Therefore, I may claim that ambiguous looks that lack gender-specific features are as bad for women as they are for men. Since Leyla's situation has a subtext that her body is a proof of her cultural and moral degeneration.

One day, because of the Captain Read issue, Leyla and Necdet have a serious fight where they punch each other and roll on the floor. It seems like a restoration of Necdet's masculinity that is trapped in his love for Leyla. However the greatest transformation in Necdet's masculinity will take place at the end of the novel. But before his transformation, we meet a new man that is Captain Marlow's lover Atıf who was a dark-skinned, married man. "This was a handsome man who seemed to

²⁰⁸ Karaosmanoğlu, 2012, p.45. The original dialogue is as follows: "-Haydi oradan...Ben sizin zevklerinizi bilmez miyim? Bana mutlaka yine bir esmer delikanlının adalelerinden veyahut körpe bir çocuğun teninden bahsedeceksiniz.

-Size bahsetmek istediğim şeyin içinde bu da var.(...)Aziz dostum; siz, tam sekiz saat içki içip eğlendikten sonra bir hamamda ayılmanın ne mâna ifade ettiğini biliyor musunuz?"

²⁰⁹ Ibid. p.49. The original dialogue is as follows: "-Öf, ne kadar hayvanisiniz, aziz George.

Dostunun bu sözü üzerine at kişnemesini andıran bir gülüşle güldü:

-Hayvani mi? Haydi oradan. Tıpkı Allah'ın yarattığı gibiyim. Yaratılışımın, yani takdirimin gerekleri neyse onu yapıyorum."

be 25 or 26 years old at most, even though he was 32 or 33.(...)His nose was long and big.He had thick and wet lips that were hanging down under the sharp line of his well trimmed moustache.”²¹⁰It may be claimed that Atif represents the male version of Leyla who was living a decadent life that is far from being an ideal.During the course of the story Captain Marlow and Atif are called ‘perverts’ which can most probably give us an idea on how Karaosmanoğlu perceives same-sex relationships.Unsurprisingly, Necdet thinks the same way as the author when he complains about the situation in Istanbul while he was thinking to himself: “They took our daughters, wives and our lovers away from us and made them do whatever they wanted in front of our eyes.They drove girls wild with girls, and boys with boys.They added the poison, the suffering, the pain of all unnatural pleasures to all natural pleasures.”²¹¹His deep, ever-growing anger causes Necdet to hold on to the nationalist thoughts even more.After the news of victories in Anatolia have reached Istanbul, his pride, excitement and love for life starts to grow.At that point, he notices that it is not his love for Leyla, a decadent, degenerate woman, but his love for his country instead, which will bring a continuous happiness to his heart.Therefore he leaves Leyla behind and goes his way.This ending advises the reader that one’s salvation is at one’s dissolution in the national cause rather than individual ambitions and desires.

Yaban, the second novel of Karaosmanoğlu that is going to be dealt with in this study is one of the most criticised novels of Turkey because of its ‘negative’

²¹⁰ Ibid. p.148.The original text is as follows:”Bu otuz iki, otuz üç yaşlarında olmasına rağmen ancak yirmi beş, yirmi altı yaşlarında görünen yakışıklı bir adamdı.(...)Burnu uzun ve kalındı; çok derin kırılmış bıyıklarının keskin çizgisi altından aşağıya sarkan kalın etli, ıslak dudakları vardı.”

²¹¹ Ibid. p.193.The original text is as follows:”Kızlarımızı, karılarımızı ve dudak yüzü görmemiş nazlı sevgililerimizi ellerimizden aldılar ve onlara gözümüzün önünde istediklerini yapturdılar ve kızla, erkeği erkekle kızıştırdılar ve bütün tabii zevklere tabii olmayan zevklerin zehrini, ıstırabını, azabını kattılar.”

attitude towards the rural people of Anatolia. But for many, this novel portrays the actual mental barrier against the Turkish liberation and modernisation in early 1920s. The novel itself is a criticism and maybe a confession about the relative failure of the Turkish modernisation. The main character of this novel is Ahmet Celal, a soldier who lost his arm in the First World War. After this unfortunate event, a private called Mehmet Ali, who is under this soldier's command, requests to take him to his village. He accepts this request and moves to this village around Eskişehir. Ali Serdar interprets this neediness of the main male character as a weakness, as a never-ending childhood that is frequently observed in Karaosmanoğlu's male characters.²¹²

After settling down in the village, Ahmet Celal starts to convey his ideas and observations on Anatolian peasants. We get to know many male and female characters in the village from his eyes. None of these peasant characters portray a positive personality. The geography, peasants, their characters, all of them are depicted as defective. Throughout the novel the disconnection between Turkish intellectuals and peasants on the topic of liberation war is discussed via dialogues between the soldier and the peasants. Nation, ignorance and gender are the main themes of these dialogues and thoughts conveyed by the main character. The story ends under clashes when the village gets occupied by enemy troops and our main character leaves the scene with his wounds.

The novel begins with main character's, a war veteran's description of the nature and people around him where he has recently settled in. He describes his environment with such shock and disappointment since almost everyone in this

²¹² Ali Serdar, Yakup Kadri'nin Romanlarında Cinsellik, *Pasaj 4-5, 2006*, p.152

village has some sort of a disability. Moreover, since he is a man coming from the city, his acts are quite despised by the peasants. Mehmet Ali conveys him the discomfort of villagers about his attitudes by saying:

-Sir, don't shave your beard every day.

-Sir, you don't need to brush your teeth every day in this remote countryside.

-Sir, here only women comb their hair.

-Sir, what are you reading at nights until dawn by murmuring? They would think that you're bewitching.²¹³

In the eyes of the rural people, an urban man's taking care of himself causes them to feel a discomfort, possibly because he constitutes a threat to their traditional perception of virility and femininity. Because his taking care of himself blurs the borders between genders.

The war veteran Ahmet Celal tells peasants stories about the ongoing war in Anatolia against the occupant forces and the Sultan to communicate and excite them. However, they show no interest in the national cause. They don't even identify themselves as Turks. The main indicator of their self-identification is Islam. This fact disappoints him since he can not see the future of the country with these people.

