

THE REPUBLIC’S CHILDREN AND THEIR BURDENS IN 1930s AND 1940s
TURKEY:
THE IDEALIZED MIDDLE-CLASS CHILDREN AS THE FUTURE OF THE
NATION AND THE IMAGE OF “POOR” CHILDREN IN
CHILDREN’S PERIODICALS

by

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Submitted to
the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

Boğaziçi University
2005

An abstract of the Thesis of Özge Ertem for the degree of Master of Arts from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History to be taken September 2005

Title: “The Republic’s Children and Their Burdens in 1930s and 1940s Turkey: The Idealized Middle-Class Children as the Future of the Nation and the Image of “Poor” Children in Children’s Periodicals”

This study aims to contribute to highlighting some mainstream perceptions of the Turkish nation-state about its children from 1930s till the middle of the 1940s in the light of themes from children’s periodicals. This aim is materialized by analyzing the most encountered themes and metaphors of the Republican establishment through materials directly calling out to children. This paves the way to distinguishing the specific meanings and burdens attributed directly to children in the specific political context of nation-state formation with their own dilemmas. By this, it is aimed to illuminate significant images and values that were wished to be instilled onto children’s minds regarding both the political discourse dimension about public issues and the private dimension of their daily lives at home. This illumination results in distinguishing a hidden duality between middle-class children and “poor” children in the periodicals. The ideal and virtuous middle-class child of a truly Republican nuclear family with its gendered terms in the stories is represented especially from the 1930s towards 1940s. The essentialized, culturalist definitions and metaphors of the newly established nation-state and the Republic in the 1930s Turkey in the periodicals targeted the imagination of this child and tried to establish a dialogue with it. The narratives about “poor children” on the other face of the coin, intensified in the 1940s with the hard socio-economical conditions caused by the Second World War conditions in Turkey. The question of “poverty” in this respect was perceived just as a moral issue devoid of any socio-political meaning. This study tries to shed light on the ways through which the hidden duality between these idealized middle-class children and “poor” children as mostly objects of pity, sometimes object of exclusion, were narrated, portrayed and visualized in the children’s periodicals. In this respect, the envisioned duality between the middle-class identity and “poor” identity of children in this study, is not taken for granted but is constructed in the light of the images and metaphors from periodicals.

Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü'nde Yüksek Lisans derecesi için
Özge Ertem tarafından Eylül 2005'te teslim edilen tezin kısa özeti

Başlık: 1930'lar ve 40'ların Türkiye'sinde Cumhuriyet Çocukları ve Yükleri: Çocuk Dergilerinde Ulusun Geleceği Olarak İdealleştirilen Orta Sınıf Çocukları ve Yoksul Çocuk İmgesi.

Bu çalışma, çocuk dergilerinde geçen kimi temaların ışığında, 1930'larda ve 1940 başlarında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin, çocuğa dair temel algılarına ışık tutmayı amaçlamaktadır. Ulus-devletleşme sürecinin sosyal-tarihsel bağlamında Cumhuriyet düzeninin en çok rastlanılan tema ve metaforlarını, direk olarak çocuklara yönelen yayınlar ışığında incelemek; çocuklara yüklenen temel anlam ve rolleri ayırt etmek açısından özel önem taşır. Çalışmadaki temel amaç, hem kamusal siyasi söylem bağlamında hem de aile ve ev yaşantısına odaklanan söylemde çocuğa yüklenen imaj ve değerlere ışık tutmaktır. Bu sayede, dergilerdeki temel bir çelişki de açığa çıkmaktadır: Orta-sınıf çocukluk ile “yoksul” çocukluk arasındaki ikilem. 1930'lardan 1940'ların başlangıcına kadar, çocuk dergilerinde daha çok, çekirdek aile özellikleri gösteren ve toplumsal cinsiyetçi normları da içeren standart bir Cumhuriyet ailesinin erdemli çocuğu temsil edilmekte ve idealleştirilmeye çalışılmaktadır. Yeni kurulan ulus-devletin ve Cumhuriyetin tözcü, kültürcü algı ve metaforları temel olarak bu ideal orta-sınıf çocuğa seslenmekte ve onu muhatap almaktadırlar. Ama öte yandan, 1940'lardan itibaren, İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın yarattığı sosyo-ekonomik sıkıntılar neticesinde daha fazla görünür olmaya başlayan bir yoksulluk faktörü vardır. Bu koşulların sonucu olarak, çocuk dergilerinde “yoksul” çocuklar hakkındaki anlatı ve resimler de yoğunlaşmıştır. Fakat bu anlatıların çoğu, yoksulluk ve sosyo-ekonomik eşitsizliği, sadece ahlaki bir düzlemde tanımlamaktadır. Bu çalışma, Cumhuriyetin ideal orta-sınıf çocuğu ile anlatılarda nesneleştirilen, çoğu zaman acınan, kimi zaman dışlanan “yoksul” çocuk arasındaki ikilemin, dergilerde hangi yollarla temsil edildiğine, resmedildiğine ve tanımlandığına ışık tutmayı amaçlamaktadır. Öngörülen ikilemin tarafları olarak anlatılan “orta-sınıf” ve “yoksul” kavramları, verili ve değişmez kategoriler olarak ele alınmamıştır. Çalışmanın geneline nüfuz eden bu anlatı, dergilerde çocuğa yüklenen anlamlar veya çocuğa benimsetilmek istenen imge ve metaforlar yorumlanarak kurulmuştur.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I do not know where in such a great universe these modest pages of a thesis study could stand for but I think I will always want to remember how and with what moods they were written.

First of all, I want to thank my mother Ayşe Seyla Ertem who has supported me a lot in this thesis process even in her hardest times. She didn't give up any time from giving me strength even if she had lost it herself. My father Celal Ertem has made the struggle of life easier for me outside, with his never ending strength and patience indoors, like this year.

I have to acknowledge my special debt to Assoc. Prof. Cüneyd Okay who helped me in every single material and moral issue during the writing process. He read every single line immediately, worked for hours to find the answers of my questions in the archives, shared his personal archival with me and always followed the process although he did not have to. I owe much to him.

At the Atatürk Institute, I first want to thank my thesis advisor Assoc. Prof. Duygu Köksal whose comments were very useful and enriching and contributed a lot to my discussions. Apart from her support in the writing process, her courses at the institute provided me great motivation and joy in terms of the interaction of literary and historical discussions we had.

Assoc. Prof. Nadir Özbek is one of the most significant characters I met in the academy who paved the way for new bright questions to rise in my head regarding historiography that I had not ever thought before. He helped me a lot since I started the Atatürk Institute. Asst. Prof. Cengiz Kırılı, whose courses have been influential in the questions in my head, shared the writing process with me in its first period. Prof. Zafer Toprak enriched the content and scope of my thesis with his valuable questions.

I am also grateful to Tracy Deliismail with whom we shared our ideas in great excitement apart from her comments about the thesis. Kathryn Kranzler edited our writings with great care. Necla Turunç, Leyla Kılıç and in the last days Kadriye Tamtekin were the people with whom the mornings always sounded better at the institute. My friends Liasian, İnanç, Murat, İlker, Özkan, and Seçil at the Institute became the fellow faces throughout the year who shared the same distresses. Especially I want to thank Liasian who became a real friend with her sincerity.

Gülçin Alpöge kindly answered my questions about children's literature and invited me to communicate with other significant writers and academicians in this area. Ali Şimşek shared with me a two-hours brainstorming at the beginning.

Fatih Artvinli's friendship with his support in this thesis like in everything else in my life can not be compared to anything else. He read every little line of these pages and throughout the last five years, I always needed his valuable comments which he always shared with me. I admired his imaginative power and optimism which have been the real source of my life in hard times. Aslı Duru and Müge Yıldırım shared my hardest days throughout this study. Hande Çopur helped me to communicate with people about my study and made me feel that she was always ready there to help me. Ebru, Hande, Orhan, Oğuzhan, Nesrin and Ali always proved that everything could be more bearable when we were together regardless of the hard work and hard times we have had.

