

Chapter 3 – Spatial Agents of Rural Development and Conceptualization of the Village

Transportation in the Rural

The symbolism of reconstructing *Rural* was generated in various ways, with an emphasis on architectural transformation and planning of the towns and small cities during the early republican era. As the major territory of the country, Anatolia was selected as the place to re-build and to house the people, and as a large site for state intervention in the name of modernization. In other words, Anatolian towns were taken into the republican agenda in the context of country planning, including modern transportation based on railway construction that took place up until the late 1940s. Railway construction represented progress in techniques that connected the whole land, not only transporting goods, infrastructures, and people, but also culture and development among the Turkish people in the cities and the villages.

Relatedly, in 1931 Mustafa Kemal Atatürk announced the primary transportation program of the RPP:

“Within the projects, Turkish government ordained, all terrains of the homeland will be connected by the railways in a certain period. The whole homeland will become an iron mass. Railways are a much more significant weapon for our country than the rifle and cannon. ... [They] are the roads to the welfare and civilization of the Turkish people.”¹

The theme of transportation firmly addressed the transformation of rural areas in the pursuit of modernism; in other words, the industrial and agricultural

1 Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Hâkimiyeti Milliye* (Ankara, 15 Şubat 1931). Also in: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri: I-III* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006), p. 394. Author's translation.

development of the country in areas where the rural populace was in the majority. Therefore, a functional conveyance network, based on a railway system reaching all parts of the country, was prioritized in country planning and architectonic enhancement of urban and rural areas.

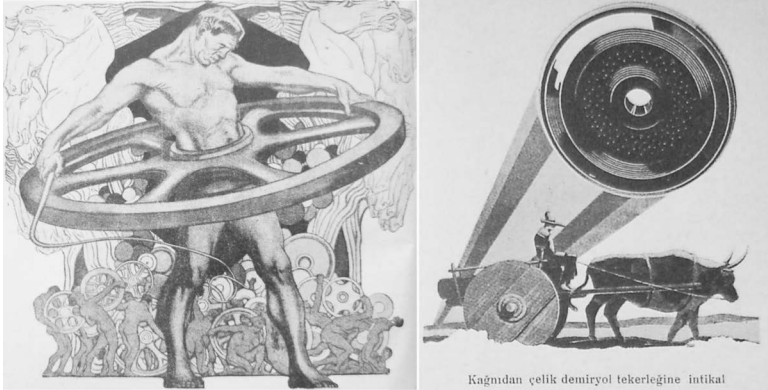
Early republican operations in road construction took over the late-Ottoman enterprises which had been dominated by foreign companies and discontinued due to the First World War, the War of Independence, and the Greco-Turkish War of the early 1920s. These operations had two aims. The first was to address the urgent need for a transportation network, which appeared to be in line with military goals, and later fundamentally associated with the national economic development plan. Secondly, the transportation network played a crucial role in urbanizing rural Anatolia by bridging the villages and small towns to larger cities in each region, and those cities to the capital Ankara. Therefore, an effective transportation structure would blur the cultural and social contrasts between regions and cities, and help to unite and control the people, who differed in their ethnic, economic, and socio-cultural characteristics.²

Between 1922 and 1948, the early republican state concentrated on the construction of railroads as part of the cultivation of land for agricultural production, industrial manufacturing, and the development program for Anatolia. The program also included mining activities, and socio-cultural engineering in the countryside. After 1933 the government introduced a new policy in railway projects that monopolized and nationalized the lines built and operated by foreigners, and also favored Turkish construction firms for the building of new lines. Starting from the early 1930s, the republican state controlled railway operations and considered the transportation program as an inseparable

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- 2 Özge Sezer, 'Railways and Bridges as Expression of Rural in Early Republican Period, 1930–1945 (Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kırsalın İfadesi Bağlamında Demiryolları ve Köprüler)' (unpublished Master Thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 2010), pp. 128–47; Özge Sezer, 'Modernizasyon Düşleri; Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye'sinde Anadolu Kırsalında İstasyon Yapıları ve Köprüler', in *International Symposium on Theories of Art / Design and Aesthetics, 19–21 October 2011 Faculty of Fine Arts Antalya University Turkey, Papers* (Antalya: Akdeniz Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi Dekanlığı, 2012), pp. 278–85.

part of the statist agenda. In 1948,³ 60 lines connected towns and cities to the harbors on the west, north, and south coasts of Turkey.⁴

Figure 3.1. Two illustrations showing railway construction in the country.⁵



In the architectonic sense, transportation objects – the railroads, bridges, and stations – especially in the small Anatolian towns and cities became analogical figures of technology, engineering, and progress in the context of national modernization. These elements were considered signatures of the transformative hands of republican ideology in rural Turkey, where no type of modern infrastructure had previously existed.⁶ (Figure 3.1.) Therefore railroads,

- 3 In 1948 Turkey obtained Marshall Plan aid, leading to another epoch in the transportation politics that shifted from railroads to highways. For further reading on the operations of Marshall Plan in Turkey from 1948 to 1952, see Senem Üstün, 'Turkey and the Marshall Plan: Strive for Aid', *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations (Milletlerarası Münasebetler Türk Yıllığı)*, 27.0 (1997), 31–52.
- 4 İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Cumhuriyetin Harcı III: Modernitenin Altyapısı Oluşurken*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları; Siyaset Bilimi, 39 4, 1. baskı (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2003), pp. 288–92. And S. C. Wyatt, 'Turkey: The Economic Situation and Five Years Plan', *International Affairs*, 13.6 (1934), 826–44 (p. 832).
- 5 *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, 85. İkinci Teşrin (1932), 78, 92.
- 6 It must be noted here that at the beginning of the 20th century some projects, such as the incomplete Anatolia-Bagdad Railway in the eastern regions of the Ottoman state, were seen as political acts against the ethnic groups in that region. On the other hand, starting from the late 19th century in west Anatolia, in the hinterland of İzmir (includ-

bridges, tunnels and terminals in the towns and cities were celebrated by the Turkish intelligentsia and early republican authorities as material examples of the regime's achievements in rural Turkey.

The representative meaning of modern transportation was echoed in the urbanization of Anatolia, and in aesthetic changes in the countryside. Road construction and bridges represented a sort of modernist fabrication by romanticizing the technology and craftsmanship. Additionally, the terminal buildings in Anatolian cities and towns emerged as the architectonic structures of this production and agents of republican ideology in the countryside. Especially in 1930s, when the statist economy dominated architectural and urban changes, station buildings arose in a particular aesthetic form, referencing an early central European modernism that highlighted the arrangement of clear rectangular volumes, minimal repetition on the façade, plain coating on the external surfaces, and functional organization of the interior. The new railway stations developed into a unique urban element in the countryside since their function was to connect the country to the city. The railway route and terminal buildings in Anatolian cities and towns emerged as the core of planning, centering transportation in the project of urbanization.

Urbanization in the Rural

Reconstruction of the cities and towns in rural Anatolia followed the republican regime's strategy of legitimating itself via building activities in the countryside as well as implementing the interventions of the development plan in cultural, social and economic terms. In 1930, with law number 1580, municipalities were defined as local administrations formed in accordance with public needs in the cities and towns. The same law held all municipalities responsible for setting a budget with the Bank of Municipalities (*Belediyeler Bankası*) that promoted the funding of various urbanization projects. Later, the law (number 2290), enacted in 1933, organized the municipal establishment principles

ing the cities Manisa and Aydın) – the most significant harbour after Istanbul – the railway network had been constructed by British and French companies. This network contained the rural areas to control the production and transfer of agricultural and mining goods from the region to the mainland. The Ottoman state was allowed to use this railway network only for military purposes. Peter H. Christensen, *Germany and the Ottoman Railways: Art, Empire, and Infrastructure* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

of towns and cities, including legislation for roads and public buildings. The law also obliged the municipalities to establish a city plan consisting of future development schemes. With the law (number 2497), enacted in 1934, the municipalities had the right of eminent domain for infrastructure and public projects in their districts, such as vehicle roads and pedestrian ways, electricity and water mains, hospitals and health clinics, railway stations, schools, public education centers, parks, and bazaar areas.⁷

After the establishment of the Urbanism Department in the Ministry of Public Works in 1935,⁸ projects in the Anatolian towns were carried out in accordance with country planning and announced in journals promoted by the state. *Belediyeler Dergisi* (*The Journal of Municipalities*) and *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi* (*The Journal of Public Works*) became the mouthpieces that introduced new laws and regulations and presented the current debates on urbanity and projects completed as part of the statist program. Architects and planners in the Ministry of Public Works published articles about modern planning principles, alternative schemes, and urbanization issues in the country as well as ongoing construction works and concept projects for the towns and cities.

Relatedly, in 1939 Celal Ulusan – city and town planner in the Ministry of Public Works – announced the principles of modern city planning, concentrating on completed and planned projects by Turkish and foreign professionals.⁹ He described the basic guidelines of town planning in the countryside, such as the goals of town planning, the growth of towns, and industrial and agricultural targets. He elaborated that a useful and pragmatic plan should include detailed research on various elements that should also be shown in the drafts:

“1. Topographic setup of the town, 2. Population of the town (increase, density and division), 3. Field of the town (land use and land value), 4. Designation of the industrial area, 5. Designation of the area for public buildings and schools, 6. Condition of existing dwellings, 7. Condition of existing transportation system, 8. Condition of existing roads, 9. Advantageous areas for the shipment, 10. Harbours and their particulars, 11. Railroads, gateways and terminals, 12. Stations for aerial transportation, 13. Parks and recreational areas, 14. Historical and new monuments, 15. Lighting, decoration and arbor of

7 ‘Geçen 4 Yılda Yapılan İşler’, *Belediyeler Dergisi*, 1.6 (1936), 30–36 (pp. 30–32).

8 Celal Ulusan, “Şehir İmar Planları Nasıl Tanzim Edilmelidir,” *Belediyeler Dergisi* 32 (1939): 41.

9 Ibid, pp. 42–44.

the streets, 16. Condition of houses, their facades and gardens, 17. Mains water and electricity, 18. Canalization system and sewage discharge stations, 19. Waste, its transportation and disposal stations.”¹⁰

In addition to the fundamental components of the town planning, Ulusan advocated for affordable housing and small settlements for new quarters of the town and emphasized the importance of construction field research. He outlined the principles for the location of garden settlements that workers and public officers would inhabit. At the same time, Ulusan suggested various housing and settlement typologies in accordance with the inhabitant profiles, not only describing garden settlements but also apartment blocks within the arrangement of gardens, playgrounds, and recreational areas. He laid out three typologies for new housing quarters in the towns that reflected the needs of dwellers: group or detached houses and blocks, single houses and blocks, and garden houses.¹¹

Following the publication of Ulusan’s text, a significant proportion of plans for Anatolian provinces and towns¹² followed the planning categories that he articulated. These categories included the local components of the site, the economic and cultural potential of the area, and “modernist”, utilitarian proposals for the architectonic form. Most of the drawings included a “republican” center where the major public buildings – the governorship, municipal building, the People’s House, and school – the square and the park, including a memorial statue, were to be placed. It was also determined that the “republican” center of town should be located along the axis of main boulevards connected to the railway station. Garden settlements in which the inhabitants could engage in small-scale agricultural activity were promoted as dwelling models, especially in the planning of small towns.