After a time he meets one of the prominent figures of the village, Salih Ağa. Salih Ağa is a wealthy man whose riches is not visible from his outfit since he wears same shabby clothes all the time. However, Salih Ağa is well respected among the peasants, a fact that Ahmet Celal can not understand. Throughout the

²¹³ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, (Istanbul: İletişim, 2012) p.21. The original text is as follows: “-Beyim her gün traş olmayıver.

-Beyim, bu dağın başında sabah akşam dişlerini fırçalamak neyine gerek.

-Beyim, bizde saçlarını kadınlar tarar.

-Beyim, geceleri sabahlara dek mırıl mırıl ne okuyup duruyorsun? Seni büyü yapar sanırlar.”

course of the story, the descriptions of nature get blended with those of the peasants. Just as the case in *Sodom ve Gomore*, the emphasis on naturalness of the peasants' attitudes has the intention to prove their negative character, their moral immaturity.

One day, at one of those moments when Ahmet Celal felt himself lonely among peasants, Mehmet Ali recognises his loneliness and approaches him. He feels worried because of the news coming from frontiers. The news usher in that the Turkish troops advanced against Greek forces. However, the peasants including Mehmet Ali do not seem happy about this since they believe that this is a losing game. Moreover, Mehmet Ali does not want to join the military forces for the sake of the national cause.

-Sir, will we be recruited again?

-Maybe.

-How come is it possible, Sir? Aren't we disbanded?

-Yes, you are. But it means nothing for the enemy. Look, they are very near. If we listened carefully, we would have heard the sound of canons. Will you be able to stand still if the enemy appears beyond the hills? Will you act like a woman while they are vandalising your village, handling your children roughly with their guns?

-No, Sir. I don't think that they will ever come here.

-If every village thinks the way these peasants think, if every trained soldier like you, is afraid of joining the military again, of course they will. No doubt.²¹⁴

There is a clear praise for military masculinity and its strict relation with the ideal traditional masculine image in author's mind. Ahmet Celal equates Mehmet Ali's

²¹⁴ Ibid. pp.41-42. The original dialogue is as follows: “-Beyim bizi gene askere alacaklar mı?

-Olabilir.

-Nasıl olabilir, beyim? Bizi terhis etmediler mi?

-Etiler ama, düşmanlarımız terhis filân dinlemiyor. Bak, şuracığa kadar geldiler. Biraz kulak verseydik top seslerini duyacaktık. Düşman askerleri şu tepenin ardından görünürse, elin kolun bağlı durabilecek misin? Gelip de senin evini, köyünü yakıp yıkarken, çoluk çocuğunu dipçikle itip dürtelerken, bir köşede karı gibi büzülüp duracak mısın?

-Yok, beyim, buraya kadar geleceklerine aklım ermez.

-Eğer her köy, bu köydekiler gibi düşünürse, eğer her talimli asker, senin gibi tekrar askere gitmekten korkarsa, tabii gelir. Ona hiç şüphe etme.”

unwillingness about fighting to acting like a woman as if women would not fight for their own freedom and safety. Moreover, Ahmet Celal's sharp reaction against Mehmet Ali is quite natural since Karaoşmanođlu wrote this novel nine years after the establishment of the Turkish Republic with a dominant sense of despair and nostalgia. Apparently, during those nine years, the expected social transformation could not be achieved. Because people were not very enthusiastic about the adoption of the Western life style and democracy. Therefore, this novel, its characters and plot should be taken as a criticism of the Turkish revolution. Additionally, I may claim that this novel has the intention to remind and warn the readers about what happened in the past, which attitudes would be dangerous in the name of national salvation in the future. Therefore, Mehmet Ali, and other men like Mehmet Ali should always be willing and ready to fight when it is a matter of life and death.

One day when Ahmet Celal was rambling in the countryside near the village, he encounters a beautiful peasant girl and falls in love with her. This leads him to think about women and love. While reading those lines, the reader might even think that he hates women.

Actually I was not naive about love when I was in my twenties, too. My heart that was generally soft, warm and enthusiastic about anything else used to stand still against a woman. I would rather cheat on a woman instead of believing her. Because there is nothing unbearable than a woman that knows she is loved. A woman's actually craven and bitchy nature becomes almost fatal at that point. It gets from being a wild cat to being a snake, and by time, starts swimming naked and laughing in the sea of evil that is unimaginably deep, infinite and salty.

I am not a man that reached this fact by passing through painful personal experiences. My loves were always just a matter of sexual needs. In this, I was not distinguishable from some animals that had various crises in the mating season.²¹⁵

²¹⁵ Ibid. p.45. The original text is as follows: "Zaten yirmi yaşında iken de aşk hususunda o kadar safderun değildim. Başka şeyler için ekseriya, yumuşak, sıcak ve coşkun olan gönlüm kadın önünde, sert ve soğuk durmasını bilirdi. Kadına inanmaktansa onu aldatmayı daha tatlı bulurum. Zira, sevildiğini hisseden kadın kadar çekilmez bir şey yoktur. Kadının gerçekte, namert ve kancık olan tabiatı, öyle bir safhadar, âdeta öldürücü bir mahiyet alır. Yabanî kedilikten, zehirli yılanlığa geçer ve

In his mind, we see the clues of the centuries-long patriarchal way of thinking that equates evil and nature to women. This pattern in the description repeats itself frequently in both this novel and other works of Karaosmanođlu. However, this time, the main male character, Ahmet Celal is also included in this nature setting. I claim that his bodily defects must also have a reflection in his personality of which we, as the readers get a glimpse in the lines above. Since he is not physically perfect, he can not be perfect morally, too. This is what Karaosmanođlu wants to make us think. Therefore, Ahmet Celal is far from being an ideal man. Ali Serdar interprets that Ahmet Celal's hatred about women is actually an indicator of his fear for women.²¹⁶

In the course of the novel, Ahmet Celal continues to express his despair and discontent about the peasants and the future of the country. At the end of the novel, Greek forces reach the village and strong clashes take place between Greeks and Turks. Ahmet Celal gets injured and leaves the scene by going to an unknown place, marking the end of the novel.