And finally I want to thank the poems of Oktay Salih which have made me believe in life again whenever I lost it.

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PREFACE

This study is based on a discourse analysis of mainstream children's periodicals in the 1930s and early 1940s Turkey. These periodicals are, *Çocuk Sesi/1928-1939* owned by Faruk Gürtunca; *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu/1938-1939*, *Yavrutürk/1936-1942* and *Çocuk Haftası/1943-1949* owned by Tahsin Demiray; *Çocuk/1939-1940* owned by Fuad Umay under the auspices of the Children's Protection Society and *Doğan Kardeş/1945-1949* owned by Vedat Nedim Tör under the auspices of the Yapı Kredi Bank. There are three main chapters in this study apart from the introduction and conclusion. The second chapter composed of seven sub-titles, examines the mainstream perceptions of the Republican adults about children and the public roles they attribute them for the sake of the Turkish nation-state in the 1930s Turkey. The general aura of this part is shaped around the dimension of political discourse in the periodicals.

At first, the political reflections of the adoption of the Latin Alphabet and the emergence of new periodicals in Latin letters in the publishing sector for children are analyzed. The two main actors in Turkey in this respect were Faruk Gürtunca and Tahsin Demiray. After describing the significance and the popularity of their periodicals for urban middle-class children; the roles attributed to children in terms of the metaphoric relationship between the child, the nation-state and the newly born Republic are analyzed. The Republican concerns with the ideals of progress, secularism and disjunction from the Ottoman past are the main subjects through which the child is portrayed and constructed in the narratives and pictures. The images of political socialization for children were portrayed around the abstraction of

the single-party regime which was not and could not be an all-encompassing power but was tried to be offered as such to the imagination of children.

Although Turkey did not attend it, with the onset of the Second World War in 1939, there emerged two new trends in the discourse level of the periodicals due to the socio-historical context: The first was the new roles reminded to children and especially boys in war-time contexts and the second was the intensified discourse of poverty and “poor” children in the narratives and stories as a reflection of worsened socio-economic conditions in the country. From 1940s on, poverty was much more visible in the periodicals in addition to the mythicized nation-state and the Republic.

Based on the belief in the significance of the ways through which poverty was portrayed as just a moral issue devoid of socio-political meaning to the reader middle-class child audience, the third and fourth chapters focus on an analysis of the hidden duality between middle-class child readers and “poor” children they read about in between the lines. This duality is not taken for granted. It is constructed by a comparative analysis of the mainstream images regarding the daily lives of middle-class children in their idealized homes and the images regarding the “poor, street, homeless” children objectified in most of the narratives and stories. The idealized urban middle-class children of idealized nuclear Republican families living due to ideals of organic solidarity were the real audience targeted by the periodicals. But the stories about “poverty, poor families and poor, homeless, working children” proved that, the conception of “poor” children was outside the Republican vision of the world as an “otherized” object of pity and mercy or sometimes denigration.

Focusing on this construction, at first the images related to the daily lives of middle-class children with the definition of idealized manners and roles for each member of the family will be analyzed in the third chapter. In the second phase, the

intensified narratives regarding poverty since the beginning of the 1940s will be described in the fourth chapter. Special focus will be given on the narratives and stories of Kemalettin Tuğcu who is perceived as both a figure making poverty more visible to the reader audience in the context of socio-economically hard 1940s while continuing the trend of portraying poverty as just a moral question. In this fourth chapter, the periodical *Doğan Kardeş* will be analyzed as the evidence of the continuity of the hidden discourse dividing children into those middle-class readers and those poor objects since 1945, despite the discontinuity of one-party aura in those liberal political climax.

In all these chapters, the significance of the child image for the Republic through the children's periodicals is analyzed. But while the second chapter draws a picture of a more unified visioning of Turkish children and their roles for the sake of the nation-state; the third and fourth chapters shed light on the hidden divisioning of this unifying discourse and the duality between the conception of the middle-class "reader audience" and "poor" children as objects read about.

*To my grandmother
whose existence shaped
nearly all of my childhood memories and images*

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

We have entered such an era that, we know from now on what society, economy and welfare, population and state mean. In such an era, the issue of children can only be handled as a child question. And, no, not as the child question for children in essence; but for the sake of something, for the sake of an objective; nourishing the child question for the sake of a distinct question, it is what we believe...We are realist men. We have only one great aim: Renovation. We are doing everything for the sake of renovation. The child will be definitely the object of this principle, too. From then on, the “Turkish Child”, will establish a dialogue with all the issues of the Renovation and will gain new meanings and significance in the light of these issues.¹

¹ “Biz, öyle bir devre girmiş bulunuyoruz ki, artık cemiyet nedir, iktisat ve refah nedir, nüfus nedir ve devlet nedir biliyoruz. Böyle bir devirde, çocuk meselesi ancak bir çocuk davası şeklinde ele alınabilir. Ve, çocuk için çocuk davası olarak değil hayır, bir şey için, bir gaye için, ayrı bir dava için bir çocuk davası gütmek, işte inandığımız şey budur. Biz realist adamları. Bir tek davamız vardır: İnkılap. Her şeyi ondan çıkarıyoruz ve ona gönderiyoruz. Her şeyi ona göre istiyor ve ona göre kararlaştırıyoruz. Bu kaideye, çocuk da tabi olacaktır. Ve o zaman, “ Türk Çocuğu ” inkılabın bütün davaları ile birden münasebete girecek ve bu münasebetler bakımından bir mana ve bir ehemmiyet kazanacaktır.”, Burhan Asaf, “Çocuk Sevgisi”, p. 75-76. (The date and the name of the source are not clear in the material I have obtained from the personal archives of Cüneyd Okay. But as much as I can guess by looking at the other writers in the material such as Vedat Nedim, Şükufe Nihal, Şevket Süreyya, Kazım Nami and Sadri Etem who have signed without their surnames, this material seems to belong to the years before the adoption of surnames in 1935, probably 1933. It seems to be a special edition of *Kadro* about the child question, gathering the writings of the significant intelligentsia of the Republican establishment. It could be a special edition of 23 April 1933. The titles of the pieces and the writers are as such: Şükufe Nihal, “Çocuklarımız”, p. 67-69; Dr. Vedat Nedim, “Çocuk İnkılabın Temelidir”, p. 70; Şevket Süreyya, “Sadaka Değil İş Birliği”, p. 71-74; Burhan Asaf, “Çocuk Sevgisi”, p. 75-76; Kazım Nami, “Sağlam Çocuk İstiyoruz”, p. 77-79. There is just the first page of “Çocuk Romanları” by Sadri Etem.

Childhood is not immune from politics. The children of a specific socio-historical context grow up with the contesting political codes and values of that context to which they were born. The mainstream perceptions of a society about its children, the values that should be instilled onto them and the expectations of adults from children in that society, are shaped by hegemonic political reflexes regarding that context. Departing from here, this study aims to contribute to highlighting some mainstream perceptions of the Turkish nation-state about its children from 1930s till the middle of the 1940s in the light of themes from children's periodicals. Analyzing the most encountered themes and metaphors of the Republican establishment through materials directly calling out to children paves the way to distinguishing the specific meanings and burdens attributed to children in the specific political context of nation-state formation with their own dilemmas. By this, it is aimed to illuminate significant images and values that were wished to be instilled onto children's minds regarding both the political discourse dimension about public issues and the private dimension of their daily lives at home, which results in distinguishing a duality between middle-class children and children of poor families in the periodicals. In the light of this analysis, it becomes more possible to imagine at least the mainstream symbols and fictive dualities regarding the idealized metaphors of the nation-state and family, embedded in children's minds and memories in the 1930s and early 1940s Turkey.

Always already framed by language and inherited views, children nonetheless are embodied, sticky, ticklish, intense beings who change and grow. No wonder they become repositories of societal fears as well as hopes, regulations as well as dreams.²

² Martha Minow, "Governing Children, Imagining Childhood," in *Governing Childhood*, ed. Anne McGilivray (England: Dartmouth Publishing Company, 1997): 250.