On the other hand, the urban development schemes of the Anatolian provinces were envisioned to include modern planning concepts such as functional zoning, defining the location of industrial utilities and separating that area from the city center, as well as various dwelling types to fit the inhabitant profiles. But similarly to the concept followed in the new rural towns, Anatolian cities also contained a recognizable center where republican symbolism

10 Ibid, p. 38. Author’s translation.

11 Ibid, pp. 45–46, 52, 54.

12 Celal Ulusan announced that plans of 18 cities and 44 towns had been accomplished by the end of 1939.

dominated the design with particular landmarks such as buildings for the governorship, the People House, and the republican square and park.

Here, one can interpret that the main objective of the state was to urbanize the agriculturally dependent rural Anatolian provinces. Therefore, each province was included in a regional development program that outlined industrial enterprises, and mining and agricultural activities. No doubt the well-connected transportation system developed the cities into centers for their rural districts and villages, and not only in cultural, societal, and economic terms. Anatolian cities served as the centers and the urban apparatus with which the state strengthened its position of control over the rural areas. Similar to the cities, the new towns were also planned as stable urban forms that allowed the state to remain the people in the controlled rural realm.

Conceptualization of the Village

Socio-Cultural Planning

Following the motivations for rural development in the country, “village” was defined in the early republican vocabulary in terms of two dimensions of state operations. On the one hand, the village, together with all its spatial significance, was considered to be the cultural and societal center of the nation-building agenda. On the other hand, it referred to the core of the statist economy that was grounded in agricultural growth and sufficiency, supported by the agrarian industry, as well as mining activities, to achieve the modernization goals of the regime. From this point of view, the village was instrumentalized as the space for rurality and characterized by the culture of Turkish Anatolia that formed the basis for national determination and unity. At the same time, the village became a site for economic and social interventions by the state. The village – as the core of Anatolian rural space during the early republican period – was designated to form the rural realm, not only architecturally but also in socio-cultural, economic, and demographic terms.

It is crucial to repeat here that the establishment of the People’s House in 1932 brought state operations to rural Anatolia and facilitated an immediate consideration of the Turkish village, its existing condition, and its eventual socio-cultural improvement. The People’s House was organized into nine branches, including the *Köycüler Kolu* (Village Affairs Branch), with a mission to

bridge the peasant population in the Anatolian countryside and the Turkish intelligentsia and to carry through the program of the Republican People's Party and the state. This branch would also organize the platform that brought people from the city closer to those in the villages. Relatedly, in 1932 a formula – the Village Camps – was introduced to develop the cultural and social interaction between people in the city and the country:

“Can't we start a campaign and send people, who camp next to the city, who get bored by idleness, or drowse away their time in the coffee shops, to the villages?

We let them camp in the villages, we require each educated person to teach one villager how to read and write. And we let them consider this duty as an ideal one.

In this way, the youth of the city will get to know the village and the villagers, and the villagers will warm to the youth of the city. And this will bridge the village and the city.

The youth of the city will internalize the [republican] revolution by taking this social responsibility. In the villages they will organize programs involving performances, conferences, plays, sport festivals, and bring cultural instruments such as gramophone, radio, photography, and cinema that will foster village development and speed it like a great engine.

If there are teachers, agricultural experts, and doctors in the village camps, then they will not only transform the village in [socio-cultural] conditions, but also in sanitation and agriculture.

In short, the Village Camps will be the “camps of revolution”.¹³

With this objective in mind, Village Affairs Branch of the People's Houses supported peasantry studies as an extension of state organization in the countryside, concentrating on the improvement of rural culture by bringing art and craftsmanship to the village, with the participants consisting of villagers and city people. Village Affairs also focused on the problems in the village to bring about modern change and the development of the rural built environment. For that purpose, the Village Affairs departments of the People's Houses organized excursions that were intended to establish connections between urbanites and rural people, who were culturally and socially distant from each other.¹⁴

13 V. N., ‘Köy Kampları’, *Kadro*, 1.1 (1932), 42–43. Author's translation.

14 Anıl Çeçen, *Atatürk'ün Kültür Kurumu Halkevleri* (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2000), p. 127.

The results of the excursions were enthusiastically introduced in the publication series called *Köy Tetkikleri* (Village Surveys) contributed by the RPP and the institution. The scholars particularly concentrated on the geographic and historic characteristics of the villages, including an analysis of the economic and socio-cultural circumstances of the inhabitants. Along with customs and daily habits, the ceremonies and rituals of the villagers were a significant focus of the research to understand rural life and the social structures of rural communities. It was believed that “a survey in the village might not be followed with methods such as wandering around the village, talking with the villagers, and spending pleasant time in the coffee house as a guest. But one should earn the confidence and trust of the villagers.”¹⁵ Rather, the researcher–observer, who most of the time was the school principal or teacher, should participate in village life with the inhabitants.

In 1936 the Village Affairs Branch of the Ankara People’s House published research on Küçükoyzgat village in Ankara province. The survey report consisted of the overall situation (location, population, geographic characteristics), culture (educational background, operations of the People’s House in the village, and folkloric elements), sanitary conditions, socio-economic status (customs and daily life, subsistence level, consumption patterns and landownership), and the agricultural and craftsmanship activities (forestry, corn cultivation, weaving as well as forging, blacksmithing, carpentry and shoe-making). The architecture of dwellings and settlement organization were described, including the sanitary conditions of the village. The roads were regular, and there was no canalization system, but each house had a lavatory. The houses were made of clay brick and stone. They were usually one-storey earth-sheltered structures consisting of two rooms and an entrance hall, open to the barn and the toilet.¹⁶

In another report about villages in Kırşehir – an Anatolian city in the south of Ankara – the village principal Hulusi Özen promoted a modernizing social program for the village and the people:

“In both villages people are spending spare time and holidays gathering in the coffee houses and having idle talks. Against all the odds, the Village Affairs Branch of the People’s House organizes conferences and some perfor-

15 Ankara Halkevi, ‘Birkaç Söz’, in *Küçükoyzgat Köyü: Köy Tetkiki*, Ankara Halkevi Neşriyatı Köycüler Şubesi, 17/2 (Ankara: Ankara Halkevi, 1936), pp. 3–4 (p. 3). Author’s translation.

16 Alaettin Güleç, *Küçükoyzgat Köyü: Köy Tetkiki*, Ankara Halkevi Neşriyatı Köycüler Şubesi, 17/2 (Ankara: Ankara Halkevi, 1936).

mances two to three times in a year to awaken a cultural awareness among the villagers. Yet, the municipality should [also] get involved in building a library and a reading room where the [up to date] newspapers, magazines, brochures, and books are served for the villagers, and seminars and plays are held by the village's teachers and students. In this way, people grow accustomed to the innovation and modern viewpoints."¹⁷

In addition to the village surveys, organized by the Village Affair's Branch, the mouthpiece of the People's House – the journal *Ülkü* – featured village development through materials such as articles, reports, drawings, and images about the circumstances of Turkish villages and proposals for their ideal future forms. Architect Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu made one of the most significant contributions to this work. In his early writings in *Ülkü*, Kozanoğlu presented the village, addressed the cultural roots of Turkish people, and advocated for ethnic, social, and economic changes through the republican reforms. He called on the Turkish elite to uplift the modern rural populace by reconstructing the Turkish village:

"[In our villages] there are brothers who have forgotten their own language and speak another one. There are citizens who consider, indeed, it an insult to be called Turkish. We must reconstruct our villages, we must make our brothers speak [Turkish], dress [modern] and make them live [in better conditions] like us."¹⁸

What Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu presented was a generic approach, advocating that the early republican intelligentsia should plan the village as an inclusive socio-cultural form, separate from the cities and towns. In other words, the villager should continue to live in his own settlement – in the village – in order not to invade the cities and towns: "[in] all circumstances, the villager connected to his settlement, should remain in the village, otherwise the villager thrusts into the cities and towns to seek these conditions."¹⁹ The village was defined in cultural, social, ethnic and economic terms by elites who considered it an entirely distinct system, different from any other urban orders. Therefore, most of the time village planning and the urbanization of Anatolian cities were linked together only in a very limited field of practice.

17 Hulusi Özen, *Köy Tetkikleri: Genezin ve Göynük*, Kırşehir Halkevi Neşriyatından, 7–8 (Kırşehir: Köy Basımevi, 1941), p. 6. Author's translation.

18 Abdullah Ziya (Kozanoğlu), 'Köy Mimarisi', *Ülkü*, 7. Ağustos (1933), 37–41 (p. 40).

19 Ibid, p. 38.

Nusret Kemal Köymen, village sociologist and the editor of the village affairs section in *Ülkü*, described the principles of rural planning with a focus on the building of the Turkish village. In his articles and books Köymen often introduced a concept of the village grounded in republican ideology and emphasizing a sort of socio-cultural populist realm. He became one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the village campaign, starting from the early 1930s. In 1933 he called for the social and cultural mobilization of rural Anatolia:

“41.000 villages are spread out on almost 800.000 km² (of the country). There are neither schools, nor post office and markets in 37.000 of them. In these 41.000 villages live 12 million people. Only two per cent of them can read and write. The most intelligent ones use only 500 words to think and talk. Only those who came back from military service know the country and are aware of the circumstances around it. There are some who have never been out of their village. Since the social capabilities are too low, the economic situation of the village is also unsatisfactory. Here it is the general view of our country and the village puzzle.”²⁰

His solution to the “village puzzle” was to organize the socio-cultural and economic aspects of the village: “The socio-cultural and economic conditions of the village should be strengthened to achieve a democratic society with no unequal division of classes, unlike in Western societies and where democracy is firmly established. In this way, the peasantry would also foster Turkish democracy.”²¹ Educational improvement of the rural people therefore played the most significant role in resolving problems in the countryside, and hence in nationalizing and modernizing the Anatolian village. Moreover, Köymen drew up the aims of operation:

“to increase the income of the villager, to point each villager to a consciousness of their place in the national economy; to improve the social standards of the villager (in terms of morality, community life, ideals, cooperation, entertainment, eagerness to work, customs, and so on); to educate the villagers in grasping the republican revolutions and regime, and in being an independent citizen; to educate the villager in being a rational, secular, open-minded and “civilized” individual; to discipline the villager in being conventional and

20 Nusret Kemal (Köymen), *Halkçılık ve Köycülük* (Ankara: Tarık Edip Kütüphanesi, 1934), 46. Author's translation.

21 Ibid, p. 48.

a “faithful Turk” to his nation and tradition; to discipline the villager in learning his physical and intellectual skills”.²²