As it can clearly be understood by its name, *Ankara* takes place in the new republican capital city in the years of independence war. The central character of the novel is Selma. Throughout the story she makes three marriages which symbolise the different phases in her life. Her first husband Nazif is a weak man who has no interest in national liberation. Thus, this causes Selma to divorce him after noticing that he could not make her life meaningful. Later, she meets a man called Hakkı via

gitgide, hayalimizin ölçemeyeceđi kadar derin, nihayetsiz ve tuzlu kötölük denizinde, gülererek çırılçıplak yüzmeđe başlar.
Ben, bu gerçeđe acı şahsı tecrübelerden geçerek varmış bir adam deđilim. Benim aşklarım, daima birer cinsiyet buhranından ibaret kaldı. Bunda, çiftleşme mevsiminde muhtelif krizlere düşen bazı hayvanlardan farksızdım.”

²¹⁶ Serdar, p.151

a deputy. This man attracts Selma very much with his courage and enthusiasm about the national liberation. Selma marries Hakkı and at the same time the establishment of republic is accomplished. Hakkı resigns from his military post. After some time Selma realises that Hakkı is not a good example of how a proper republican man should be. She finds him a degenerate defender of 'false' modernity. At a ball she meets a young, ambitious intellectual, Neşet Sabit. She does not find Hakkı attractive any more and divorces him to marry Neşet Sabit. Eventually, they get married. While Neşet works as an engaged intellectual at a fictive organisation, Selma works as the director of a girls' dormitory. The novel ends with the participation of the couple at an anniversary of the Republic. From the beginning until the end, the novel takes the 'how to modernise properly' issue under the spotlight.

The novel begins with Selma and Nazif's journey to Ankara. In Ankara, they rent the house of a local, Ömer Efendi who lives adjacent to them together with his two wives, his mother and his sister. He was one of those men who acquired a fortune by seizing the properties of people fighting in frontiers during the years of war. However, Selma can not believe that Ömer Efendi is a wealthy man since he wears shabby clothes and lacks the habit of self-care to the point that he stinks.

One day Nazif comes across one of his friends from Istanbul, Murat Bey. Murat Bey invites them to dinner at their vineyard in the outskirts of Ankara. They accept his invitation and go there. Both Selma and Nazif enjoy their time at Murat Bey's place. Suddenly, one of Murat Bey's friends, Colonel Hakkı Bey shows up on a horse at the vineyard. "Colonel Hakkı Bey was more or less thirty five years old. A young man with wide shoulders, a thin waist and a medium height. (...) He

was stopping by everyone and giving a military salute. After hitting the rowelled heels of his boots to each other, he was doing an American “cheak hand” to women by kneeling gently, and to men by standing bolt upright.”²¹⁷ I may claim that Hakkı Bey is the most positive male character that I have seen so far in Karaosmanoğlu’s novels which constitute part of this study. He’s a soldier, but not a veteran and loser like Ahmet Celal, he’s strong and a true gentleman that knows how to treat women. He is a defender of modern life but strongly patriotic and, naturally, militarist to the point of detesting the European civilisation: “European civilisation. This is one of the thousand lies of the European. Fie upon us that we believed this lie like a convincing truth. Lie, lie, lie... Europe is a nest of predatory birds and we can confront them if and only if we are armed from head to toe.”²¹⁸

As time goes by Murat Bey’s family, Selma and Nazif come together more frequently. Colonel Hakkı Bey attends these gatherings, too and teaches Selma how to ride a horse. During those times they spent together, Selma realises that Colonel Hakkı is a man of different faces, a fact that excites her.

Another noticeable fact about Colonel Hakkı is that he also detests the degenerate life style in Istanbul which is depicted in much detail in *Sodom ve Gomore*. He asks Selma with worry and astonishment: “Please, tell me. Is it true that

²¹⁷ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, (Istanbul: İletişim, 2011) p.39. The original text is as follows: “Binbaşı Hakkı Bey otuz beş yaşında ya var, ya yoktu. Orta boylu, ince belli, geniş omuzlu bir delikanlı.(...) Herkesin önünde bir kere durup askerî bir selam veriyor ve mahmuzlu topuklarını birbirine vurduktan sonra kadınlara hafifçe eğilerek, erkeklere dimdik durarak bir Amerikan “*Cheak hand*” yapıyordu.”

²¹⁸ Ibid. p.41. The original text is as follows: “Avrupa medeniyeti. Bu, Avrupalı’nın uydurduğu yüz bin yalandan biridir. Yuf bize ki kendimizi bildiğimiz günden beri bir nas [kesin kanıt] gibi inanmışız. Yalan, yalan, yalan... Avrupa bir yırtıcı-kuşlar yuvasıdır ve onun karşısına ancak tepeden turnağa kadar silahlanmış olarak çıkılır.”

Turkish ladies are really dancing with foreign soldiers there?”²¹⁹ Apparently his ‘manly’ and patriotic reactions about women’s dancing with occupant soldiers go in rhyme with his nationalistic thoughts. He is probably feeling that the Turkish nation is in danger since women’s bodies are already in foreigners’ arms.

One day, Selma and Nazif invite Murat Bey and Colonel Hakkı to their house for dinner. When they are there, Ömer Efendi’s wives were peeping them before getting caught by Ömer Efendi. As a punishment, Ömer Efendi starts hitting them. However this makes Colonel Hakkı very angry: “Hitting a woman, hitting a woman... This is something that I can never understand. Do you know what I would like to do now? Call a soldier, let him tie this man to a tree and hit him with a thick stick...”²²⁰ Colonel Hakkı now looks like a defender of women by having the intention to apply violence to protect them when needed, thus moving one step forward at being close to an ideal.