“Societal *fears* as well as *hopes*, *regulations* as well as *dreams*”. The way the child is imagined by the adults of the society in a particular socio-historical context reflects a lot about the common-sense perceptions in the society of what threat, order and normality mean and do not mean to them. The universe shaped by the dreams and hopes of the adults of societies in particular contexts as well as the norms of threats and regulations, also shapes the perceptions about the identification of children and paves the way to the emergence of political efforts for finding mechanisms to materialize the requirements born by these perceptions. As Minow puts forward rightly, “shifting ideas about children implicate and support particular views of adults, of natives and foreigners, of ‘us’ and ‘them’, of nature and science and of order and disorder. Inflected by and in turn shaping images of race, class and gender, ideas of childhood have served and also themselves been enforced by expressions of governmental power.”³ It can be said that, the images about social and political life that are gained during childhood experiences, are shaped by a multi-dimensional process which comprises the internalization of many competing abstractions that the adult agents of the society from family ties to the state has produced. The last two centuries witnessed this process having been shaped on the stage opened by the modern nation-state and its specific requirements.

Giddens summarizes the dynamics hidden in the modern nation-state as such: “Both capitalism and industrialism have decisively influenced the rise of nation-states, but the nation-state system cannot be reductively explained in terms of their existence. The modern world has been shaped through the intersection of capitalism, industrialism and the nation-state system.”⁴ In this context, heightened surveillance, capitalistic enterprise, industrial production and the consolidation of centralized

³ Ibid: 256.

⁴ Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987): 4-5.

control of the means of violence constitute the four 'institutional clusterings' that Giddens associate with modernity.⁵

Foucault's conception of 'governmentality' departs from an analysis of the "analytics of government" and tries to shed light on the modern society in a way that is very well summarized by Dean, "the mobile, changing and contingent assemblages of regimes of government and rule have analytic precedence over the resultant distributions of power and divisions between state and civil society and between public and private spheres."⁶

The debates about the space and practice of power relationships since the emergence of the modern state is a huge issue in historiography and is beyond the scope of this study but it should be noted for now that a society's hegemonic perceptions regarding its children are interdependent on the space opened by analysis of power.⁷ As Dean says, "On the one hand, we govern others and ourselves according to what we take to be true about who we are, what aspects of our existence should be worked upon, how, with what means and to what ends. We thus govern others and ourselves according to various truths about our existence and nature as human beings. On the other hand, the ways in which we govern and conduct

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality, Power and Rule in Modern Society* (London: Sage Publications, 1999): 26.

⁷ "For Foucault, modern techniques of discipline (surveillance) produce an effect, a 'soul', in those supervised, trained, corrected, in children at home and at school. This soul is a corporeal prison which constrains the body by its very constitution. It results from 'a certain type of power and the reference of a certain type of knowledge...aimed at the governance of the individual' In this coercive individualization, 'the child is more individualized than the adult' and the 'internal search for childhood' became the mark of the new disciplinary society' ", Anne McGillivray, "Governing Childhood," in *Governing Childhood*, ed. Anne McGillivray (Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Company, 1997): 3. For a study about the policies of social welfare towards Turkish children and women between the years 1923 and 50 in the light of the governmentality paradigm, see Pınar Öztamur, "Defining a Population: Women and Children in Early Republican Turkey, 1923-50" (MA Thesis, Bosphorus University, 2004).

ourselves give rise to different ways of producing truth.”⁸ Childhood in this sense becomes the space where the truths produced in a specific temporality in the modern society are mainly materialized in the most visible form.

In the context of the modern society, the universal interdependency between the adult perception of the world and the shaping of the imagination of children have been based on the ideals of linear progress. The demographic changes paving the way to fertility decline and the decrease in infant mortality since the developments in the 17th century got pace with industrial revolution and the rapid technological innovations constituted the “*zeit-geist*” as a linear path towards the faith in future; the cyclical understanding of traditional time was tried to be left behind in an aggressive motion. According to Sealander, this “go-ahead spirit” paving the way to the strict faith that “change was the future”, could only be materialized on attributing the child a great role and functionalizing its role. She asks “who better symbolized it than the young? Why not begin to view childhood as another, quite separate ‘place’”. As Sharon Stephens says, “the ideological construction of childhood as the privileged domain of spontaneity, play, freedom, and emotion could only refer to a society that constrained and drew upon this private domain as the ground for public culture, discipline, work, constraint and rationality.”⁹

But we should not think that this symbolization in any case brought with itself a great change in the actual lives of children. It would be a big mistake of falling in the trap of the discourse. Childhood was not essentially valued as a separate space since the emergence of the modern state but it was defined and attached more importance for the ends of the welfare of the modern states. Since the hegemony of

⁸ Dean, *Governmentality, Power and Rule in Modern Society*, 18.

⁹ Sharon Stephens, "Introduction: Children and the Politics of Culture In "Late Capitalism"," in *Children and the Politics of Culture*, ed. Sharon Stephens (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995): 6.

the nation-state was on the stage, the politics of attributing children distinctive roles than the adults in the society gained new dimensions. Children, who were since the experience of modernity perceived as the agents of a socially constructed domain as underlined by Ariés¹⁰, became perceived with more complex definitions of race, state, class and gender. The ethnic definitions in the modern nation-state paved the way to different dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. This was parallel to the constitution of memories of hegemonic adult dualities in the minds of the children about what the faith of the nation was, which groups it included, what the moral good for the welfare of the nation was and how that would be taught to children.

The metaphoric space of the social context has been a significant channel for teaching children the intertwined hegemonic social, political and cultural values of their time and children's periodicals in this sense have generally been fruitful in terms of highlighting the hegemonic codes of the times to which they are born.¹¹

When we look at the small amount of the researches made about children's periodicals in university departments in Turkey, we see that they are generally under

¹⁰ Philippe Ariés, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962). Ariés is the most significant name when we are talking about childhood history because he is the first to approach childhood with a socio-historical perception by which he advocated childhood as a socially constructed domain in history other than its biological conception. He looked for the roots of childhood in modern times since the revival of education in the 15th century towards the 18th century when the modern family and the school together "removed the child from adult society" and perceived childhood as a separate category from adulthood. Ibid: 412-413. But he was criticized later by many academicians in terms of his neglect of the evidence that, there was in fact "childhood" before modern times. The world of children and the adults were not unified as Ariés wrote. Ariés' approach in these terms can be challenged but his contribution to childhood history in terms of taking childhood as a social category is still valuable. See for good summaries and criticisms related to Ariés' approach; Mine Tan, "Çocukluk: Dün ve Bugün" in *Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994): 11-31 and Colin Heywood, *Baba Bana Top At, Batı'da Çocukluğun Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2003): 16-40.

¹¹ See A. Ferhan Oğuzkan, "Dünya Çocuk Edebiyatının Ana Çizgileri", in *Çocuk Edebiyatı Yıllığı* (İstanbul: Gökyüzü Yayınları, 1987): 15 for a more detailed list and description of first children's periodicals published by the aim of educating children in Europe and America the first of which was published in England in 1788 with the name *Juvenile Magazine*. See also Elizabeth Fouts, "Literatura Infantil: A Brief History of Spanish Children's Literature", *Bookbird*, vol. 37, no. 3 (1999): 47-51.

the subject of education or literature devoid of historical analysis.¹² In fact, this is related to the scarcity of historical researches about childhood. Childhood was a neglected area in Turkey till soon. But recently, its significance in social history started to be more emphasized¹³ and there emerged alternative historiographic researches in social history, placing children as the agents of history and looking at social policies towards children through the phenomena of power, rule, modern state and society, nation-state and social welfare.¹⁴