Köymen focused on efforts “to discipline” the village and villager in different ways, using the tools of adult education strongly associated with the Village Affairs Branch in the People’s House. In addition to school-oriented education, he suggested educating the village people through specific journals, newspapers and radio programs, associations for villager–journalists, travelling theatres, libraries, exhibitions, and conferences providing informing about agriculture, domestic economy, sanitation and hygiene, village fairs demonstrating local productions and model farms, and religious books written to offer moral guidance. Köymen emphasized the need for public health maintained by travelling dentists, nurses and doctors and the necessity of a market, café and post office in each village.²³

Furthermore, Köymen announced the creation of a new profession – the village mentors (*Köy Rehberleri*) – to fulfil these duties in the village. A village mentor should be well informed about culture, tradition, and civilization so that he could successfully act as a transmitter between the under-developed and developed parts of the society. In this capacity, the mentors would gather the villagers to give lectures in topics including literature, history, geography, agriculture, and public health. Although the mentors would focus on cultural improvement in the village, they would also be involved in the economic activities of the village. They would support and control the ateliers in which villagers produced local goods, as well as the products the villager would buy from the village shop and from markets outside of his village. In this regard, they would assist in sustaining and growing culture and the economy.²⁴

To educate the village mentors, Köymen proposed establishing an institute where they would be trained in themes such as science and sanitation, social and physical geography, the history of civilizations, Turkey and Turkish folk culture, agriculture and village economy, morality and religious philosophy, secular morality, sociality and state philosophy, principles of village education, examples from other countries, and the Village Act and judicial instructions.²⁵

22 Ibid, p. 50.

23 Ibid, pp. 55–56.

24 Ibid, pp. 59–62.

25 Villagers’ education had been examined for a particular purpose since the first years of the Turkish republic. In 1924 John Dewey was invited to the country to prepare a report about Turkey’s educational plan in which Dewey suggested that village educa-

Students would also train in the villages of Anatolia, and successful ones would be sent to Mexico,²⁶ Denmark, the Soviet Union and the United States for further education.²⁷ In other words, Köymen addressed the village campaign as the crucial operation, which included not only the republican regime's interventions and regulations, but which was also a populist project, undertaken by the rural and urban populace together. Köymen developed a method for solving the obstacles of the underdeveloped countryside by placing the "village" at the center.

In his book *The Principles of Village Affairs* (*Köycülük Esasları*, 1934), Köymen presented the village as a rural extension of the modern city, the development of which had been studied since the end of 19th century. However, Köymen's definitions of city and village were quite different in social, cultural, and economic terms. He centered the modern village in the urbanization discourse as part of sustainable and well-controlled country planning. According to Köymen, the village is the core of the country, and the city is a complex central form in which these cores are concentrated:

"The difference between the village and the city is the life and operations, namely their functions: the village is a self-contained and bordered home-

tion should be organized in accordance with regional circumstances, and that schools should not only be where lectures took place but also centres of village cultural and social life. Schools should include healthcare services in which doctors would take care of the village inhabitants and educate them in sanitation. John Dewey, *Türkiye Maarifi Hakkında Rapor*, ed. by Hasan Ali Yücel, T.C. aarif Vekilliği, Ana Programa Hazırlıklar, B.1 (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1939), pp. 2–20 <<http://hdl.handle.net/11543/928>>. Dewey saw the village school and the village teacher as the generating factors in rural society. Following Dewey's ideas, the Ministry of Education regulated [amended or introduced?] law numbered 789 in 03.04.1926 that allowed for the establishment of Schools for Village Teacher Training. TBMM, *Maarif Teşkilâtına Dair Kanun*, 1926 <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanunbmm004/kanuntbmm004/kanuntbmm00400789.pdf>.

26 Nusret Kemal Köymen published a book – *Village Affairs in Mexico* (*Meksika'da Köycülük*) – in 1934 chronicling the development of the peasantry and rural revolution in Mexico. He recounted state operations after 1910 and the state program between 1920 and 1933 and presented the community life of the village in socio-cultural terms, public education in the village, and the significant role of the village school and village teachers in the economic development of the village. He advocated for the Mexican model of rural modernization, and sought to adapt and translate it into the early republican project. Nusret Kemal (Köymen), *Meksika'da Köycülük* (Ankara: Tarık Edip Kütüphanesi, 1934).

27 (Köymen), *Halkçılık ve Köycülük*, 64–67.

land–nucleus considering the production, consumption, and labor relations in cultural, social, economic, industrial, and administrative fields. However, the city is an administrative, cultural, social, economic, financial, and industrial center and a geographical country-piece consisting of villages, which are related to each other geographically, culturally, socially, and economically. In this respect, many communication functions are concentrated in the city, which exists not only for itself but also for the surrounding area.²⁸

He added that the village had existed as an essential form of community life, with varying structures such as a smaller village with a smaller community and a larger village with a bigger population in a more complex administrative and social apparatus. From this point of view, Köymen represented the village as “the oldest, fundamental and native society”.²⁹ He believed that urban growth had been concentrated in the cities since the last century, resulting in a disorganized economic and socio-cultural environment in the village. However, in the preceding decades nationalist, populist and self-sufficient approaches had emerged grounded on the improvement of the village structure.³⁰ The aim of Village Affairs, Köymen argued, was to center the village in country planning in a way that furthered the various development objectives of the republican agenda.

According to this idea, the village was not only an agricultural sphere in which the raw materials or local goods were produced, but also a complete unit

28 Nusret Kemal (Köymen), *Köycülük Esasları* (Ankara: Tarık Edip Kütüphanesi, 1934), 12. Author's translation.

29 Ibid, p. 10.

30 Ibid, pp. 12–13. Nusret Köymen discussed the conception of village in terms of peasants' movements starting from the mid-19th century. He exemplified the peasants' movement in Denmark in 1849 and he stated that the movement resulted in social and cultural improvement. Another significant incident was the revolt of Mexican peasants in 1910 and its effect on the agricultural development program in 1912. Köymen also addressed the 1917 revolution as a crucial threshold for the Russian peasantry but considered that the movement started among the Russian peasants and shifted to the worker class and therefore was transformed into a revolution in the cities rather than in the villages. On the other hand, the urbanization of the European cities held the peasantry backwards in the political and economic frame, and European states, nowadays, concentrated on cities more than rural areas since the infrastructure in the cities had already been prepared for country development. Thus he suggested that the new improved peasant civilization emerged in the West in Mexico and in the East in Turkey. Ibid, pp. 15–16.

in which commodities were produced to serve the essential needs of people. With the rest of production and labor, the village contributed to the national economy in its geographical scope. The village would be furnished with all the equipment needed for its own local circumstances, resulting in an enduring system resistant to social and economic obstacles.³¹

Another crucial point, Köymen emphasized, was that in this sort of system, the villager would have his own property. With land and a house, he was independent and responsible for his economic and social situation. Moreover, in this scheme the villager did not require the assistance of the state with cultural, social, economic, administrative, and municipal affairs. The state was involved only in the infrastructure of the village and in providing transportation, security, health, and educational services to the village. In exchange for this work of the state, the villager paid taxes and undertook military service. In this formula the city served to provide the equipment and professionals for the state's services to the village. And industry, concentrated in the city, cooperated with agriculture and manufacture in surrounding villages.³²

At the same time Köymen advocated for an industrial production model in the villages. He suggested a smaller scale industry, taking place in houses and on farms where the villagers would labor with their family. Unlike the city where the worker class arose due to industry, this method would create a strong Turkish peasant class and develop culture and society. In other words, in the city the worker relied on the factory for day wages, but in the village people were committed to their work because work was also a part of custom and daily habits. Agricultural small industry could therefore prosper in the village and also help form cultural values in the countryside.³³

In addition to characterizing the village as more or less the opposite of urbanity, Köymen sought solutions for the rural population who arrived in the cities in several instances. He introduced the "Villager's Hostel" (*Köylü Hamı*), a particular type of house in cities where villagers were accommodated for short periods for activities such as selling their products, legal and administrative affairs, hospital services, and seeking work. He believed that "villagers, visiting the city, were more skilled, civilized, and open-eyed people"; they were capable of grasping republican ideals and practicing good manners during their sojourn. He addressed the Village Affairs Branch of the People's House about the

31 Ibid, p. 22.

32 Ibid, pp. 22–24.

33 Ibid, pp. 25–26.

rural populace in the urban sphere. Köymen proposed building the “Villager’s Hostels” as “a laboratory and a communication center” for village affairs similar to the programs operated by the People’s Houses all over the country.³⁴

An ideal “Villager’s Hostel” should be constructed with natural building materials and local methods used in the villages, so that it would be a representative modern, standardized building built with modest, traditional techniques. The house would also contain a library, reading room and space for cultural events such as agricultural exhibitions, educational films and conferences, shadow plays and theatre performances. Moreover, the Villager’s Hostel would be administered by a director, who would manage an adult education program (particularly for rural people) and organize hygienic living conditions for the visitors.³⁵

Köymen promoted the Villager’s Hostel as a crucial communication bridge between rural people and the intelligentsia. The cultural program and living circumstances would acquaint these two groups with each other, and the villager would be exposed to the educational programs in the villages managed by the republican regime and its agents. In this way, the villager, who had experience in the village house, would volunteer for socio-cultural activities, brought by the elites from the city to the countryside.³⁶

However, Köymen’s approach supported, once again, the control mechanism of the republican cadre towards the Turkish peasantry and village society to coerce their participation in the “achievement of a more civilized and modernized populace”. It was provocative that he proposed for the villager and the urbanite a sterilized sphere in which they congregated together and came up with the governing tactics for the villager. He tenaciously supported this idea to keep the villager away from “recklessly” wandering in the streets of the city, limiting his actions and urban activities to one particular place.

In addition to practical interventions, research, and conceptual approaches to forming the Turkish village during the early republican period, village newspapers and magazines arose as an additional mouthpiece for public education in rural society, promoting and demonstrating republican accomplishments and ideals for the Turkish peasantry, villages, and rural people. Starting from the alphabet reform in 1928, Turkish elites were inspired to create publications for the villagers. The new media would include issues

34 (Köymen), *Halkçılık ve Köycülük*, 86–87.

35 *Ibid.*, pp. 87–88.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

about village life and the villagers' problems to communicate with the rural people. Therefore, *Köylünün Gazetesi*, first published in 1929, and *Yurt*, first published in 1933, were distributed free of charge to the villages by the state.³⁷

Later, periodicals such as *Karınca*, *Köy Dergisi* and *Köy Postası*, which informed the people and the elites at the same time, included articles, reports and observations about conditions in the villages, the obstacles that the rural populace encountered, development methods for the agricultural realm in the countryside, and methods for the socio-cultural improvement of the peasants with a remarkable tone of statist politics.