By seeing the nationalistic enthusiasm in Selma’s words, Colonel Hakkı finds a job for her in a hospital right behind the frontiers in Eskişehir. Selma stays in Eskişehir for three or four days and works as a nurse. However, she can not tolerate the harsh conditions there and decides to go back to Ankara when Eskişehir was under heavy fire of Greeks. By coincidence, she sees Mustafa Kemal at the train station in Eskişehir while she was leaving for Ankara. “His beautiful hands with long fingers that show the dignity of the whole race were playing with amber beads. He was like the young head of the family that was walking around in the

²¹⁹ Ibid. p.62. The original text is as follows: “Söyleyin bana, denildiği gibi sahiden orada, Türk hanımları ecnebi zabitleriyle dans mı ediyor?”

²²⁰ Ibid. p.71. The original text is as follows: “Kadın dövme, kadın dövme... İşte, bu havsalamın alacağı bir şey değildir. İçimden ne geliyor, bilir misiniz? Şimdi, bizim neferi çağırarak, bu adamı bir ağaca bağlatıp kalın bir sopa ile canını çıkarıncaya kadar pataklamak...”

garden during his rest time(...)"²²¹ Mustafa Kemal appears as the handsome soldier and father of the nation in these lines, thus gathering all elements of the ideal masculinity construction at himself. Selma's coming across Mustafa Kemal strengthens her feelings for Colonel Hakkı while expanding the distance between her and Nazif. "She was loathing his clean trousers, white shirt, his properly combed hair and soft, pink skin."²²² As a frequently repeated element in republican novels, 'girly' elements show up as a way to satirise the male character and justify the main character's acts. Nazif's genderless looks were becoming unbearable for Selma when comparing him with Colonel Hakkı's overly masculine body and life style. When the sounds of canon fire reach Ankara, Selma and Nazif have their last and greatest disagreement. Nazif wants to leave Ankara for a safer place whereas Selma wants to stay and cure the injured soldiers at the hospital. After this event, the plot moves three years forward. Selma is now married to Colonel Hakkı who had a bronze body that was harder than steel. However, after the years of war came to an end, Colonel Hakkı has become a part of civil life. He changed his looks by shaving his beard and growing his hair longer without even asking Selma. He now had a wardrobe full of various clothes and accessories. With his wife, they were living a luxurious life. They were attending balls and parties organised in Ankara. However, all these things made Selma become estranged to herself. Hakkı was not Colonel Hakkı any more. He now had almost all the features that made Selma detest Nazif. At one of the balls they attended, Selma gets very bored and sits alone on a

²²¹ Ibid. p.85. The original text is as follows: "Bütün bir ırkın asaletini taşıyan, uzun parmaklı, güzel elleri bir kehribar tesbihle oynuyordu. Sanki, bir istirahat saatinde bahçesinde dolaşan bir genç aile reisi gibiydi(...)"

²²² Ibid. p.86. The original text is as follows: "Onun ütülü ve tozsuz pantolonundan, beyaz gömleğinden, saçlarının o intizamlı taranışından ve yumuşak, pembe cildinden tiksiniyordu."

sofa. There she encounters Neşet Sabit, the man she met for the first time during one of their visits to Murat Bey's vineyard.

Neşet Sabit is a writer and intellectual that lives a bohemian life in one of Ankara's guesthouses. What brings Neşet Sabit and Selma together is their common alienation about the republican degenerate life style that was far from being the republican ideals in the sense of modernisation. One day, when they are attending a ball again, Selma even criticises the change in his husband's attitudes and complains about him to Neşet Sabit. At the end, Selma and Hakkı terminate their marriage. After the divorce process, Selma marries Neşet Sabit. Neşet Sabit starts to earn more money. They move into a new apartment in the rapidly developing capital city that is depicted in much detail by Karaosmanoğlu. Simultaneously, Neşet Sabit writes novels, manages plays at theatre. One day, by Selma's inspiration, Neşet Sabit decides to write a novel about Turkish industrialisation. Before writing the novel, he makes a field research in the countryside among workers. "But when Neşet Sabit came back from field research six months later with his darkened face and strengthened muscles, Selma became happy both psychologically and physically. When she threw herself into his arms, she felt his hard hands wrapping her body like a leopard's claws."²²³ This quite erotic expression has a subtext that a man's masculinity can be restored as long as he works for the good of nation. Eventually, "Neşet Sabit gets rid of the feminine joys of the *European illness* and is masculinised by the national ideal".²²⁴

²²³ Ibid. p.183. The original text is as follows: "Fakat, Neşet Sabit, altı ay sonra çehresi daha çok esmerleşmiş, adalesi daha çok katılaşmış olarak döndüğü vakit, Selma Hanım'ın yalnız içi değil, bütün eti de sevindi ve kendini onun kucağına atınca, genç adamın sert ellerinin birer pars pençesi gibi vücudunu her yanında kavradığını hissetti."

²²⁴ Parla, 2012, p.101.

After a while, Neşet Sabit meets a young girl named Yıldız who is going to act in one of his plays. He likes her, but we don't get the real meaning in his emotions until Yıldız gets married with another man. However the intimacy between Yıldız and Neşet Sabit makes Selma worried and question the situation until Yıldız's marriage. In the meantime, Yıldız is portrayed as an athletic girl who lacks feminine features such as wider hips and large breasts just like Leyla of *Sodom ve Gomore*, Zeyno of *Kalp Ağrısı* and Lale of *Tatarcık*. However, unlike Leyla, Yıldız is a positive character that represents the sportive, cultured and well educated republican woman like Zeyno and Lale. Aksu Bora claims that the author's insistence about portraying a positive female character, namely Yıldız with manly looks is misogynistic²²⁵. Moreover, she claims that this emphasis on her genderless looks is actually a declaration on the conditions of a woman's public existence in the Republic. Because, as long as a woman is desexualised, as long as she is in an eternal childhood as a state of womanhood, she can be an active actor of the Republic.

If we summarise the portrayal of Neşet Sabit, we can say that he was neither a soldier like Ahmet Celal of *Yaban* nor had impressive looks like Colonel Hakkı but he had patriotic, nationalistic thoughts like Necdet of *Sodom ve Gomore* that made him the ideal man both for Selma and Karaosmanoğlu. Therefore, I claim that, despite sharing commonalities, all positive male characters of Karaosmanoğlu had some sort of defects and differed from each other distinctively.