¹² Some of the names of MA theses in this respect are; Ahmet Balcı, “*The Evaluation of the Magazine of Çocuklara Rehber on the Basis of Its Input In Children Education (Çocuklara Rehber Dergisi’nin Çocuk Eğitime Katkısı Açısından İncelenmesi)*”, (MA Thesis, Mustafa Kemal University, 2002); Hüseyin Şimşek, “*The Study of Children Magazines of Tanzimat and Mutlakîyet Periods In Terms of Education (Tanzimat ve Mutlakîyet Dönemi Çocuk Dergilerinin Eğitim Açısından İncelenmesi)*”, (Ph.d diss., Ankara University, 2002); Nihat Bayat, “*The Functions of Child Magazines ‘Çocuk Bahçesi, Çocuk Dünyası’ Written In Old Script In Child Education’(Eski Harfli Çocuk Dergilerinin ‘Çocuk Bahçesi, Çocuk Dünyası’ Çocuk Eğitimindeki İşlevleri)*”, (MA Thesis, Dokuz Eylül University, 2002); Halit Yanar, “*Examination of Magazines of Bizim Dünya’(Bizim Mecmua Dergilerinin İncelenmesi)*”, (MA Thesis, Fatih University, 2001); Gülsüm Göktürk, “*The Role of Media on Child Education and the Case Study of Türkiye Çocuk Magazine’(Medyanın Çocuk Eğitimindeki Rolü ve Türkiye Çocuk Dergisi Örneği)*”, (MA Thesis, İstanbul University, 2001); Şeyma Yaşar, “*Mümeyyiz: One of the First Periodicals’(İlk Çocuk Dergilerinden Mümeyyiz)*”, (MA Thesis, Marmara University, 2001); Mehmet Azim, “*The Examination of Çocuk Bahçesi Periodicals’(Çocuk Bahçesi Dergilerinin İncelenmesi)*”, (MA Thesis, Fatih University, 2000); Nihat Kaya, “*The Religious Education for Children At the Periodical Publications of the Presidency of Religious Affairs’(Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Süreli Yayınlarında Çocuklara Din Öğretimi)*”, (MA Thesis, Erciyes University, 1995). There should be more recent theses, too. But as it is seen, most of these researches are approaching the subject from the perspective of education and literature.

¹³ One of the most reliable sources about children’s periodicals studied by a historical perspective in Turkey is Cüneyd Okay’s “Children’s Periodicals Written in Old Script” (*Eski Harfli Çocuk Dergileri*), (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1999). See also his recent article suggesting new directions to encourage studies about childhood and children’s periodicals in Turkey: Cüneyd Okay, “Türkiye’de Çocuk Tarihi: Tespitler, Öneriler”, *Kebikeç*, no. 19 (İstanbul: 2005): 121-127. Another recent article belongs to Bekir Onur who approaches the delay in childhood studies in Turkey from the perspective that, childhood studies came to Turkey late as the Turkish modernization came late. Bekir Onur, “Çocukluğun Dünyası ve Bugünü”, *Kebikeç*, no. 19 (İstanbul: 2005): 99-112. This perspective contributes to the hegemony of modernization paradigm and “time-lag” of nations with respect to the experience of modernization on a linear line. But in fact there is no linearity and nobody is late in modernization. Taking modernization as granted paves the way to continuing the Eurocentric abstractions of history such as modernization and “late modernization”. See Harry D. Harootyan, “All the Names of History.” In *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan*, xxxii, 440. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.

¹⁴ See for example Özgür Sevgi Göral, *The Child Question and Juvenile Delinquency During the Early Republican Era*, (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University: 2003), Pınar Öztamur, *Defining A Population: Women and Children in Early Republican Turkey*, (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University: 2004), Yiğit Akın, *Not just a Game: Sports and Physical Education in the Early Republican Turkey* (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University: 2003) and Günver Güneş, “Cumhuriyet’in İlk Yıllarında Ödemiş’in Kimsesiz ve Yoksul Çocukları: Ödemiş Himaye-i Etfal Cemiyeti’nin Faaliyetleri”, *Kebikeç*, no. 19 (İstanbul: 2005): 141-155.

Children's periodicals in Turkey had their roots in the Ottoman Era. In "Children's Periodicals Written in Old Script" (*Eski Harfli Çocuk Dergileri*)¹⁵ Cüneyd Okay gives descriptive information about most of the children's periodicals. Some of the names from the list of most popular children's periodicals in the Ottoman Era as gathered by Okay are *Mümeyyiz* (1869), *Hazine-i Etfal* (1873), *Çocuklara Kıraat* (1881), *Çocuklara Talim* (1887), *Çocuk Bahçesi* (1905), *Çocuk Dünyası* (1913-1918), *Çocuk Yurdu* (1913), *Türk Çocuğu* (1913), *Hür Çocuk* (1918) and *Sevimli Mecmua* (1925). Their subjects were mainly based both on translated and adapted European literary texts for children and traditional stories of popular culture, such as Dede Korkut, Ferhat ile Şirin, Köroğlu, Karagöz and Nasreddin Hoca.¹⁶ Then it seems the children's periodicals became one of the significant spaces where the interaction and juxtaposition of westernization and traditionalism since the Tanzimat Era in social arena was reflected.

After the establishment of the Republic and the adoption of the Latin alphabet, a great deal of children's periodicals with Latin letters started to be published. This study aims to contribute to highlighting some levels of the political perceptions about the nation-state and Republicanism on the same level in six of these mainstream childrens' periodicals in Turkey in the 1930s and 40s. It tries to do this by shedding light on the ways where essentialized, culturalist definitions and metaphors of the newly established nation-state and the Republic targeted the

¹⁵ Cüneyd Okay, "Children's Periodicals Written in Old Script". Ibid.

¹⁶ According to Şeyma Gençel, *Sevimli Mecmua* published by Zekeriya Sertel twice a week is a different one among the other didactic periodicals of the day. Due to this, *Sevimli Mecmua* is the one that became very influential in determining the boundary of the definition of what a children's periodical is as there wasn't any didactic writings and advices in the periodical but more entertainment issues such as games, competitions, photographs, caricatures, and biographies of important scientists and heroes. Şeyma Gençel, "Çocuk Dergileri," in *Türkiye'de Dergiler-Ansiklopediler (1849-1984)* (İstanbul: Gelişim, 1984): 188.

imagination of a certain type of an ideal middle-class child while consuming and otherizing the vagrant child on the street for the idealization of this middle-class child and its home. In this respect, the envisioned duality between the middle-class identity and “poor” identity of children in this study, is not taken for granted but is constructed as a flexible duality in the light of the images and metaphors of periodicals. Middle-class children and poor children are not regarded as belonging to fixed, homogeneous, unified and stable classes. In fact, there was not such a definition of “class” in the 1930s and 1940s Turkey as it was understood in the sense of the 1960s. The constructed duality between these two groups of children is presented only through the universe of symbols and images from the periodicals.

Certainly it is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyze the social and cultural experiences of children from all social spheres of society in terms of the relationship between the child, the family and the state in the period under discussion which presents a huge arena waiting for researchers. This thesis is limited to the metaphors of nationalism and Republican modernization in Turkey in the 1930s and 1940s’ expressed in the children’s periodicals, which targeted the child and tried to mobilize the “childish” mind as a special agent and attributed to the child a great role as a starting point and as a mediator for the progress of the Turkish nation towards the future. The ideals of this perception were based mostly on the rearing of “today” for the fruitfulness of “tomorrow” by rejecting the “past”. The ahistorical discourse of disjunction from the past in favour of an illusory tomorrow targeted the imagination of the child to announce the dawn of the “present” of the new and “unique” Turkish Republic and its highly donated signs and metaphors both in the perceptions regarding the nation-state and the ideal child of the ideal home. The child would be the store, carrier and transmitter of these values in favour of the future. The

political hegemony would continue to focus on the consciousness of the child, attempts continued to shape it by the modernist, progressive and developmentalist values of the day whose norms were being shaped by the Republican elite. The child was an agent which could at any time go on a wrong path, it could be deviant; so that it had to be governed by different strategies by the adults. It had to be educated and the children's periodicals would play great roles in this education process.