In 1934 the Turkish Cooperatives' Association published the magazine *Karınca*, which introduced state operations in the countryside, aiming to answer problems of the Turkish peasantry and bridging the elites with the rural people. It was underlined that the authority – elites and the republican state – should approach Turkish peasants by seeking to speak “the same language”. For example, scholars promoted discussing agricultural labor and challenges in the countryside with the peasants themselves to examine and consider their needs. Moreover, republican intellectuals proposed bringing up the subjects that peasants had not yet demanded. It was believed that only this way would it be possible to comprehend the obstacles posed by rural life in socio-cultural terms, to develop and modernize the Turkish village, and to implement statist reforms in rural Anatolia. Like the village surveys organized by the Village Affair's Branch of People's Houses all over the country, these articles and reports also portrayed social and cultural life in rural Anatolia and promoted a sort of “village journalism”. The “village journalists” were republican intelligentsia sent to the countryside not only to make an observation on the site. But they were pioneers to enhance a “civilized” life in the countryside.³⁸

The idea that the village economy controlled the socio-cultural sphere dominated the discourse, especially after the first programs in the Anatolian countryside in the 1930s. During the late 1930s and early 1940s, magazines and newspapers addressed to the Turkish village and villager concentrated

37 Türkan Çetin, ‘Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köycülük Politikaları: Köye Doğru Hareketi’, in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere*, Bilanço' 98 Yayın Dizisi (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), pp. 213–30, (p.215).

38 Dr. Savran approvingly narrated his visit to Katrancı Village in central Anatolia and participation in the village committee of RPP. Cevdet Nasuhi Savran, ‘Yurdun Bucaklarından: Kantrancı Köyü’, *Karınca: Türk Kooperatifçilik Cemiyetinin Aylık Mecmuası*, 14. Haziran (1935), 5–6.

on news about modernization projects in rural Anatolia, new agricultural methods and production, and small agrarian industry models in the countryside. *Köy Dergisi*, first published in 1939, and *Köy Postası*, first published in 1944, became the major media outlets informing the villagers (and the elites who were engaged with the village) about village affairs and operations by the state. They also educated about topics such as hygiene, health, home economy, childcare, and social and cultural activities in the village.

In the first issue of *Köy Dergisi*, founders Kadri Kemal Kop, Murat Sertoğlu and Necaettin Atasagon announced that the doctrines and aims of the journal were to serve the village, villager, and the intelligentsia according to the major principles of the RPP:

“The village is an administrative unit of a country, but it is the general configuration of Turkey. Seeing and analyzing the village and learning from it means learning [understanding] the whole country.

With this magazine, we will introduce the village of yesterday and today, and the model villages which the republican regime will create from now on.”³⁹

Accordingly, the periodical included reports about agricultural projects in particular regions, and articles about current circumstances, progress and future programs in small towns and villages in Anatolia. In the late 1940s, the connection between the socio-cultural atmosphere and economic circumstances in the Turkish village was more effectively established, and generally echoed in these mediums. In that respect, in addition to the news, informative commentaries for villagers, and literary columns for short stories, poems and myths about village culture and village life, *Köy Postası* introduced a program of travelling village courses to import professional knowledge and build a cultural and economic bridge between the city and country. It was announced that women were to train in needlecraft, and men were to train in carpentry and forging within the program maintained by the Ministry of Education. By presenting practical information about craftsmanship, the goal was to create opportunities for the villager away from agrarian fields, and to sustain the village in its terrain.⁴⁰

Up until the 1940s the village was at the center of discussion about the development of rural Anatolia, using tools such as analysis of the social and eco-

39 Kadri Kop Kemal, Murat Sertoğlu, and Necaettin Atasagon, ‘Köy Dergisi’nin Prensipler ve Gayesi’, *Köy Dergisi*, 1.1 (1939), p. 2. Author’s translation.

40 İsmet Hulusi İmset, ‘Köye Cidelim’, *Köy Postası*, 52.09 (1948), p.13.

conomic structure of village life and cultural narratives in the village. Therefore, the early republican intelligentsia and regime focused on the reconstruction of rural patterns in the framework of nationalization and modernization programs and sought to realize these changes by linking the social, economic, and architectural infrastructure to the village. The 1930s therefore witnessed various empiric operations, including the education program for villagers to bolster the Turkish village. In the 1930s climate, the consensus was that villagers should be promoted and instructed in accordance with the daily needs of their villages. And, starting from the second half of the 1930s, the theme of education played a crucial role in village planning.

Between 1935 and 1937, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, General Director of Elementary Education, and Saffet Arıkan, Minister of National Education, prepared the program for the village schools. A report about the concept of the schools and the qualification of teachers and trainers in the village schools was released: the schools would be organized according to provincial circumstances to serve the children in the region. The schools would be equipped with fields for agricultural training, laboratories, and ateliers, in addition to rooms for seminars, lectures and artistic activities, as well as dormitories. The teacher–candidates should be chosen from the village youth and were to be educated in an atmosphere similar to village life. In this way the teachers would serve as role models for not only the children but also the adults in the village.⁴¹

This report formulated the law (number 3238) – The Village Educators Law of 11 June 1937.⁴² From 1937 to 1939, the first educator schools were established in the villages of İzmir, Eskişehir, Kırklareli and Kastamonu to train candidates who had finished their military service and were inclined to engage in agricultural work in their villages. After three years, the project became law on

41 Bekir Semerci, 'Yeni Arayışlar', in *Köy Enstitüleri: Amaçlar İlkeler Uygulamalar*, ed. by Mustafa Aydoğan, Tanıtım Dizisi, 1 (İstanbul: Köy Enstitüleri ve Çağdaş Eğitim Vakfı Yayınları, 1997), pp. 18–27 (pp. 23–25).

42 The Village Educators Law, numbered 3238. TBMM, *Köy Eğitimcileri Kanunu, 1937* <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc017/kanuntbmmc017/kanuntbmmc01703238.pdf>.

17 April 1940 with law 3803,⁴³ and the Village Institutes officially started up in rural Anatolia and Trace region.⁴⁴

The aim of the institutes was to train village teachers and the other professionals in issues related to village affairs. The education lasted five years, and the students would be directed into different fields according to their relevant skills. The teachers who graduated from the institutes would be responsible for all educational activities in the village where they worked. They would not only lecture in the village schools, but also instruct the villagers in the technical procedures and practices of agrarian production in the provided fields, orchards, and ateliers.⁴⁵

Until the state closed the institutes in 1954, it was intended to establish a substantial education network by separating the country into four regions and organizing the village institutes as the pioneering units in each district. According to İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, the institutes' program was grounded in teaching the students particular practices related to the region. Additionally, the training also addressed social and natural sciences, agriculture, art and sport, introductory excursions for learning about the country, and especially methods for the improvement of literacy in the villages.⁴⁶ In other words, the program provided the education to regenerate the Turkish village and transform its social and economic dynamics. In this way, the village institutes were the centers of "learning by doing" for the villagers and included the rural populace in the development plan in a pragmatic manner that was carried on by the Turkish elite.⁴⁷

In particular, from 1935 (the first drafts of the organization) to 1946 (the first multi-party elections) the project basically promoted teaching the villagers to

43 The Village Institutes Law, numbered 3803. TBMM, *Köy Enstitüleri Kanunu*, 1940, pp. 233–237 <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmco21/kanuntbmmco21/kanuntbmmco2103803.pdf>.

44 Seval Kocak and Culsun Atanur Baskan, 'Village Institutes and Life-Long Learning', *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 46 (2012), 5937–40 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.08.009>>.

45 TBMM, *Köy Enstitüleri Kanunu*, 233.

46 İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, *Eğitim Yolu ile Canlandırılacak Köy*, 2. Baskı (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1947), p. 506.

47 For the comment: M. Asim Karaömerlioğlu, "The Village Institutes Experience in Turkey," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 25, no. 1 (May 1998): 47–73, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/195847>.

sustain rural life with mottos such as “controlling and exploiting nature”, “increasing productivity”, “developing technology”, “being rational”, and directly addressing the connection between the backwardness and ignorance of the rural populace socio-cultural terms with “the incompetence of the peasants in their struggle against the rural environment”.⁴⁸ Fay Kirby summarizes this process, pointing to the pragmatic and empirical methods led by the institutes, but also highlighting the genuine goals underlining the concept of “developing modern values in the Turkish society”, “generating the national culture”, “professionalizing in the economic life”, and “improving the country’s economy” by positioning the village at the center of all courses of action.⁴⁹

The dynamism brought by the village institutes to rural Turkey helped to improve both socio-cultural and economic conditions. The operation paved the way for analyzing the layers of rural society from an insider perspective. In this respect, one of the most important figures was Mahmut Makal, who published his book *Bizim Köy (Our Village)* in 1950, and two years later *Köyümden (From My Village)*, portraying the village in several dimensions. He pointed out that the Turkish village appeared to be neither a socio-cultural project nor an economic nucleus in rural Anatolia. Makal demonstrated that the village was a holistic organism consisting of cultural, social, economic, and ethnic themes. For the first time the village was narrated by the insider, particularly when Makal presented Demirci village, where he was born, and Nürgüz village, where he worked as a teacher after he graduated from Ivriz Village Institute in Konya. At the end of 1940s, Makal’s works also gained political significance due to his critical reading of early republican programs for the emerging Turkish peasantry.⁵⁰ Makal clearly discussed the obstacles in the statist program from the villagers’ perspective. His work consisted of several chapters about the social, cultural, and economic details of village life and the political positions of the villagers.⁵¹

48 Ibid, p. 63.

49 Fay Kirby, *Türkiye’de Köy Enstitüleri*, trans. by Niyazi Berkes, 3. Baskı (İstanbul: Tarihçi Kitabevi, 2010), p. 269.

50 He was accused by the Turkish government of “communist propaganda” in 1950 and jailed for two months. See Lewis Thomas J., ‘Foreword’, in *A Village in Anatolia* (London: Vallentine, Mitchell & Co. Ltd., 1954), pp. ix–xii (p. xi).

51 In 1954 Mahmut Makal’s books *Our Village (Bizim Köy)* and *From My Village (Köyümden)* were compiled and translated into English as one book, *A Village in Anatolia*, with contributions by Lewis V. Thomas and social anthropologist Paul Stirling. Mahmut Makal,

The village institutes and the progress they brought about in the Turkish countryside established a bridge between many actors such as the politicians, urban intelligentsia, villagers, and feudal landowners. The village institutes created the potential for a bottom-up rise instead of the top-down implementations of the Kemalist regime. Within the political climate of 1950s, however, the existence of the institutes and their power in the countryside were considered as a threat to governmental prepotency. Although the impact of the project was echoed in the later years, the institutes continued to be a romanticized ideal in rural Turkey.

Economic Planning

Government economic policy contemplated the reformation of rural Turkey from the early years of the republic. During the 1930s economic planning for the Turkish village was framed in terms of keeping the village community in its socio-cultural sphere and improving production activities locally by developing modern infrastructure in the rural areas. According to Caglar Keyder, in the 1940s the village was still traditionally organized in its social and economic aspects. The exceptions were minor regions in Anatolia where rural households engaged in local trade. These areas had been included in the market since the late 19th century by foreign merchandise groups, and non-Muslim citizens had been deported since the years of the First World War.⁵²

Considering that the rural populace was the majority of the country,⁵³ the populist approach to economic policy at the time implied another significant dimension of village planning in the 1920s. On 1 March 1922, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the first republican president of Turkey, gave a speech that became a motto in reference to the Turkish villager and was used as a significant propaganda statement by many politicians in the following years:

A Village in Anatolia, ed. by Paul Stirling, trans. by Sir Wyndham Deedes, (London: Valentine, Mitchell & Co. Ltd., 1954).