The novel comes to an end during the celebrities of the twentieth anniversary of the Turkish Republic where Selma and Neşet Sabit were happily

²²⁵ Aksu Bora, p.154

present. However, since they are older now, they get home earlier. Selma makes linden tea for Neşet Sabit while thinking to herself that despite some rises and falls in their relationship, Neşet Sabit is the right man with whom she is going to age.

Until this point, the outlines of republican masculinity ideals and concerns provided by the profound analyses made separately for each novel of each author have been drawn, depending on the theoretical framework of gender and nationalism. At this point, an interrelated analysis of findings is crucial.

First of all, according to my analysis, three authors handled in this study have to be divided into two as Nahid Sırrı Örik and the others. Because apparently Halide Edip Adivar and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu produced their works by noticeably sticking to an ideological agenda whereas Örik wrote down his works mostly with artistic concerns. However, despite being in different lines, all novels analysed in this study bore several similarities by recurrent narrative patterns about their male characters. The most interesting one among these recurrent elements is open or hidden concerns of homosexuality, related mostly with femininity, which is considered as the ultimate danger for a man's masculinity that represents the nation. Therefore, loss of masculinity is the main concern especially for Karaosmanoğlu, and with a lesser importance for Adivar whereas Örik's plots are established around demonised female characters. In this respect, homosexuality and femininity as a threat for nation, tradition and moral come into prominence with its most explicit descriptions in Karaosmanoğlu who shows an obvious hatred for homosexuals, femininity and women. But, even as a homosexual author, Örik seemingly adopted this patriarchal tendency towards relating femininity and latent homosexuality of male characters with evil. However, despite these implicit

homosexual hints, his male characters lead a heterosexual life. Flamboyantly beautiful men, such as Halit and Nüzhet of *Kıskanmak* and Cemil Mahmut of *Yıldız Olmak Kolay Mi?* have a tendency towards showing an emphasised and exaggerated interest in gendered materials such as necklaces, silk and clothes that belong to some other female characters, usually to their lovers. But unlike Karaosmanoğlu's homosexual men such as Captain Marlow and Atif of *Sodom ve Gomore*, his feminine men do not pose a threat for the well-being and interests of the nation. Because the national story with patriotic tones is not extant in Örik's plots. Turkish Republic and its new order is just a background theme for him, whereas it is a central concern for both Adivar and Karaosmanoğlu.

Unlike Adivar's male characters such as Saffet and Colonel Muhsin of *Kalp Ağrısı*, Hasan of *Zeyno'nun Oğlu*, The Seven of *Tatarcık*, Örik's men do not have significantly high moral values. They are as good as much as they are evil. Actually they are not evil at all since it's usually women who are the source of evil. Moreover, Örik's men have no connection with a military Republican masculinity that is best embodied by Atatürk. This can probably be explained by Örik's distance from Republican order that was a result of his exclusion from Republican intellectual circles because of his homosexuality and his well-known sympathy for the Ottoman regime. The reason why no openly homosexual characters were extant in Örik's works was probably related to his own hesitations about the future of his works. Because it is today known that even with these male characters that had discreet but questionable and mysterious sexualities, he had difficulties having his novels published. Unlike Örik, Adivar and Karaosmanoğlu's literary works carry the features of an ideological device to some degree by promoting the well-educated, positivist and Westernised male characters that take

good care of their bodies and devote themselves to the well-being of the nation and the national cause. Ahmet Celal of *Yaban*, Colonel Muhsin and Hasan of *Zeyno'nun Oğlu* appear as the positivist, modern, civilising soldiers in rural Anatolia. Especially in *Zeyno'nun Oğlu*, the racist and humiliating tones about Kurdish masculinities become irritating at some point while the Turkish existence in Kurdish lands were justified via Kurdish characters' emphasised bestiality. Haso and Şaban represent Kurdish masculinities as being uncouth and untamed men. Author's approach to Kurds is an indicator of an internalised orientalism inside the limits of Turkey since she uses the same vocabulary with European orientalists.

Actually, the proper transformation of the new Turkish women was also taken into serious consideration by both authors since in all three novels of Adivar for example, the plots spin around a central female character, whereas only one novel of Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, is centered at a female character. However, men are the dominant actors this or that way in all those novels where women and female body were a means of explaining the new order of morals. Although women's position as comrades and public actors became less stressed and left its place to 'women as housewives' as the years went by, in the novels of the period under the scope of this study, I did not observe any change in authors' attitudes at appointing more traditional roles to republican women towards the end of the period, namely 1951. But, since women's republican liberation, or as called by some intellectuals, the state feminism, was not a totally individualist and radical movement in the name of emancipation, the typical patriarchal discourses on women were already extant in all three authors' novels. However, the only and explicit difference about the portrayals of female characters is observed in Örik. Because Örik's strong female characters bear an incomparable evil in themselves and occupy the center of his

plots dominantly. Despite Karaosmanoğlu's female characters are not as evil as Örik's, he also uses the similar naturalistic point of view that equates women with emotions, bestiality and weakness in all his novels. Because of this, his effeminate or homosexual characters share the same negative qualities as women. The more these degenerate male characters are close to femininity, the more they share the same adjectives/qualities with women. Apparently, Adivar, Örik and Karaosmanoğlu, namely all the authors dealt with in this study were influenced by modern European thought of nineteenth and early twentieth century that was based on classifications, stereotypes and pathologies determined by new sciences. This is the reason why homosexuality is equal to bestiality, nature, moral illness and psychological weakness in Karaosmanoğlu's novels. Because his world of thoughts was shaped by European modernity. His strict attitude towards the homosexual stereotype is especially significant in *Sodom ve Gomore* where Captain Marlow and his partner Atif appear as the most detestable people for Necdet, the quite controversial patriotic male hero of the novel. Necdet, as the ideal man of *Sodom ve Gomore* is a controversial character from many perspectives. Because Karaosmanoğlu portrays him as a very weak man that surrendered to his feelings for Leyla, which he considered love. Although he detests the social circles that consist of occupant British commanders, ladies and their degenerate Turkish friends that live a decadent life, he keeps attending these circles since he wants to be close to Leyla. This makes me question whether a nationalist, patriotic man can be this weak or not. Right because of such inconsistencies, many intellectuals make harsh criticisms about Karaosmanoğlu and *Sodom ve Gomore*. According to Karaosmanoğlu and Necdet, the worst thing a man can be is a homosexual and the most dangerous threat for the nation is homosexuality as it is apparent from the

novel's name that is taken from the story of Sodom and Gomorrah in the Bible. But why is that so? It is not possible to have any clue since the evil of homosexuality has no material projection in the plot. However, since homosexuality is one's surrender to nature and his bestial feelings, we may claim that Karaosmanoğlu is fighting against femininity and homosexuality because he is part of the strongly civilisationist, materialist discourse of the nation-state. Therefore he is a total stranger to all aspects of being human.