This study focuses on the political discourse area of nation-state building that mainly the six mainstream periodicals draw. These are; *Çocuk Sesi (The Voice of the Child/1928-1939)* published by its owner M. Faruk Gürtunca under the auspices of Ülkü Publishing House in İstanbul between the years 1928-1939; *Yavrutürk (The Little Turkish Child/1936-1942)*, *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu (The Child of the Republic/1938-1939)* and *Çocuk Haftası (The Week of the Child/1943-1949)* published by their owner Tahsin Demiray under the auspices of Türkiye Publishing House in Cağaloğlu between the years mentioned in İstanbul; *Çocuk (The Child/1939-1940)* published by Dr Fuad Umay under the auspices of the Children's Protection Society between 1936 and 1948 in Ankara and *Doğan Kardeş (Brother Doğan/1945-1949)* published by Vedat Nedim Tör under the auspices of the *Yapı Kredi Bank* in İstanbul between 1945 and 1978.¹⁷ Doğan Kardeş was closed down in 1978 because of a strike in the political climax of the 1970s but was bought by *The Publications of Yapı Kredi* again in 1988 and was published till 1993. But here, just its years between 1945-49 are included.

But this study is not just limited to an analysis of political discourses towards children regarding the public space of the nation-state. It also seeks to shed light on the private space of Republican children at home. The common-sense values and

¹⁷ The more detailed information regarding the periodicals under consideration is given in the second chapter.

moral codes surrounding the ideal middle-class child and its home are analyzed in the light of the childrens' stories, advices of Republican elite to children as written in some pieces, letters and some other narratives in the periodicals which give us clues about the norms of identifying Republican normality, morality and order in the context of the 1930s and 1940s. This analysis is tried to be made by a thematic approach rather than a chronological one; but on the surface the more distinct periods shaped by the statism and great power of one-party regime in the 1930s, the conditions of the onset of the Second World War between 1939 and 1945 and the transformation of World Order by the end of the War in 1945 and its reflections in Turkey are worked into the themes of the chapters.

The second chapter tries to shed light on the mainstream metaphors of the Republic and the nation-state presented to the imagination of children in the 1930s' periodicals when statism and the power of one-party were hegemonic and the expectations from the child of the Republic were shaped around the metaphors equating the child with the nation. The periodicals carried in themselves mainly the images of nationalism, progress, modernization, disjunction from the past, secularism and main tools of political socialization for children shaped around the writings about one-party regime.

The ways through which the ideal and virtuous middle-class child of a truly Republican nuclear family with its gendered terms in the stories is represented from the 1930s towards 1940s, are analyzed in the third chapter. The more intensive visibility of "poor children" on the other face of the coin since the intensification of poverty in the 1940s with the Second World War conditions in Turkey is the issue of the fourth chapter. The fourth chapter focuses on how sometimes "poor" and "virtuous" and sometimes "poor" and "vagrant" child in the stories and poems is

“otherized” by the “middle-class” eyes, in terms of advocating the values and morals of the nation-state identified in the moral space. It means, morality becomes perceived as the basis of all social problems in the pieces written for children.

The general path is such: the virtuous middle-class child educated with the values of nation-state formation and attends school regularly, studies to his lessons on time, listens to his compassionate mother guiding him from behind, obeys to his father “who wants his son’s/daughter’s best to make from him/her a great and dutiful citizen for the virtuous Turkish Republic”, is the subject who becomes a model to the objectified poor vagrant child on the street who generally is characterized as arriving at self-realization and is saved from the street or becomes rich in the end only with good morals. If the child that has to live in the street works hard, becomes a good, obedient child and arrives at the reason of the Republican adults, than the stories allow the child to be rich or happy at the end, otherwise if he does not try to be a morally upright person; he will remain as a poor vagrant and when he grew up, it would be his own fault, not a social problem to be handled politically. It is argued here that, the social inequalities and poverty are taken just as problems of morality rather than as issues of political value where the stories that the children read are full of symbolic idealization of this middle-class child of the Republican family. From the same paradigm, it is those little heroes that are sanctified by their poverty who studied hard, helped his/her friends, worked while going to school and always tried to be a good and obedient child that are pictured as saving himself/herself from poverty or from the unhappiness of poverty at the end by his/her good morals. This is a very typical success story written for children and included in the periodicals from the end of the 1930s and into the 1940s.

The children's periodicals in Turkey are a production of the socio-historical reality to which they were born, shaped and were shaped by. These cultural tools did not float on the air as autonomous things; they carried specific meanings within their context. Their significance in my analysis comes from their positions as being a genre of childhood, which I take as a space of hegemony in terms of being home to the competing political discourses of the time. The hegemonic moral codes of the periods represented in the periodicals are sometimes subjects of direct manipulation, sometimes signs of "the political unconscious."¹⁸ But they construct a memory in children of the time by the internalization, reflection and dissemination of the hegemonic codes of the time and power relationships in the public space of the social realm that is materialized institutionally at the state and is made visible for children's eyes in terms of the pieces they read about the exaggerated nation-state formation. In this context, the private space of the family also becomes a space of interference for the state. These are not two separate compartments, but shape and are shaped by each other, paving the way for broader questions regarding the symbols of the morality of the political power(s) both outside and inside the home. The space, the value and the burden the child has in the society as the future of the nation-state is intertwined with the space, the value and the burden the child is attributed at home.

The interaction of childhood as a historical, social and cultural category, the representations in children's periodicals as a genre and the dominant and deviant values of political morals together result in a situation well underlined by Zipes with regard to fairy tales from which we can arrive at an association with our subject of discourse analysis of the periodicals: "Fairy tales and children's literature were written with the purpose of socializing children to meet definite normative

¹⁸ Quoted from the terms of Frederic Jameson by Jack Zipes, "Fairy-Tale Discourse: Towards a Social History of the Genre," in *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion* (New York: Routledge, 1991): 2.

expectations at home and in the public sphere. The behavioural standards were expressly codified in books on manners and civility. This means that the individual symbolic act of writing the literary fairy tale expressed a certain level of social consciousness and conscience which were related to the standard mode of socialization at that time”¹⁹ In this respect, children’s periodicals in a particular era and context should be admitted as carriers of the socio-economic, cultural and political codes of competing discourses in the public space which is the home to different or sometimes similar patterns of social norms. In the experience of the 1930s and 40s until the appearance of Doğan Kardeş in 1945 at the end of the Second World War under the auspices of a great investor Kazım Taşkent, it is more possible to talk about the similarity of the political discourse in the periodicals *Çocuk Sesi*, *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, *Yavrutürk* and *Çocuk Haftası* as it makes itself visible in the hands of the publisher Republican teachers Faruk Gürtunca and Tahsin Demiray feeling so much responsibility for the progressivist, statist and nationalist aims of the Turkish nation-state. They felt responsible for educating the children of the uneducated masses and never let the newly shining light of the Turkish nation extinguish. But the emergence of *Doğan Kardeş* by a great investor in 1945 marks the beginning of a new liberal-democratic understanding in contrast to the previous periodicals of Gürtunca and Demiray which were published under the shadow of the single-party regime.²⁰

¹⁹ Ibid: 9.

²⁰ This does not mean that the homogenizing and totalizing analysis of “single-party” and “multi-party” periods are valid and the transition to multi-party period transformed the society in all spheres. But what happened was the emergence of a new center of a competing discourse about the role of the child which was attributed more significance in its essential value more than its significance for the cultural projects of the nation-state. Doğan Kardeş found for itself a proper place in the context of the end of the Second World War that paved the way to increasing discourses about democratization. The private initiative of Kazım Taşkent was a new and richer one in terms of pieces of entertainment in contrast to the previous pieces in Gürtunca’s and Demiray’s periodicals published in the aura of the great mobilization for the nation-state.