- 52 Caglar Keyder, "Genesis of Petty Commodity Production in Agriculture: The Case of Turkey," in *Culture and Economy: Changes in Turkish Villages*, ed. Paul Stirling (Huntingdon: Eothen, 1993), 171–72.
- 53 Around 1923 the populace of Turkey largely consisted of landowners, small agriculture holders and non-landowner villagers, especially after the Armenians and Greeks, who traditionally dominated trade and capital networks, were forced to leave during the wars.

“The real warden and governor of Turkey is the villager, who is the real producer. Then the villager deserves prosperity and wealth more than anyone else. Therefore, the government of Grand National Assembly of Turkey directs economic policy to construct the foundations of this aim.”⁵⁴

The first attempt to improve the conditions of “the real warden and governor of Turkey” was the First Economy Congress in İzmir from 17 February to 4 March 1923, before the official proclamation of the Republic of Turkey on 23 October 1923. The congress was focused on determining the economic principles of the new Turkish state, of which the majority were living in villages and towns, laboring in small agricultural households, craftsmanship or small manufacturing.⁵⁵ In 1923, 10.3 million of Turkey’s total population of 13.6 million were agricultural holders, small landowners or landless peasants, and living in the small rural towns or villages.⁵⁶

Although the program to restore industry emerged as the larger theme during the meetings, the foodstock via agrarian activities formed an important part of the congress. This directed topics of discussion to rural areas, particularly to the strategies for regenerating economic life in the villages. With the

54 Atatürk, *Atatürk’ün söylev ve demeçleri*, 2006, 239. Ayşe Afeinan introduced her book, published for the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of Turkish Republic with the title *Our Villages – Köylerimiz – Köylerimiz*, with the same quotation. Ayşe Afeinan, *Cumhuriyet’in Ellinci Yılı İçin: Köylerimiz*, vol. XVI, 36 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1978), VII. Author’s translation.

55 ‘İktisat Esaslarımız: 17 Şubat 339 – 4 Mart 339 Tarihine Kadar İzmir’de Toplanan İlk Türk İktisat Kongresinde Kabul Olunan Esaslar ve İrat Olunan Nutuklar’, in *İzmir İktisat Kongresi, 17 Şubat – 4 Mart 1923*, ed. by Ayşe Afeinan, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları XVI. Dizi, 46 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1982), pp. 17–90.

56 *İstatistik Göstergeler – Statistical Indicators, 1923–1992*, 1682 (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1994), p. 8. See also, Oya Köymen, “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Tarımsal Yapı ve Tarım Politikaları,” in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere*, Bilanço’ 98 Yayın Dizisi (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), 1. According to a 1932 report, in 1927 the population was 13.65 million living in only 40 locations, with the higher density in the west Anatolia, east Thrace. There were 13 cities with the population of over 30,000 people, which was 12% of the whole population. The big cities in which industry and trade relatively dominated the regions, were İstanbul, Bursa, İzmir, Ankara, Konya and Adana. Among the whole population, 5.8 million people were considered as belonging to an occupational group, and 4.3 million of this group worked in agriculture. The other 8.2 million people were villagers who labored in agrarian fields and households. *İktisadi Türkiye: Tabii, Beşeri ve Mevzii Coğrafya Tetkikleri*, 38, 42–49.

initial operations, the aim was to bring about economic recovery in the country, addressing obstacles such as reforming and consolidating the network and resources of the national economy, and providing a sustainable market for local and regional producers.⁵⁷ Thus the state gradually planned to construct better infrastructure to boost the economic life and sustain this improvement. The government passed laws pertaining to the conditions for agricultural laborers, including legal agreements between the landowners and agrarian workers, and it took a step towards new regulations for landownership reform.⁵⁸

In this respect, the first regularization occurred in the Village Law (number 442) on 18 March 1924, declaring the village a legal entity for the first time.⁵⁹ In addition to this, to revive production in the villages, on 21 April 1924, through another law (number 498), the government encouraged farmers and small-holders from the same region to cooperate in the agrarian fields.⁶⁰ And, in the law (number 1470) of 28 May 1929, the Agricultural Credit Cooperatives was

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- 57 The state primarily focused on industrial growth in the agenda; nevertheless, there were several attempts to increase the quality and quantity of agricultural production. First of all, the Agriculture Ministry operated stations for seed improvement in 1926 in Eskişehir, Adana, Adapazari, Edirne and Ankara. From 1927, the new seeds were exported and studied in these stations. In addition, starting from 1925, the Agriculture Ministry established exemplar farms in order to demonstrate the new techniques and methods in agriculture and become a model in their regions. *Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi Yayını: Türk Ziraat Tarihine Bir Bakış* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1938), 282., and İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, 'Devletçilik Dönemi Tarım Politikaları (Modernleşme Çabaları)', in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), pp. 43–56 (p. 47–49).
- 58 Ayşe Afet Inan. Çağlar Keyder introduces the İzmir Economy Congress as the step for the "encouragement of industry", pointing out that the congress echoed the 1913 Law for the Encouragement of Industry, which was still kept on the agenda during the first years of the republic. See also Çağlar Keyder, *The Definition of a Peripheral Economy: Turkey, 1923–1929*, Studies in Modern Capitalism = Etudes Sur Le Capitalisme Moderne (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York and Paris: Cambridge University Press; Editions de la maison des sciences de l'homme, 1981), pp. 25, 57–58.
- 59 "Köy Kanunu," Pub. L. No. 442, 237 (1924), <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMeti/1.3.442.pdf>.; Gafur Soyulu, *Köy Nedir ve Nasıl İdare Edilir*, 2. Basılış (İstanbul: Marifet Basımevi, 1940), 7–27.
- 60 TBMM, *İtibarı Zirai Birliği Kanunu*, 1924, pp. 396–97 (p. 396) <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmco02/kanuntbmmco02/kanuntbmmco0200498.pdf>.

enacted by the state to maintain the production of farmers and villagers who held arable lands.⁶¹

During the first years of the republic, village development dealt with obstacles stemming from the economic depression that lasted until the beginning of the 1930s. The economic policy of the state tended to concentrate on industry, promoting the manufacture of industrial raw material for internal and external markets instead of supporting agriculture-based production, the occupation of the majority of the population.⁶² The villagers, who were smallholders and laborers in agrarian farms, confronted severe circumstances that prompted the government to seek solutions for underdeveloped areas. On 5 January 1931, the first Agricultural Congress was assembled in Ankara with representatives of councils of several agricultural regions, the Ministry of Economy, and the state banks. The congress concentrated on finding answers to topics such as technical backwardness in agrarian activities, new economic resources for farmers and villagers, transportation of agrarian goods, improvement of the market, enhancement of the quality of agricultural production, promotion of agricultural education and professions, engagement with foreign markets, and difficulties in the living conditions of villagers.⁶³ The deci-

61 *Zirai Kredi Kooperatifleri Kanunu*, 1929 <<http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/1208.pdf>>. On 21 October 1935, the law for Agricultural Credit Cooperatives established within the new law number 2836 included larger state control of the credits and partnerships. See TBMM, *Tarım Kredi Kooperatifleri Kanunu*, 1935, pp. 764–69 <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc015/kanuntbmmc015/kanuntbmmc01502836.pdf>. For further reading on the structure of agricultural cooperatives in Turkey's history, see also Özlem Kocabaş Yıldırım, *Türkiye'de Tarımsal Kooperatifçilik Düşüncesinin Gelişimi*, Libra Kitap, 35, 1. baskı (Osmanbey, İstanbul: Libra Kitap, 2010).

62 Until early 1930s, the government focused on judicial arrangements for the production of industrial raw materials such as tobacco, sugar, and cotton which were produced by the landowners and smallholders in particular areas. Especially during the years of economic depression, the aim was to adjust the production of agricultural material and industrial raw material, and to strengthen the statist tone in the economy with new regulations. See Hamit Bey, *Devlet İnhisarlarına Mütteallik Mevzuat*, İnhisarlar Umum Müdürlüğü Hukuk Müşavirliği, I, II (İstanbul: İnhisarlar Matbaası, 1932).; Oya Köymen, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Tarımsal Yapı ve Tarım Politikaları," 10–12.

63 *İhtisas Raporları: 1931 Birinci Türkiye Ziraat Kongresi* (Ankara: Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti, 1931), 1. During the First Agriculture Congress, the National Economy and Appropriations Association organized an international exhibition for agricultural technology, inviting foreign allies such as Russia and Hungary. See Türkan Çetin, '1929 Dünya Ekonomik Bunalımı Sonrası Türkiye'nin Tarım Politikasında Arayışlar: Birinci

sions made in the congress are seen in the first and second industrial plans of 1933 and 1936,⁶⁴ and directed the policy for economic planning of Turkish villages during the 1930s.

In addition to the governmental interventions in the rural economy, a group of intellectuals gathered under the journal *Kadro* (*Cadre*), which was published from 1932 to 1935 and supported the populist and statist operations for improvement in rural Turkey. İsmail Hüsrev Tökin, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Vedat Nedim Tör, Burhan Asaf Belge and the novelist Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu concentrated on the village economy from statist and populist perspectives, promoting the RPP's, and hence the state's, policy interventions. From this point of view, the group associated with *Kadro* represented the economic dimension of republican ideology by introducing the village as the center of the development plan and the core of social categorization in Turkey.⁶⁵

The group pointed to the legitimized definition of republican ideals in theory and practice. Building a new country during the depression could not be considered only a political matter, but also involved the economic circumstances in the formation of state structures. The statist perspective would resolve the actual and future problems and achieve prosperity and socio-cultural reinforcement. According to Şevket Süreyya Aydemir:

“The first duty of the state should be to intervene [and control] the national economy in the frame of (and in accordance with) the national and international status, not promoting only one limited class [referring to the privileged classes in Ottoman State as an example]. The state would be the organization that represented and regulated the people at the same time;

Türkiye Ziraat Kongresi', *DEÜ Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2.6–7 (1996), 213–26 (p. 214).