In the same manner with homosexuality, Necdet's finding himself in the national cause after having received the good news from frontiers and turning away from Leyla is not explained clearly. Because of such narrative deficiencies, Karaosmanoğlu's work bears serious narrative problems. However, since this study's main focus is not to provide a literary criticism, I am putting an end to my humble literary evaluation of *Sodom ve Gomore*.

As I claimed above, the main threat for the nation in Karaosmanoğlu and Adıvar is homosexuality and feminisation. Even though a man is not homosexual, his taking too much care of himself is a clear indicator of his feminisation and false Westernisation, therefore his degeneracy. I observed this in Selma's detestation of Colonel Hakkı in *Ankara*. Because Colonel Hakkı switches from being the modern, positivist, virile soldier to degenerate, effeminate Republican man who surrendered himself to the joys of decadent life. By seeing the transformation of Colonel Hakkı, Selma divorces him and gets closer to Neşet Sabit, an intellectual man. Neşet Sabit constitutes almost an antithesis of Colonel Hakkı, since he transforms in the opposite way by devoting himself to Turkish revolution. While he was making a

field research and living together with workers in Anatolia for a few months, he got tanned and muscled. Therefore, he reconstructs his masculinity at a higher level.

One interesting character in this study was Ahmet Celal of *Yaban*. Since he was a war veteran, his masculinity was ‘fallen’. But since he was living in an environment full of natural, bestial, emotional and rural Anatolian people, he kept his superior status to them even as a ‘deficient’ soldier. In addition to military tones that Karaosmanoğlu’s and Adıvar’s ideal men bear, they are also well educated and have an occupation if they’re not soldiers. So, these men are closely tied to centuries long perceptions about ideal masculinity which claim that males are the warriors, food-providers whereas women are responsible for taking care of children and the household. As I expressed before, even though the Turkish Republic adopted a state feminism and claimed to have transformed women’s status as public actors revolutionary, its gender discourse on women was still depending on traditional social duty distributions.

Given all the commonalities and differences of masculinity representations in Early Republican novels evaluated above, it is possible to claim that the military masculinities that embodied wisdom, muscle power and nationalism in themselves dominated the scene in the literary sphere, thus depicting what an ideal masculinity should be.

CONCLUSION

In this study, representations of masculinity in the novels written between 1924-1951, namely the early Turkish Republican era, have been handled by character-readings, as well as by considering the authors' identities that strongly affected their approach to masculinity, femininity and gender as a whole. These character analyses have been put into the conceptual framework of both gender and nationalism to be explained by the terms and approaches used in these areas. Since this work used early Turkish Republican literature as its primary material, the political atmosphere of the era could not have been ignored. Moreover, it was the political power that determined the proper roles for men and women, which in turn influenced the plots, events and characters of literary texts. Under the scope of this study, nine novels of three different authors have been analysed from the perspectives of gender and nationalism. Since the scope and time frame of the study was relatively extensive, only a limited analysis could be done. However, despite the limitations of the study, significant results have been reached from my perspective.

The ideal masculinity is generally summarised as 'hunter-gatherer-warrior man' in its most cliché form and has its roots in ancient cultures. Since nineteenth century, simultaneous with the rise of modern Europe, by referring to ancient Greece, masculinity has been equated to muscle power, rationality, violence, and domination over women who were considered emotional, peaceful, obedient and weak beings that have a lesser status comparing to men. These internalised perceptions about men and women justified the institutionalised, official discourses of modern times that determined the gender norms. Although bearing slight differences in the West, in the Middle East, in Africa, in the Far East, etc.,

gender roles appointed to men and women have been using mostly the same grammar which can be related to the apparent domination of Western thoughts, culture, gender discourses and moral values beginning from the nineteenth century in almost all parts of the World. Parallel with these, the Turkish Republican elites adopted the same gender discourses of modern Europe in the 1920s. Eventually, the intellectuals of the era, including Adivar, Örik and Karaosmanoğlu depicted a world with characters reflecting the official gender discourse of the modern West in differing degrees in the Republican context. If we leave Örik's works that itinerate on a different way aside, we see that the nationalist, militarist, modernist, rational masculinities dominated the other novels of the period under question. Because the general atmosphere dominating the Turkish Republican gender discourse, society and cultural products were influenced by modern European thought since the elites who were ruling the state and shaping the society were educated by modern Western values in either Europe or at modern institutions of education of the late Ottoman Empire that were established according to Western standards. Therefore, we can not separate the gender discourses of Early Republican Turkey from that of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Europe. Moreover, the rise of nationalism in Europe was going hand in hand with the rise of masculine stereotype and his domination over women and degenerate male stereotypes. In this context, the masculinity embodied by Atatürk was very influential in the novels of Early Republican Turkey. He was carrying all the outlines of the ideal masculinity by being a goodlooking soldier and a nationalist leader who believed in positive sciences and gender equality, in the sense of Republican feminism. Because of these reasons, we have encountered this militarist and nationalist positive stereotype very often in the novels written by Adivar and Karaosmanoğlu. Moreover, these men

constituted a hegemonical ideal probably because of the need to create a nation from ashes in the depopulated, devastated Turkish state after ten years of almost continuous warfare. Therefore, their depictions and prevalence carried more meanings than solely ideological concerns. Their existence corresponded to the material needs of the new nationalist order. Additionally, as I have claimed before, the frequent appearance of military masculinities of the era was a reflection of the tense political situation the newly established state was facing. In 1920s, the Turkish state was in need of proving its legitimacy against the West and through 1930s, the state was on a military alert because of the rise of expansionist fascist regimes in Europe and political polarisation accompanying this. In this context, strong soldier men in novels were Turkish state's ideal citizens.