We should remember that childhood is a stage of personal history other than being a category of broader socio-historical reality. It is our memory, in fact. When we look back at our childhood, we see that our images related to the meaning of the world today were formed by our childhood experiences. The transformations in the socio-historical contexts that we try to deconstruct now have already been encoded in our minds through our childhood images, which are embedded in both our personal and social standings. As Stephani Woodson very rightly puts forward, unlike categories of race, culture, or gender, all individuals have shared in the temporality of childhood and it is this point where she finds childhood as positioned as a location to which everyone has ties-emotional, foundational, physical-memories and thoughts.²¹ Her conceptualization of “cultural geography” with regard to children seems to be a useful lense of analysis: According to Woodson, “child space is a geography of developmental time phenomenologically performed on and in the material and mental selves of the children...and childhood exists as a space in which culture, identity and significance are repeatedly and overtly stamped onto children in order to recover them from, or to reiterate, their otherness. The performative geography of childhood then looks not only at material culture, but also at issues of containment, and cultural production and replication-combining the material and the symbolic.” From these words it is reasonable to accept the cultural geography of childhood as a terrain of control onto which a society’s internal controls function to funnel the child into approved channels of “normal” existence.²² These comments should take us to the point at which these channels of “normal” existence are embedded in both the hegemonic ideological positions of broader power centers

²¹ Stephani Etheridge Woodson, "Mapping the Cultural Geography of Childhood or, Performing Monstrous Children," *Journal of American Culture* Winter 1999, no. 22 (1999): 32.

²² Ibid.

rooted in the state and the hegemonic class norms where class should be perceived as a cultural phenomenon other than its socio-economic base shaping all of life where our personal history and social standing interact and shape our perceptions of the world.

This “normalization” effort does not have to be a completely conscious act; I have mentioned about the agency of the “political unconscious” before. This is why many have turned their faces to the allegorical space of fables, stories, and other texts in children’s literature. It is true also in light of literature on governmentality that, from the “primary socialization agent” family to the state agency; “adults and social institutions are invested in ascribing meaning onto and into childhood in order to maintain social order, and the socialization of children negotiates not only behaviour patterns, but also identity formation.”²³ The memory of the child is shaped by the common-sense perceptions of the day which will also shape his character and position in the social realm. The norms of “normal” behaviour flow unconsciously from the cultural pieces to the imagination of the child and the “normal” is identified in a complex set of variables, dichotomies and abstractions reducing the social and cultural reality to crude categorizations (the most common dichotomy being the good and the bad) in the context of the periodicals, which are both universal and specific due to the broader socio-historical context.

What is the relationship of this process to the reading practices of children? Here comes the issue of the broader implications of symbolic productions in the memories of children. As Tony Watkins writes “the stories we tell our children, the narratives we give them to make sense of cultural experience, constitute a kind of mapping, maps of meaning that enable our children to make sense of the world. They

²³ Ibid.

contribute to children's sense of identity, an identity that is simultaneously personal and social: narratives, we might say, shape the way children find a 'home' in the world."²⁴ Finding a home in the world is not something temporary. It is what in fact feeds a child's memory with the codes of the "home". It means, the "home" the child finds in this world in a specific socio-historical reality is a terrain of competing metaphors whose between-the-lines carries the codes of the normalizing, regularizing, socializing and categorizing power codes of the time.

But, here again, surfaces a question: Does the child have no agency in this process? Of course, the child has his/her agency as a subject of history. We should pay attention to the very important words of Woodson, who adds a valuable comment to her further analysis regarding the cultural geography of childhood as being a space of "normalizing control". She renders the agency of a child as a subject in this process and says that, although cultures literally and figuratively depend upon the "successful" socialization of their children in order to promote order and stability in the environment (due to the dominant criteria of the context; my emphasis), a child's agency can threaten this process. "The cultural geography of childhood, does not exist as an empty space awaiting the implamantation of standardized thoughts, emotions, behaviours, or adherence to schedules."²⁵ It is because of the truth of this analysis that a child's memory is not an inevitable and unalterable microchip of the values and morals of the times to which it is born; the agency of children implies action in their imagination and the free interpretation of symbols that can later be a

²⁴ Tony Watkins, "Cultural Studies, New Historicism and Children's Literature," in *Literature for Children: Contemporary Criticism*, ed. Peter Hunt (New York: Routledge, 1992): 183.

²⁵ Woodson, "Mapping the Cultural Geography of Childhood or, Performing Monstrous Children," 34.

space of transformation and conscious resistance.²⁶ But again, the problem is that, this freedom is materialized only when the child grows up. What emerges then becomes the resistance of one in his adolescence to his own childhood hegemonized by the adult perceptions when he was a child; not an active resistance of a child to the adult perceptions shaping the hegemonic codes of the time.

A valuable analysis regarding the subjectivity of children in the social reality has been made by Ashis Nandy with regard to his conception of the “ideology of adulthood.”²⁷ What makes his position political comes from his critique of the hegemony of Western civilization, which he accuses of fetishizing development, growth, progress, technology, maturity, competition and performance symbolized in the “metaphor of childhood as a major justification of all exploitation.”²⁸ According to Nandy, the hegemony of the ideals of Western civilization is sustained by the modern exploitation tools of the ideology of adulthood to the rest of the world: “To the extent adulthood itself is valued as a symbol of completeness and as an end-

²⁶ Sharon Stephens puts the argument simply and clearly as such: "As representatives of the contested future and subjects of cultural policies, children stand at the crossroads of divergent cultural projects. Their minds and bodies are at stake in debates about the transmission of fundamental cultural values in the schools. The very nature of their senses, language, social networks, worldviews, and material futures are at stake in debates about ethnic purity, national identity, minority self-expression, and self-rule. In recent years, researchers have "discovered" that children are not empty vessels, waiting to be filled with adult values, but rather active, creative participants in society (see Gullestad 1991). The phrase "children's own culture" is meant to foreground children's agency, as well as to emphasize the importance of other children in the process of socialization" But in fact it must be emphasized that, the active and participant stance of children in the society as agents of history does not mean an active political stance; it means the child is an agent who is not just being shaped by the adult world but shapes the political perceptions in his surrounding by its potential to be perceived as an hope or threat in the society." Stephens, "Introduction: Children and the Politics of Culture In "Late Capitalism.", 6. For example, in a good article of South African writer Njabulo Ndebele, children's culture is perceived as the most significant and only tool by which South African National Reconstruction can be managed. "The recovery of childhood is something inextricably bound with the reconstruction of society. It will be the result of that reconstruction, rather than the cause of it", Njabulo Ndebele, "Recovering Childhood: Children in South African National Reconstruction" In *Children and the Politics of Culture*, ed. Sharon Stephens (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995): 332. What is required according to Ndebele is their energy, fearlessness and questioning attitude.

²⁷ Ashis Nandy, "Reconstructing Childhood: A Critique of the Ideology of Adulthood," in *Traditions, Tyranny and Utopias: Essays in the Politics of Awareness* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992).

²⁸ Ibid: 59.

product of growth or development, childhood is seen as an imperfect transitional state on the way to adulthood, normality, full socialization and humanness. This is the theory of progress as applied to the individual life-cycle. The result is the frequent use of childhood as a design of cultural and political immaturity or, it comes to the same thing, inferiority.”²⁹

Nandy’s main agenda is based not on a direct critique of childhood. He uses the metaphor of childhood to make a criticism of Western ideals of humanity, progress and development which, according to him, legitimize the process of colonization both in the eyes of the colonizer and the colonized.³⁰ But although there are problems with his writings, the most important of which is his misconception of a unified Western identity, his accounts regarding “the ideology of adulthood” opens the space to further criticism of the modern power relationships of the child, the family and the society which tries to save the child from his/her attributed inferiority.³¹ By admitting that the repression of children in the name of socialization

²⁹ Ibid: 57.

³⁰ Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983). In this book, he has many interesting arguments regarding the experience of India under the colonization process of Britain.