- 64 According to Ayşe Afet İnan, Turkey's first industry plan formed in 1933 for a period of five years and focused on the program for statist operations in industrial fields related to agriculture. The second industry plan, formed in 1936, intended to apply to a larger area than the agriculture-based improvement, but it concentrated on government enterprises and the encouragement of private associations in industry as well as it aimed to maintain the adjustments in agrarian economy. *Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin İkinci Sanayi Planı 1936*, XVI (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973), XXI, pp. VII–X.
- 65 İlhan Tekeli and Gencay Şaylan, 'Türkiye'de Halkçılık İdeolojisinin Evrimi', *Toplum ve Bilim Dergisi*, 6–7. Yaz-Güz (1978), 111–56.

namely it would emerge from the people but conduct the public life, build the economic accumulations, and adopt them on behalf of the people.⁶⁶

Within a series of articles in *Kadro*, İsmail Hüsrev Tökin specifically analyzed the national economy with the village as the core theme, and detailed the village economy in terms of several topics such as ground rent and land ownership in rural areas,⁶⁷ feudalism and its impacts in rural Turkey,⁶⁸ economic changes in village life,⁶⁹ land reform and land provision for villagers,⁷⁰ and cooperatives⁷¹ and other forms of agricultural enterprises in Anatolia.⁷² In these articles Tökin presented the fundamental problem that the national funds had remained in the cities instead of the villages. Thus, the Turkish village, even though it was the key form of settlement for most of the population, was underdeveloped, with economic problems and difficulties in the socio-cultural sphere. He advocated statist reforms in the village economy, beginning with the land and landowners, in addition to the re-organization of agricultural labor in the villages and the class definition of the village population.⁷³

İsmail Hüsrev Tökin highlighted that statist reforms should begin with land provision for villagers who did not hold cultivated land already. The aim was to rationalize agrarian production by connecting the villager to the land and thus to increase national income. It was also believed that an ideal land reform would extinguish every aspect of social polarization, which prevented

66 Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir), *İnkılâp ve Kadro: İnkılâbın İdeolojisi* (Ankara: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1932), p. 109. Author's translation.

67 İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Türkiye Köy İktisadiyatında Toprak Rantı', *Kadro*, 4. Nisan (1932), 10–14.

68 İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Milli İktisat Tetkikleri: Türkiye'de Toprak Ağalığı', *Kadro*, 9. Eylül (1932), 23–29., and İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Milli İktisat Tetkikleri: Şark Vilayetlerinde Derebeylik', *Kadro*, 11. İkinci Teşrin (1932), 22–29.

69 İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Milli İktisat Tetkikleri: Anadolu Köyünde Bünye Tahavvülü', *Kadro*, 14. Şubat (1933), 18–24.

70 İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Milli İktisat Tetkikleri: Türk Köylüsü Bir Toprak Reformu Bekliyor', *Kadro*, 21. Eylül (1933), 21–24., and İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Milli İktisat Tetkikleri: Türk Köylüsünü Topraklandırmalı. Fakat Nasıl?', *Kadro*, 23. İkinci Teşrin (1933), 33–39.

71 Vedat Nedim (Tör), 'Millet İktisadiyatı: Köylü Kazanmalıdır', *Kadro*, 33. Eylül (1934), 11–15. According to Vedat Nedim Tör agricultural cooperatives, encouraged by the state, assisted small producers not only in connecting them with the market, but the cooperatives also provided modern agrarian technical equipment and methods.

72 İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Milli İktisat Tetkikleri: Anadolu'da Zirai İşletme Şekilleri', *Kadro*, 24. Birinci Kanun (1933), 25–32.

73 İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Millet İçinde Sınıf Meselesi II', *Kadro*, 26. Şubat (1934), 20–26.

the emergence of national integrity. Statist land reform would provide land to villagers and forge national cooperation in agricultural labor.⁷⁴ Tökin argued that the state should encourage villagers and farmers in technical and organizational matters such as quality improvement in agricultural production, affordable credit, and profitable marketing advantages. However, landownership remained a problem in social and economic stratification, and a large scope of legislative reorganization was needed to consolidate the economy in rural areas.⁷⁵

In the early 1930s landowners in Turkey had varying profiles depending on their location. First, in the eastern regions, the feudal structure was still maintained and dominated by the aghas – landowners who held the villages and the surrounding cultivated land. Second, in the western and middle regions of Anatolia especially, sharecroppers who did not own agrarian land worked together with the landowners. Third, in the industrially developed areas such as Adana, İzmir and Istanbul, agricultural producers who were also landowners ran farms equipped with modernized technology and employed the villagers. Fourth, throughout Anatolia, there were self-contained smallholdings, run by families with a limited amount of cultivated land such as vineyards and orchards. Considering these circumstances, scholars pointed to the potential for technical and legislative reforms in rural Turkey. They principally advocated for state intervention to modernize agricultural production and the education of villagers. They also argued for the provision of land for all villagers to remove the privileges of feudalism in particular regions and to fix the economic balance between the different social groups in the country.⁷⁶

The *Kadro* group urged republican reforms. At the same time, they campaigned for a realistic path in rural development, highlighting the village as the economic center of the country. The group's discussions inspired efforts to advance Turkey's peasant class and fulfil their social and economic potential, as had already occurred in Europe and Russia but not previously in Turkey.

Starting from the mid-1930s, contributions from republican intellectuals on the planning of the Turkish village and seeking solutions for the economic disadvantages of the villager resulted in an acceleration of regulations. Indeed, the legislative proceedings started with two early acts. First, the government

74 (Tökin), "Milli İktisat Tetkikleri: Türk Köylüsünü Topraklandırmalı. Fakat Nasıl?," 33.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

76 *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 24.

declared on 2 June 1929 in law number 1505 that the agricultural lands belonging to people displaced from eastern provinces to the west, were to be provided to villagers, migrants, and refugees. On 13 March 1930, the recorder of deeds announced the new ordinance that the government would distribute ownerless lands seized after the deportation of the Greek populace to the local and exchanged people.⁷⁷ But these developments were not sufficient to bring economic advancement to the countryside.

On 14 June 1934, the Settlement Law number 2510 was enacted for organizing housing in the rural areas as well as regulating cultivated land distribution for the exchanged population, encouraging residents to move to areas where the Kurdish populace dominated.⁷⁸ The goal of the law and its regulations enacted in 1936 was to ease the ethnic conflict that had emerged between the republican authority and the people in the eastern regions since the late 1920s.⁷⁹ Moreover, the settlement law condemned property in order to provide agricultural fields for people who agreed to settle in the places chosen by the governors. This became one of the first examples of state expropriation of private lands in the eastern provinces.⁸⁰

Nevertheless, legal interventions in the economic planning of the village were implemented parallel to land reform and scientific analysis for the benefit of development and sustainability in agriculture. Within the law (number 2291), enacted on 10 June 1933, the Higher Institute of Agriculture was founded in Ankara with professor of agriculture Friedrich Falke (1871–1948) as its first president and the objective of educating students in the fields of agriculture, veterinary science, natural science, agricultural craftsmanship, and forestry.⁸¹

The institute focused on technology and methods in agrarian production that could be easily transmitted to farmers and agricultural workers by the

77 Tapu Kadastro Umum Müdürlüğü, 'Mübadil ve Yerli Ahaliye Tevzi Edilen Arazi Kayıtları Hakkında Tamim', *Resmi Gazete* (Ankara, 13 March 1930), section 1444, p. 8765.

78 TBMM, *İskan Kanunu*, 1934 <<http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/2733.pdf>>, and "İskan Kanunu," *Resmi Gazete*, 04 1934, sec. 2733, <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/2733.pdf>.

79 Uğur Ümit Üngör points out that the settlement law, enacted in 1934, allowed for the deportation of the Kurdish population and also the polarization of the country into two parts: Turkish west and Kurdish east. Üngör, pp. 153–54.

80 For this comment: Karaömerlioğlu, *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta*, 120–21.

81 Kerim Çağlar Ömer, *Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü: Kanunlar, Kararnameler, Bütçe ve Talimatnameler*, T.C. Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü Neşriyatı 101 (Ankara: Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü Basımevi, 1940), 11–13.

students who would train in the farms and villages during their education.⁸² In addition, the institute promulgated research and practical instruction programs for agrarian people. Starting from 1934, under the directorship of Otto Gerngross who was the head of Faculty of Agricultural Technology, the institute published a series of instructional books known as *Çiftçiye Öğütler* (Guides to the Farmer) for farmers and agricultural producers.⁸³

In 1935 Friedrich Falke announced that the institute was to play a critical role in the development of an academic organization for scientific applications to agriculture. He advocated that Turkish science should follow two significant directions. First, scholars should concentrate on the land, the people, and their particular problems in order to develop the national scientific perspective on agricultural growth. Second, they should get acquainted with relevant global debates, technology, and methodology to achieve recognition in the scientific world. Friedrich Falke pointed to these two objectives as the fundamental principles of the institute and its program.⁸⁴

The Higher Institute of Agriculture, the Bank of Agriculture and the cooperatives collaborated to found the Agriculture Associations⁸⁵ in order to respond to problems in the countryside and to organize villagers and farmers in each village in accordance with local circumstances. It was believed that the associations in the villages would serve to instruct the people in more sufficient methods and techniques in agriculture, provide the equipment for more profitable production, and assist them with handling their goods in the market.⁸⁶

Since the first years of the republic the state had been seeking to advance agriculture by building seed improvement stations, organizing the distribution of developed seeds to the peasants, funding animal farms to revive stock-

82 Çağlar, 37, 61–62.

83 Otto Gerngross, *Şarap Kurulması: Bağbozumundan İçkiyi Elde Edinceye Kadar Şarap İçin Yapılacak İşler Hakkında Çiftçiye Öğütler – Weinbereitung: Ratgeber für den praktischen Landwirt zur richtigen Behandlung des Weines von der Traubenlese bis zum fertigen Getränk*, trans. by Turgut Küşat, *Çiftçiye Öğütler*, 1 (Ankara: Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü Basımevi, 1934).

84 Friedrich Falke, 'Die Landwirtschaftliche Hochschule Ankara am Schluss ihres zweiten Studienjahres', *La Turquie Kemaliste*, 9. Octobre (1935), 2–9 (pp. 2–3).

85 Agriculture Associations was founded on 15 May 1957 with law numbered 6964. TBMM, *Ziraat Odaları ve Ziraat Odaları Birliği Kanunu*, 1957, pp. 3119–35 <<http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.3.6964.pdf>>.

86 Alaettin Topçubaşı Cemil, 'Köy Tarım Odaları ve Tarımsal Kredi Kooperatifleri', *Karınca: Türk Kooperatifçilik Cemiyetinin Aylık Mecmuası*, 15. Temmuz (1935), 16–19.

breeding, fighting against agricultural diseases, and organizing forestry affairs and plantations.⁸⁷ However, in 1934 there were only 63,936 members from 2550 villages in agriculture cooperatives, through which the state and institutional organizations provided assistance to the producers.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, these endeavors paved the way for the first Village and Agricultural Development Congress in 1938. On 29 December 1938 the commissions reported on topics such as vineyard and orchard agriculture, field agriculture, animal breeding and forage, forestry, agricultural handicraft, marketing, and agricultural education.⁸⁹ A consensus emerged during the congress that the country's economy was fundamentally based on the peasantry and depended on the development of the village community. In addition to strengthening the relationship between agricultural production and industry, the congress explored options to increase the quality of production, to rationalize and modernize agrarian activities, and to integrate local goods into foreign markets. To this end, delegates presented the organizational structures of agricultural cooperatives in the USA, Latin America, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. In particular, they pointed to peasant associations in Switzerland as a model for Turkey.⁹⁰

The commission reports illustrated the condition of the Turkish peasantry, methods for increasing agrarian production, adjustments and necessary regulations in governmental organizations and initiatives in agriculture, and state support for farmers and agricultural craftsmen. The decisions highlighted some crucial points for village planning. First, it stressed the urgency of land provision for landless peasants, following the cadastral planning of cultivated fields in and around the villages. The delegates then decided on programs for improving the physical condition of villages, such as land reclamation around rural areas, and the rehabilitation and restoration of hygiene and sanitation in village houses. In addition, a proposal was put forward to provide more radios in the villages, and to broadcast for and about village life in the national media.⁹¹

The congress had a significant impact on village life, creating a much more realistic agenda for country planning in rural Turkey by concentrating on the

87 *Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi Yayını: Türk Ziraat Tarihine Bir Bakış*, 300.