Unlike the ideal nationalist masculine stereotype, the degeneration concern caused by effeminate men was shared by all of the authors dealt with in this study. But why a homosexual author like Örik adopted this degeneracy concern caused by effeminacy and homosexuality should be the topic of further research. Additionally, as it has been expressed in the theoretical framework of this study, the degeneration concern was also a lively topic in the late nineteenth-early twentieth century Europe, which constitutes another parallel with our authors' world of thoughts. But why and how effeminacy and homosexuality are signs of a man's degeneracy is not answered in any of the novels studied. However, the discourse on 'marginal' masculinities conforms to that of modern European thought that considered them as a kind of pathology.

In the final analysis, despite its limitations, this study may be considered as a humble contribution to the newly developing field of masculinity studies in Turkey

by writing the history of Early Republican masculinities via tracing them in the literary genre of novels. Moreover, it draws attention to the process in which the ideal masculinity is formed via the strict cooperation between official gender discourses, the needs these discourses corresponded and cultural products given at a certain time period that function as ideological devices. However, further research should be conducted on a comparison of gender discourses in literary sources along the different periods of Turkish modernisation, even on different authors of the same time period this study has focused on.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adıvar, Halide Edib. 2011. *Kalp Ağrısı*. İstanbul: Can Yayınları
- 2010. *Zeyno'nun Oğlu*. İstanbul: Can Yayınları
- 2009. *Tatarcık*. İstanbul: Can Yayınları
- Ahmad, Feroz. 2008. "Politics and political parties in Republican Turkey" in Reşat Kasaba, ed. *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol.4, Turkey in the Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 226-265
- Akın, Yiğit. 2004. "Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar", *Erken Cumhuriyet'te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor*. İstanbul:İletişim
- Althusser, Louis. 1991. *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları*. İstanbul: İletişim
- Altınay, Ayşe Gül. 2013. "Giriş: Milliyetçilik, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Feminizm" in *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*, Ayşe Gül Altınay ,ed. İstanbul:İletişim, 15-32
- 2013. " "Askerlik Yapmayana Adam Denmez": Zorunlu Askerlik, Erkeklik ve Vatandaşlık" in *Erkek Millet Asker Millet, Türkiye'de Militarizm, Milliyetçilik, Erkek(lik)ler*, Nurseli Yeşim Sünbuloğlu, ed. İstanbul:İletişim, 205-260
- Anderson, Benedict. 1993. *Hayali Cemaatler, Milliyetçiliğin Kökenleri ve Yayılması*. İstanbul:Metis
- Arslan, Umut Tümay. 2005. *Bu Kabuslar Neden Cemil?* İstanbul: Metis
- Bayhan, Vehbi. 2013."Beden Sosyolojisi ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet", *Doğu Batı* 63, Ankara: Doğu Batı, 147-164
- Birdal, Mehmet Sinan.2013. "Neden LGBT Tarihi? Türkiye'de Siyaset ve LGBT-Fobi" in Bülent Bilmez ed. *Cumhuriyet Tarihinin Tartışmalı Konuları*, İstanbul:İletişim, 159-190

- Bora, Aksu. 2013. "Modern Kadınlık: Politikadan Kültüre" in Bülent Bilmez ed. *Cumhuriyet Tarihinin Tartışmalı Konuları*. Istanbul: İletişim, 151-158
- Bora, Tanıl. 1998. *Türk Sağının Üç Hâli , Milliyetçilik-Muhafazakarlık-İslamcılık ,* Istanbul: Birikim
- Butler, Judith. 2007. *Taklit ve Toplumsal Cinsiyete Karşı Durma*. Istanbul:Agora Kitaplığı
- Connell, R. W.2001. "The Social Organization of Masculinity" in Stephen M. Whitehead and Frank J. Barrett, ed. *The Masculinities Reader* .Cambridge: Polity Press, 30-48
- 1998. *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve İktidar, Toplum, Kişi ve Cinsel Politika*. Istanbul: Ayrıntı
- De Cillia Rudolf, Reissigl Martin, Wodak Ruth. 1999. "The discursive construction of national identities" , *Discourse&Society*, Vol 10(2):149-173
- Durakbaşı, Ayşe. 1998. "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek Kimliklerinin Oluşumu ve "Münevver Erkekler" " in Ayşe Berktaş Hacımırzaoğlu, ed. *75. Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 29-50
- Enginün, İnci. 2000. "Turkish Literature and Self-Identity from Ottoman to Modern Turkish." in Kemal H.Karpat, ed. *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*. Leiden: Brill, 212-235
- Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford:Basil Blackwell
- Giddens, Anthony.2000. *Sosyoloji*. Ankara: Ayrıç
- Gilman, Sander L.1985. *Difference and Pathology, Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness*. Ithaca,NY: Cornell University Press