³¹ The most valuable contribution of Nandy comes from his critique of modern power relationships which I think make Nandy and Foucault come closer even if they come from different traditions of social critique: Nandy says "Mankind has progressed towards better treatment of children and that modern societies have been kinder to children than traditional societies. Such an argument, however, ignores the qualitative changes in human oppression brought about by new, impersonal, centralizing and uniformizing forces released by the modern state system, technology and, more recently, by a social consciousness dominated by mass communications...Unlike the traditional or savage oppressor, the modern oppressor is empty within". When Foucault makes an analysis of power since the seventeenth century in terms of the disciplines of the body and the regulations of the population constituting the two poles around which the organization of power over life was deployed; he focuses on the modern identification of power as against the traditional conception of power as embedded in the central sovereign of traditional society and says: " The setting up, in the course of the classical age, of this great bipolar technology-anatomic and biological, individualizing and specifying, directed toward the performances of the body, with attention to the processes of life-characterized a power whose highest function was perhaps no longer to kill, but to invest life through and through.(to regularize, normalize, educate the child due to the needs of the society; my emphasis) The old power of death that symbolized sovereign power was now carefully supplanted by the administration of bodies and the calculated management of life" Michel Foucault, "Right of Death and Power over Life," in *The History of Sexuality* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990): 261-62.

and education was the basic model of all legitimate modern repression, exactly as the ideology of adulthood- including the glorification of work, performance and productivity as normal and mature- was the prototypical theory of progress designed to co-opt on behalf of the oppressors the visions of the future of their victims; in fact, he tries to save the colonized Indian mind from the hegemony of Western civilization by attributing the colonized-the so called “child”-an agency.

Other than his dealing with the ideological construction of childhood, Nandy’s work is significant also in another respect of highlighting the interdependency of the metaphorical and material phenomena which carries great importance for this study. Social reality is a multi-dimensional space that can be handled only with perspectives which feed themselves with a broad spectrum of material and metaphorical phenomena together that puts forward the requirement of a look at a particular socio-historical reality not just as it seems on the surface, but also of an analysis of how it is made known, perceived, reconstructed and so reshaped culturally. Looking from this perspective, what is the most important thing to be aware of while trying to make an historical analysis should be the inevitable link between these material and metaphorical phenomena which makes it more possible to avoid reductionist approaches to the issue at hand and to read what is between-the-lines of the issue.

What is between the lines of the historical realities? Is every ‘between-the-line’ a reflection of socio-political reality that is made visible in textualities or is it paranoia to read the between-the-lines instead of the reality experienced as it seems on the surface? The answers to both questions should be ‘no’ because the symbolic representation of the historical event and its existence as a political stance among the actors of the historical context must be analysed by trying to make a balance of their

interaction. Lynn Hunt writes that, “all practices, whether economic or cultural, depend on the representations individuals use to make sense of their world.”³² Although I agree with this, I would add that, although these representations have the potential to reconstruct historical reality, they do not do this in a contained and isolated space. What constructs historical experience, “whether economic or cultural”, can not be understood just by looking at the representation. If the deciphering of meaning, rather than the inference of causal laws of explanation, is taken to be the central task of cultural history, as Hunt says, then cultural history carries its own danger of over-textualization. The text should not be perceived just as a mirror; it is a tool of analysis without which it is not meaningful to question historical experience. What makes historical experience a lived phenomenon is embedded in the ways it is perceived by different agents of the society.

Causal explanations and meaning should not be perceived as separate compartments of historical analysis. This is what makes Chartier’s criticism meaningful, as quoted by Hunt: “Chartier insists that historians of culture must not replace a reductive theory of culture as reflective of social reality with an equally reductive assumption that rituals and other forms of symbolic action simply express a central, coherent, communal meaning. Nor must they forget that the texts they work with affect the reader in varying and individual ways. Documents describing past symbolic actions are not innocent, transparent texts; they were written by authors with various intentions and strategies, and historians of culture must devise their own strategies for reading them.”³³

³² Lynn Hunt, "Introduction: History, Culture, and Text," in *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): 19.

³³ Ibid: 14.

In this case we should take into account the criticisms of Biernacki towards cultural history writing in terms of “cultural historians’ sardonic self-reflection on the textual construction of both social life and historical explanation that creates a metaphysical bond between life and its explication.”³⁴ Although I find his attack on cultural history rigid and paranoid when he says that the new cultural history tries to prolong the life of social history because it needs a counterposition against which its own terms might appear more securely antifoundational, the questions he asks in an interrogation of cultural history writing are very important: Whether, when, and how particular cultural elements make a distinguishable difference of their own for historical outcomes, how the symbols are produced and validated, of whether and how the meanings they orchestrate represent a cause of their emergence and survival.³⁵ The question phrase “whether” carries great importance for an historical analysis in terms of its rendering the possibility that the text is not necessarily a reflection of the social reality of the context, but it certainly means something in that specificity, at least a contribution to the reconstruction of the codes of the time, if not in the dominant textuality, that will succeed or will be resisted by the next generations, that it will become ‘history’ in fact.

So, the cultural historian studying the metaphorical space of cultural productions and texts has to treat historical experience not just in allegorical terms, but by a perspective sensitive to the inseparateness of social/historical from the metaphorical where these two levels of analysis are perceived in the same manner, in Köksal’s words. According to this perspective, what is significant in a text is not its

³⁴ Richard Biernacki, "Method and Metaphor after the New Cultural History," in *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, ed. Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

³⁵ Ibid: 68-72.

explanation of the historical reality as a direct reflection, but its position in that complexity of the historical context in terms of the extent to which the text fits this complexity or stands in somewhere else.³⁶

Metaphors are the tools that we need to interrogate both our individual and social historical experiences. Simply, we arrive at a self-realization of our individual and social being by the help of the metaphors which have the power to question the dynamics of historical experience both as materially lived and “perceived” phenomena. When Franco Moretti puts the bourgeois civilization into questioning, it is no coincidence that he uses the literary metaphors of Frankenstein and Dracula, the monster (the disfigured wretch/the worker) and the vampire (the ruthless proprietor/capital- to question this civilization because he believes that “the literature of terror is born precisely out of the terror of a split society.”³⁷ That is the way he chooses to handle the cultural expressions of bourgeois civilization and it is understandable as a strategy to cope with an analysis of socio-historical reality. The socio-historical and complex experiences of bourgeois civilization are made visible by the literary terms which highlight the agency of cultural interpretation in an interrogation of the world.

To what extent is social reality reflected in the competing discourses of a particular context? Is there a direct or indirect relationship between the social reality and the symbolic existence of the discourses which are constructed in that particular context of social reality? Is cultural production necessarily shaped by the social reality of the context or does it have an ontology in itself that shapes the social

³⁶ Duygu Köksal, "Sosyal Bilimlerin Kısısında Edebiyat," in *Sosyal Bilimleri Yeniden Düşünmek* (İstanbul: Metis, 2001): 225.

³⁷ Franco Moretti, "Dialectic of Fear," in *Signs Taken for Wonders : Essays in the Sociology of Literary Forms* (London ; New York: Verso, 1988): 83.

reality? William Sewell's answer to these questions alike seem fruitful if one wants to interrogate the dynamics of a possible balance to be constructed on a non-reductionist space of interaction between the "cultural", the "social" and the "political" which can never be separate compartments of historical reality. After making a distinction between the concept of culture-as-a-system of symbols and meanings and the concept of culture-as-practice; he declares his own position to be on the side of culture-as-practice which denies the abstraction of the meaningful aspect of human action from the flow of concrete interactions and objects to a portrayal of culture as logical, coherent, shared, uniform and static and having its own ontology.³⁸ Sewell finds the recent turn to a concept of culture-as-practice in theorotical writing in the 1980s fruitful as it is this approach that renders "the contradictoriness and malleability of cultural meanings" and their flexibility due to the mechanisms by which meanings are transformed.³⁹ Are these mechanisms only cultural? No, of course not, because we are dealing with history, which in fact talks for itself by the interaction of a multitude of socio-economical, cultural and political elements that contain, shape and are transformed by each other's agents.⁴⁰

Departing from these debates, what can be said for the relationship of children's periodicals in the 1930s and 1940s particular and local context of Turkey becomes a matter of a multi-dimensional analysis which constitutes the basic limitation of this study. This study can not give clues about children's experiences

³⁸ William H. Sewell, "The Concept(S) of Culture," in *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, ed. Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999): 43-44.