88 Topçubaşı, "Köy Tarım Odaları ve Tarımsal Kredi Kooperatifleri," 17.

89 *Birinci Köy Kalkınma Kongresi Komisyonlar Mazbatası* (Ankara: TBMM, 1938), p. 2, TBMM Kütüphanesi, 75–920.

90 *Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi: Belgeler* (Ankara: T.C. Ziraat Vekaleti, 1938), 69–91.

91 *Ibid.*, pp. 337–40.

village community in the economic realm. Furthermore, the studies presented at the conference at the end of the 1930s offered a holistic perspective, displaying not only the village's socio-cultural aspects and capacities, but also its place in the economic development and modernization of the country.

At the end of 1930s the republican authorities re-emphasized rural planning and reformation targets for the Turkish village and Turkish peasantry. State politics focused on comprehensive land reform, interventions in the village economy enabling peasants to participate in the agricultural industry, management of sustainable, sufficient life in the villages to prevent unrestrained rural depopulation, and the political pacification and control of rural population in the villages. Government operations were still a major force in rural areas and were promoted by scholars who presented their ideas for the improvement of the village economy.

Among these scholars, Nusret Kemal Köymen again presented the argument that industrialization in rural areas and its organization in villages would induce progress in the countryside. He proposed to provide work for industrial laborers in rural areas instead of establishing industry around the cities. In this way, the village would prosper and be integrated with the country's economy:

“Turkey, with about 80 per cent of her population living in villages, only few little industrialized cities and with all the lessons she is learning from costly and painful experiences of the Western World and the new technical possibilities, is building her new industries away from big cities.

As there are but few big cities in Turkey to lure away the more enterprising, leaving villages as living cemeteries where old people eke out a meagre living from depleted soil, the question of “rural exodus” is unknown in Turkey. And the new rising tide of rural industrialization is promising a better future to village and agriculture.

The motto of the Turkish Revolution is not “Back to the land” but “Forward to the progressive village”.⁹²

Köymen also published his book *Türk Köyünü Yükseltme Çareleri* (Solutions for the Rise of the Turkish Village) in 1939, highlighting the fundamental problems of the village community in achieving “modern facilities and circumstances, production, consumption, participation in the state economy, welfare and

92 Nusret Kemal Köymen, ‘Forward to the Progressive Village’, *La Turquie Kemaliste*, 32. Avril (1939), 15–18 (p. 18).

knowledge”.⁹³ Repeatedly in the book he proposed supporting industrialization in rural areas and organizing the village in accordance with the industrial enterprises, which would be built to provide the villagers another occupation outside agriculture. In this way, more of the country’s population in the villages would benefit from better living conditions. He also pointed to industrial towns in Europe, the USA and Mexico that had been built since the late 19th century. With these as examples, he suggested similar town models fitted to the community of the Turkish village and adapted to their industrial activities.⁹⁴

However, in the 1940s the reality in Turkish villages did not meet this expectation, and the economic and socio-cultural conditions were still severe. As Çağlar Keyder explains: “The village was often the only life-world, and all national and world concerns were filtered through its structure; market transactions were few and infrequent; most of the output was for household’s own consumption or for local exchange; hardly any of the productive inputs required for a technology of wooden plough and a team of oxen were purchased from outside the domestic sphere.”⁹⁵ Undoubtedly the common ground for the state, republican intelligentsia, farmers, producers and villagers was the land reform besides other programs.

There had been a few steps made towards land provision regulations when the village was formed as an administrative legal entity,⁹⁶ but the political and economic instability of the war years had the result that the Turkish government regularly shelved legislation for effective land reform. The place of landless villagers among the rural populace was still a crucial theme until 1945. In addition, in the mid-1940s the RPP recognized their declining political domination, and with land reform the party aimed to regain the support of the rural masses. Relatedly, on 11 June 1945 law number 4753 (Land Provision for Farmers) was enacted in the parliament, becoming the greatest propaganda tool for the RPP in the 1945 election. This legislation aimed to cultivate the agriculture-based economy and support peasant families in the country. According to the law, land would be provided by the state to villagers who were only agrarian

93 Nusret Kemal Köymen, *Türk Köyünü Yükseltme Çareleri* (Ankara: Çankaya Matbaası, 1939), 8.

94 Ibid, pp. 14–21.

95 Keyder, “Genesis of Petty Commodity Production in Agriculture: The Case of Turkey,” 171–72.

96 Soyulu, *Köy Nedir ve Nasıl İdare Edilir*, 52–53.

workers, renters or sharecroppers, farmers who did not own sufficient fields for financial viability, graduate students from the Higher Institute of Agriculture who did not own arable fields, nomads, and immigrants.⁹⁷

According to Asım Karaömerlioğlu, the land reform passed in 1945 was not truly politically radical in its impact in rural Turkey, but rather a strictly conventional program to keep villagers in their villages and to reinforce the importance of this group through landownership for the benefit of the regime. Moreover, the land reform availed to prevent the rise of potential leftist and radical political oppositions, and to secure the privilege of the state in a country in which people had not been urbanized, or culturally and socially diversified.⁹⁸

The date of the law corresponded to another significant point at the beginning of the post-war period. Especially from 1945 to 1960, the economic dynamics surrounding Turkey appeared in two forms: the socialist formula of the Soviet Union, and the capitalist formula of the Western countries. As Turkey decided to step up to Western Europe and the USA, the economic structure promptly constrained major adjustments. Sinan Yıldırım highlights that this period resonated very dramatically throughout the Turkish peasantry, and hence in the Turkish village. Right after the statist land reform, the 1947 Economic Development Plan of Turkey adapted private enterprise instead of domestic capital to make inroads for Turkish industry and commerce within the international market economy.⁹⁹

The law for land provision introduced statist approaches to the economic planning of the Turkish village in terms of agricultural development. However, less than a decade after the implementation of this reform, the state adopted capitalist solutions, resulting in a concentration on cities and urbanization. In other words, the transformation of the state's economic mentality because of alternatives and preferences in the post-war period is reflected in the village society as an impediment to improvement for the majority of the population. On a larger scale, the decisions taken after 1945 caused the depopulation of rural Turkey and centralization of labor in the cities.

97 Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu, 1945 <<http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/6032.pdf>>.

98 Karaömerlioğlu, *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta*, 143.

99 Sinan Yıldırım, *Politics and the Peasantry in Post-War Turkey: Social History, Culture and Modernization*, Library of Ottoman Studies, 46 (London New York: I.B. Tauris, 2017), pp. 53, 55.

Architectural Planning

Starting from the early years of the republic, the socio-cultural and economic programs led to the regeneration of rural life and improvement of the village community. In addition, the village was considered the spatial core of the countryside and the improvement of its architecture became a government objective. Thus, during the 1930s, Turkish architects introduced various ideas about rural settlements and rural dwellings, considering architecture a powerful agent for the development program in the rural Anatolia.

The village discourse in architecture had several inputs, but in early 1930s, among Turkish architects, it evolved into a criticism of the state's interventions, arguing that the spatial organization of new villages was alien and conflicted with the needs of villagers.¹⁰⁰ Indeed some scholars advocated for a new profession – village architect – who would concentrate on this theme. Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu presented the “village architect”, who would follow contemporary developments in design and construction and conform to the expectations of peasants to a national subtlety. He believed that village architecture arose from inside, and thus the architect should be acquainted with the village environment: “The village is constructed with its own stone, soil and wood.”¹⁰¹ He presented a scheme for an ideal settlement with descriptions of the state's new building program.

The site plan consisted of rectangular parts that formed a square. In the center, there was a public square, coffee house, and a school, with the village houses arranged around the center. These houses were larger and much more articulated than existing village houses and had direct access to the agricultural fields. The public square served for social organizations such as touring theatres and cinemas. In the center of the square the coffee house, which included a library, became a gathering space for the villagers. According to Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu, the coffee house emerged as the “modern temple of the villager”.¹⁰²

The architect proposed the local materials and building methods for the construction of the village. Thus, he believed that the “national” component of the village would be accomplished. He also advocated delivering modern living

100 Sdıka Çetin, ‘Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köyün Modernizasyonu, Örnek Köyler Üzerinden Okuma’, *Arredomento Mimarlık*, 2003, 99–105 (pp. 101–2).

101 Abdullah Ziya (Kozanoğlu), ‘Köy Mimarisi’, *Ülkü*, 5. Haziran (1933), 370–74 (p. 370).

102 Ibid, p. 38.

standards to the village. The villager would then participate in a modernization project in his own territory, apart from city-dwellers. In other words, Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu was suggesting a built environment produced with tactics adapted to rural Turkey.