- Gökalp, Ziya. 1990. *Türkçülüğün Esasları*. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları
- Göknar, Erdağ. 2008. "The Novel in Turkish: narrative Tradition to Nobel prize" in Reşat Kasaba, ed. *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol.4, Turkey in the Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 472-503
- Gümüšoğlu, Firdevs. 1998. "Cumhuriyet Döneminin Ders Kitaplarında Cinsiyet Rollerini (1928-1998)" in Ayşe Berktaç Hacimirzaoğlu, ed. *75. Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları , 101-128
- Gürbilek, Nurdan. 2012. *Kötü Çocuk Türk*. İstanbul: Metis
- 2004.*Kör Ayna Kayıp Şark : Edebiyat ve Endişe*. İstanbul: Metis
- Hirata Héléne, et al.2009. *Eleştirel Feminizm Sözlüğü*, Gülnur Acar-Savran ed. İstanbul: Kanat Yayınları
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. , Ranger, Terence.2005. *Geleneğin İcadı*. İstanbul: Agora Kitaplığı
- 1991.*Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: programme, myth, reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Karaosmanoğlu, Yakup Kadri. 2012. *Sodom ve Gomora*. İstanbul: İletişim
- 2012. *Yaban*. İstanbul: İletişim
- 2011. *Ankara*. İstanbul: İletişim
- Karpat, Kemal H.2000. "Historical Continuity and Identity Change or How to be Modern, Muslim, Ottoman, and Turk?" in Kemal H. Karpat, ed. *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*. Boston: Brill, 1-28.
- Koçak, Cemil.2007. *Türkiye'de Millî Şef Dönemi 1-2 (1938-1945)*.İstanbul:İletişim
- Koçak, Orhan.2001. "1920'lerden 1970'lere Kültür Politikaları" in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* , 370-418. İstanbul:İletişim

- Köksal, Duygu.1998. “Yeni Adam ve Yeni Kadın: 1930’lar ve 40’larda Kadın, Cinsiyet ve Ulus”, *Toplumsal Tarih* 9(51): 31-35.
- Kuru, Selim S.2011. “Yaşanan, Söylenen ve Yazılan: Erkekler Arasında Tutkusal İlişkiler” , *Cogito* 65-66: 263-277
- Lloyd, Genevieve.1996. *Erkek Akıl* . Istanbul: Ayrıntı
- Mayer, Tamar.2000. “Gender ironies of nationalism: setting the stage” in Tamar Mayer, ed. *Gender Ironies of Nationalism, Sexing the nation*. New York: Routledge
- Miller, Ruth A.2007. “Rights, Reproduction, Sexuality, and Citizenship in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey”, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* Vol:32 No:2, 347-373
- Moran, Berna.1998. *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış I*. Istanbul: İletişim
- Mosse, George L.1996. *The Image of Man, The Creation of Modern Masculinity*. New York:Oxford University Press
- Nagel, Joane.2013. “Erkeklik ve Milliyetçilik: Ulusun İnşasında Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Cinsellik” in Ayşe Gül Altınay, ed. *Vatan Millet Kadınlar*. Istanbul: İletişim, 65-101
- Najmabadi, Afsaneh.2013. “Sevgili ve Ana Olarak Erotik Vatan: Sevmek, Sahiplenmek, Korumak” in Ayşe Gül Altınay,ed. *Vatan Millet Kadınlar*. Istanbul: İletişim, 129-165
- Oğuzertem, Süha.2006. “Sodom ve Gomore’de Aşk, Ahlak ve Millilik”, *Pasaj* 4-5
- Örik, Nahid Sırrı.2012. *Gece Olmadan!*.Istanbul: Oğlak
- 2009. *Kıskanmak*. Istanbul:Oğlak
- 2009. *Yıldız Olmak Kolay Mı?*.Istanbul:Oğlak

- Özby, Cenk.2012. “Türkiye’de Hegemonik Erkekliği Aramak”, *Doğu Batı* 63:185-204
- Özbek, Meral.1991. *Popüler Kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski* . Istanbul: İletişim
- Öztan, Güven Gürkan.2013. “Türkiye’de Milli Kimlik İnşası Sürecinde Militarist Eğilimler ve Tesirleri” in Nurseli Yeşim Sünbuloğlu, ed. *Erkek Millet Asker Millet, Türkiye’de Militarizm, Milliyetçilik, Erkek(lik)ler*.Istanbul:İletişim, 75-113
- Parla, Jale. 2012. *Türk Romanında Yazar ve Başkalaşım*.Istanbul: İletişim
- 1990. *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanın Epistemolojik Temelleri*. Istanbul: İletişim
- Sancar, Serpil.2009. *Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar*. Istanbul: Metis
- Saraçgil, Ayşe.2005. *Bukalemun Erkek, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nde Ataerkil Yapılar ve Modern Edebiyat*. Istanbul: İletişim
- Scott, Joan W.1986. “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis”, *The American Historical Review*, Vol.91 No. 5 (Dec. 1986) , 1053-1075
- Serdar, Ali.2006. “Yakup Kadri’nin Romanlarında Cinsellik”, *Pasaj* 4-5: 129-160
- Sinclair-Webb, Emma.2000. “ ‘Our Bülent Is Now a Commando’, Military Service and Manhood in Turkey” in Mai Ghoussoub and Emma Sinclair-Webb, eds. *Imagined Masculinities, Male Identity and Culture in the Modern Middle East*. London:Saqi Books,65-103
- Sirman, Nükhet.1988. “Turkish Feminism: A Short History”, *Dossier* 5-6: 1-10
- Smith, Anthony D.2001.*Nationalism:Theory, Ideology, History*.Cambridge:Polity Press

- Şerifsoy, Selda.2013. “*Aile* ve Kemalist Modernizasyon Projesi, 1928-1950” in
Ayşe Gül Altınay, ed. *Vatan Millet Kadınlar*. İstanbul: İletişim, 167-200
- Timur, Taner.2002. *Osmanlı-Türk Romanında Tarih, Toplum ve Kimlik*. İstanbul:
İmge
- Tunçay, Mete.2000.*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nde Tek-Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması,
1923-1931*.İstanbul:İletişim.
- Türkeş, Ömer.2001. “Güdük Bir Edebiyat Kanonu” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi
Düşünce, Cilt 2/Kemalizm*.İstanbul:İletişim, 425-448
- Ural, Tülin.2001. “The Representation of Gender, Love, Family and Sexuality in
the Canonical and Non-Canonical Novels of the Early Republican Period”
Unpublished Master’s Thesis. İstanbul: Boğaziçi University
- Üstel, Füsun.2004. *Makbul Vatandaşın Peşinde : II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne
Vatandaşlık Eğitimi*. İstanbul : İletişim
- Yuval-Davis, Nira.2010. *Cinsiyet ve Millet* .İstanbul: İletişim
- Zürcher, Erik Jan.1998. *Turkey:A Modern History*. London: I.B. Tauris