The village proposals comprised components of the republican development program. Yet religious institutions, which still had a large impact on village communities, were intentionally not represented in models for the projects. Strongly affirming the secular agenda of Kemalist regime, most of the ideal village planning did not emphasize a spatial organization that could take the place of sacred space. Not only the religious image of a mosque, but also its social impact on the Islamic community were considered a threat to authority. No doubt the mosque was a provocative symbol against modernization, and the aim was that villagers would ideally be attached to the social activities defined by governmental program to civilize the community in a modern sense.¹⁰³

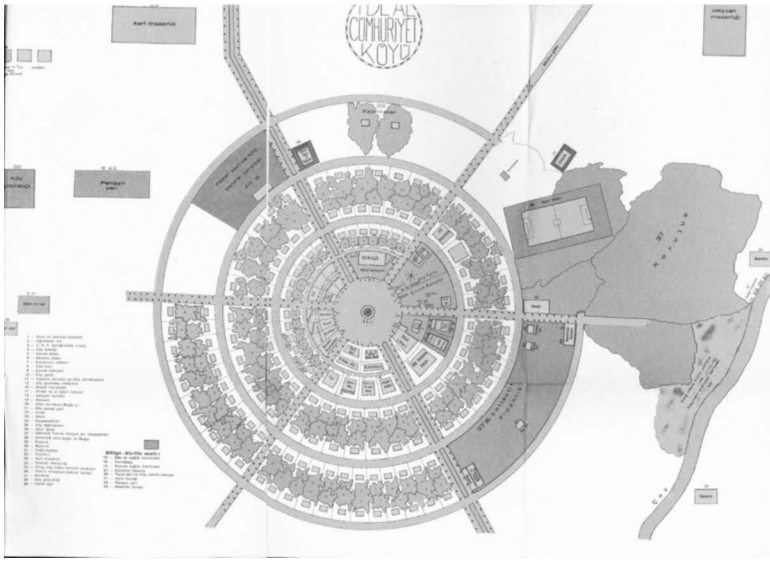
Gülsüm Baydar discusses these conceptual projects grounded in national and regional research. She points out that these approaches were incomparable and different to the existing villages in Anatolia. Scenarios, under the theme of “ideal villages”, were schematic adaptations of the “Ideal City” concept introduced in Europe from the end the 19th century.¹⁰⁴ Likewise, the “Ideal Republican Village” (*İdeal Cumhuriyet Köyü*)¹⁰⁵ presented in the early 1930s by Kazım Dirik, the governor of İzmir, was a blueprint of Ebenezer Howard’s “Garden City” diagram, adapted to the concept of the republican village. The proposal was developed from the center with a monumental emphasis on the periphery. The first segment included public places such as the school, hospital, mosque, guesthouse and village hotel, village bar, the village association, and the agriculture office, and the RPP’s house. The village houses were located in the second segment. The third segment consisted of the market area, factories, sports fields, fairground, coppice, and medical center. A cemetery and village rubbish dump were located outside of the circular organization. All segments had axial connections with each other. **(Figure 3.2.)**

103 Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 116.

104 Gülsüm Baydar (Nalbantoğlu), ‘Silent Interruptions: Urban Encounters with Rural Turkey’, in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. by Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, Publications on the Near East, 3 (Seattle: London: University of Washington Press, 1997), pp. 192–210 (p. 153).

105 Dirik, TCBCA, 30.1.0.0/111.705.8.

Figure 3.2. “The Ideal Republican Village” proposed by Kazim Dirik.¹⁰⁶



Another diagram of ideal village planning was proposed by Burhan Arif Ongun in 1935. In the project, the housing area was organized parallel to the village center, which introduced the public program along an axis. Two symmetrical public squares were located in the center, and in between were the bazaar, village association, schools, gendarmerie, village club, museum and a fountain. Another architect, Abidin Mortaş, described Burhan Arif Ongun's project within the framework of an organic relationship with Western industrial city concepts: “Cities which are settled according to feasible and science-based state plans, can have a mechanism to control residential and industrial demand of population in a cultural and sustainable context. Village planning, grounded on this formation, is substantial.”¹⁰⁷

However, neither cities nor villages were able to develop in accordance with European models. Also, the social structure presented with the building program contrasted with the real circumstances in the country. The formula

106 Ayşe Afet Inan, *Cumhuriyet'in Ellinci Yılı İçin: Köylerimiz*, 36 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1978), XVI.

107 Abidin Mortaş, “Köy Projesi: Mimar Burhan Arif,” *Arkitekt* 59–60, no. 11–12 (1935): 320.

was ambiguous: the architects, on the one hand, emphasized the sustainability maintained by the regional and traditional structure of rural life. On the other hand, they argued that villagers were “the people of today” who needed to be modernized. Thus, Abidin Mortaş asserted that village planning should fit the modest and pure living habits of the settlers, but also should be equipped with contemporary components of modern life. Accordingly, general planning should be considered by professionals such as architects; however, the settler should determine the details of the spatial organization himself.¹⁰⁸

Moreover, architect Zeki Sayar maintained that the tools of modern architecture and planning should be implemented in the countryside to form a culturally and socially improved rural life. To substantiate his ideas, Zeki Sayar referred to Germany’s agricultural colonies, established for industrial workers to return to the countryside, and he enthusiastically supported the operation that accomplished the economic agenda and national goals at the same time. According to Zeki Sayar, “nation building with agricultural colonies shows an aim for a new lifestyle in the countryside”,¹⁰⁹ and this approach could also be adapted to Turkey’s landscape. A systematic practice of “internal colonization” could help the state achieve the economic, national, and socio-cultural transformation of rural Turkey. Zeki Sayar elaborated on the internal colonization model equipped with modern notions in contrast to the tradition and locality to civilize the villagers’ lifestyle in the countryside:

“Although we must consider the habits and lifestyles of peasants when we are constructing the new villages, we should not hesitate to go against these traditions wherever they clash with contemporary social and hygienic standards. The new village plans should also provide the users with the means of civilized living. A revolution in lifestyles is also necessary to teach them to sleep on individual beds rather than together on the earth, to teach them to use chairs and tables rather than sitting and eating on the floor. Kitchens, stoves, and bathrooms should be standardized into a number of different types so as to obtain the most economic and functional results.”¹¹⁰

According to Sayar, an ideal settlement was organized by three architectural components: standardization, variety in typology, and utilitarian perspective

108 Ibid.

109 Zeki Sayar, ‘İç Kolonizasyon: Başka Memleketlerde’, *Arkitekt*, 68.8 (1936), 231–35 (p. 232).

110 Sayar, ‘İç Kolonizasyon: Kolonisation Intérieure’, p. 47. Quoted from Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 101. Author’s translation.

in material use. A new lifestyle in the villages would be furnished in the buildings, which were constructed with the most economic and functional methods. Variation in the housing typology would provide a better living standard for each family. He also suggested involving concrete in the construction of rural houses instead of traditional and regional building techniques and materials.¹¹¹ The architect believed the tools of modern architecture to be a spatial translation for the modern construction of Turkish society in the countryside.

By the end of 1930s, it was more apparent that discussions about the village had two sides. One side believed that the new villages should serve as a rational planning mechanism for rural people to adapt their lifestyle to contemporary standards. The other side agreed that ideal rural settlements should concentrate on the traditional living habits of villagers together with regional building aspects, which could provide a sustainable life in the countryside and avoid alienation in the village community.

Architect Abidin Mortaş, who participated in the architectural competition for the village house in 1935,¹¹² introduced a project based on combining regional and traditional aspects with contemporary needs. He criticized the new village construction, arguing that the new village houses still needed to be modified to include familiar organizations to the inhabitants. Therefore, the design of the “village house” was a crucial theme of the idea of the settlement and would directly affect peasant life. Besides, rural settlements, which were developed according to urbanized qualities, would cause alienation among villagers.¹¹³ He also proposed a settlement enclosed in a rational geometrical organization: the plan consisted of two areas – housing areas and public space – separated by the main road towards the village. The building program in the public area consisted of a square, a school, the village council, a coffee house, the market, and a mosque. Agricultural activities would be placed in the other quarter, and each house would be located in a garden of equal plots.

As well as the complete settlements for the ideal villages, the dwelling unit emerged as a significant topic among Turkish architects. State-planned settlements, which were often a group of houses in organized parcels, practically

111 Ibid.

112 In 1935 the RPP and People's House organized an architectural competition for village houses to fulfil the needs for new rural settlements and houses built for mostly Balkan immigrants settled according to the 1934 Settlement Law. The competition and its consequences are discussed in the next chapter.

113 Abidin Mortaş, 'Köy Evi Tipleri', *Arkitekt*, 109–110.1–2 (1940), 8–9 (p. 1940).

made the Village House the *kernel* of the whole implementation so that it was even seen as the beginning of the modernization in the settlement. There were two fundamental viewpoints, the first based on vernacular aspects emphasizing that the traditional and regional customs should determine the design concept of village house. The other proposed a modernized interior adapted to the agrarian livelihood in the countryside.¹¹⁴

Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu believed that state housing operations in rural areas ignored regional aspects, and this alienated the villagers from their environment. He suggested concentrating on local components to form the village house and teaching the villagers how to build their own houses with vernacular materials and methods to maintain their living conditions. The traditional and accustomed nature of the villager would show the real Turkish culture, and only in this way would the villager feel attached to the Turkish nation and goals of the new republican regime.¹¹⁵ Accordingly, Kozanoğlu developed two plans for the village house, considering the environmental conditions and local materials in the design.¹¹⁶ The lowland house consisted of a bedroom with a hall, a dining room, kitchen, and toilet aligned around the semi-open terrace. The stairs led to the second level of the house in which the architect suggested placing another room and a larger terrace. The highland house consisted of four rooms, kitchen and toilet aligned around the semi-open terrace. Likewise, the architect proposed the inclusion of a second level with a room and terrace. The construction materials and techniques would also use local methods, such as timber, stone, or adobe.

On the other hand, architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu designed a village house with a spatial organization evoking a lifestyle between the city and the, a guest room, a bedroom, toilet, cellar, barn, and corral. Although the architect proposed a determined interior with modernized furnishings for the villagers, the construction materials and techniques would be vernacular. In detail, he was suggesting a stone masonry building, with timber separation walls and roof.¹¹⁷

114 Özge Sezer, 'The Village House: Planning the Rural Life in Early Republican Turkey', in *Spaces / Times / Peoples: Domesticity, Dwelling and Architectural History; Mekanlar / Zamanlar / İnsanlar: Evsellik, Ev, Barınma ve Mimarlık Tarihi*, ed. by Lale Özgenel (Ankara: ODTÜ Basım İşliği, 2016), pp. 51–60.

115 Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu, "Köy Evleri Proje ve Yapıları İçin Toplu Rapor," *Arkitekt* 55–56, no. 07–08 (1935): 203.

116 Kozanoğlu, 'Gün Geçiminde Kerpiç Köy Yapısı'.

117 Arif Hikmet, 'Köy Evi', *Arkitekt*, 35.11 (1933), 357.

According to Gülsüm Baydar, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu was inspired by the principles of *Existenzminimum*, which was also an influential approach in urban house design in those years. The organization of spaces and furnishing had a minimalist language in this scheme, but unlike the proposal of Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu, the idea was not to reference the actual living conditions and traditions of villagers.¹¹⁸

Turkish elites (here architects, city planners and politicians) participated in the construction of a rural lifestyle within the framework of modernization and nationalization programs and through scenarios of idealized rural settlements and houses. According to the republican cadre, on one hand, the rural milieu was in great need of economic and socio-cultural development. On the other hand, the rural village was considered the cultural core where the Turkish “nation” hibernated. Despite the different approaches to the village house, based on standardization, vernacular concepts, and the synthesis of modernist and traditional views, the discourse on the Turkish village was meant to establish the “national architecture for rural people” with a nostalgic tone. In theory, housing the rural population in planned settlements emerged as a constructive operation that centered around providing the villagers with a built environment and improved living conditions. However, the discussions and the concepts remained ambiguous, either advocating the *status quo* of accustomed rural life or foregoing traditions in favor of a modernized habitat.

118 Gülsüm Baydar (Nalbantoğlu), ‘Between Civilization and Culture: Appropriation of Traditional Dwelling Forms in Early Republican Turkey’, *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984-), 47.2 (1993), 66–74 (pp. 71–72) <<https://doi.org/10.2307/1425168>>.