³⁹ Ibid: 45.

⁴⁰ It is because of this that; the debates on class in historiography fortunately started to take into account the symbols of the experiences of the working class by the valuable contribution of E.P. Thompson which could not be understood both apart from the socio-economic context and the cultural space of the political implications of the material system and the meanings that they have attributed to this system which is itself a political act in the form of a cultural activity.

equally in the socio-economic, cultural and political spaces which are not separate compartments in fact. But this is a huge arena as highlighted above and although the author of this study is very much aware that discourse analysis of certain cultural pieces in a limited arena carries in itself the dangers of over-textualization, making homogenizing and totalizing abstractions; at least it is very significant to know that the most popular children's periodicals of the time included in this study put forward significant clues to wander in the mainstream maps of meaning targeted in the children's minds in the years mentioned. As this study focuses on a periodical analysis in its methodology, it should be acknowledged that it focuses on what the periodicals stand for in the context of the 1930s and 1940s Turkey, not what the 1930s and 1940s stand for in terms of the interaction of socio-economic, cultural and metaphorical experiences, which is beyond the scope of this study.

Although the periods that are under examination in this study are never homogeneous in the developments in the political, cultural and social arenas in social reality which can not be immune from the perceptions of the actors in that historical specificity, this study has had to pay more attention to the voice of the Republican elite perceptions-especially publisher and writer teachers of the time- and their reflection in the home than to the real voice of the objectified children in the periodicals because of the metaphors in the periodicals which carried me to the deciphering of the political power(s) that was institutionalized both in the elite discourse of nationalism and in the Republican values in the family.

But in fact this is a general problem for most of the childhood studies where the real voice of children is impossible to be heard. Where can the real voice of children be followed even when subaltern studies of adults is doubtful about its adult voices in the archives? What Minow offers is a valuable and morally upright position

in this context when she answers the question that how we can get hold of children's sentiments-and do we as adults want to do so: "Perhaps we can at most hope to de-naturalize our thoughts about children, to make them seem contingent on our past and our desires. Becoming more self-conscious about the assumptions we take for granted would include learning to examine the structures of our categories, what we suppress with them, how we carve dichotomies or sharp lines where perhaps there are only interconnections."⁴¹ Although it is impossible for the periodicals to shed light on a broad social arena of the child question in the social context of the 1930s and 1940s Turkey in terms of education, welfare, citizenship, poverty, charity etc., at least the analysis of children's periodicals chosen in this study tries to make a contribution to carving the dichotomies in the discourse level of the Republican elite targeting the imagination of children in the cultural context of the newly established nation-state.

Before analyzing these periodicals, an important point regarding the significance of children's periodicals in highlighting the political perceptions of the time must be remembered: Children's periodicals are significant for an historical analysis in terms of their unique value as sources of the most visible information regarding the period being addressed. In other words, as these periodicals address children, for whom they had to develop a naïve, simple and visual language rather than textuality, the ideological clues involved had to be expressed in the simplest and most direct way. This paved the way for the caricaturization of the complex debates of the adults regarding the competing discourses about the route of the new nation-state about such topics as progress, development, modernization, secularization and the disjunction with the past and the roots of the nation in Central Asia. The most

⁴¹ Minow, "Governing Children, Imagining Childhood", 258.

complex debate was simplicized in a children's periodical through the adoption of the language of the child. And it is usually that moment in the process of knowledge when everything is brightened: the words become simpler, cruder and closer to the essence of the subject. Every issue and position which is expressed in simpler words and a spatial visualization rather than the flexible basis of round words, gives many more clues to us regarding the inner motivation of the subject. The more the issue becomes caricaturized, the more its nature and dilemmas are revealed. This is why children's periodicals are unique and great sources for an historical analysis as they put in front of us the best forms of knowledge regarding both the time addressed and their own position in this particularity. They have the function to hide in themselves the crudest clues of the most complex issues regarding the Republic in the 1930s and 1940s. The between-lines of the children's stories, pictures and photographs, at times take us to the historical position of the debates maybe more than the rest of the complex debates of adult thinkers. It is because of this that the six children's periodicals between the 1930s and 1940s included in this study, are valuable in terms of highlighting some aspects of the mainstream discourses about the Republic if not all.

CHAPTER II

THE NATION-STATE BECOMES VISIBLE TO THE CHILD: THE IMAGES OF NATIONALISM, THE STATE AND THE REPUBLIC IN THE MINDS OF CHILD READERS IN 1930s TURKEY

The two centuries of heritage of modernity with its main premise of control and regulation of the masses in a specific territoriality targeting their “normal”ity and functionality would pave the way for another story in the Turkish case in a just arrived nation-state. The experience of Ottoman modernity with westernization, enlightenment and centralization efforts since the nineteenth century had been a great link towards the Republic but the Republican elites refused to be a part of a continuation and constructed their ideology on a discourse of disjunction with the past. Nationalism had to rise on a background of hatred from multi-ethnicity, multi-linguality and multi-centrality to give way to a perception of a one great, powerful and unique entity of one “ethnie” in its own historical lands. The memories of the Balkan Wars and the War of Independence were functional for the Republican elite for the dissemination of the values of nationalism departing from a love to the land saved from the enemy. Patriotism born towards the end of the Ottoman Period, soon

became a ground for further mobilization of nationalism in the Republican Period for which the children's periodicals became significant tools.

What identified Turkishness, corporatism, community, cultural, economic and social identity and fictional dualities such as being civilized or underdeveloped, being traditional or modern, being a part of the West or the East, being religious or secular was a matter of mobilization of the masses and the dissemination of the ideology at the everyday level by multiple agents defining themselves differently. But they were in fact, standing on the same flexible basis of nationalist ideology, which can not just be explained by developments in law and high politics. Conceptualized as the normative judges by Foucault, it is "teachers, psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers" who "reach beyond the judicial domain into one governed by norms affecting aspects of the body that cannot be inscribed with the exactness of law"⁴² who are significant actors in shaping the maps of meaning regarding children in the 1930s' Turkey.

The Republican adults of different professions from bureaucrats, civil servants and teachers to sociologists, doctors and other intelligentsia were the main actors taking place in the establishment of the nation-state. They advocated and initiated the projects of the immediate modernization and development of the country and wanted to mobilize the masses towards the route of progress. Children in this sense were significant actors of the society through whom the metaphors of the birth and progress of the nation-state would be portrayed.

This chapter focuses on the political discourse of the periodicals in terms of their common-sense visions of the relationship between the nation-state and her children and the political roles and burdens that were attributed to them in terms of

⁴² Martin Hewitt, "Bio-Politics and Social Policy: Foucault's Account of Welfare," *Theory, Culture & Society* 2, no. 1 (1983): 67.

their political socialization especially during the 1930s when the one-party state had a great hegemony in the country. The political value of children was much higher than their essential value as beloved sons and daughters. This common-sense perception rose on the basis that the people of the Turkish nation-state would be nationalized, modernized and civilized but at most regularized due to the governmental reason of the modern nation-state for the welfare of the great Turkish nation. Education was the key arena and teachers publishing and writing in these periodicals since the adoption of the Latin Alphabet had vital roles in disseminating the values to children regarding nationalism and the power of the state which is in fact, a general aura of all nationalist projects. The basic values wanted to be instilled onto children were shaped around the faith in an equation of the nation with the child, disjunction from the past and secularism and the ideals of a colonialist progress as reflected in adventure stories and some other writings. The onset of the Second World War brought a new dimension to the burdens of children and their roles as today's boy and girl scouts but tomorrow's soldiers were much more emphasized.

The Adoption of the Latin Alphabet: New Words for the Emptied Worlds

The turning point for the 1930s in terms of the mobilization efforts towards children was much more related to the adoption of the Latin Alphabet in 1928 which paved the way for leading children's periodicals with fresh motivations to emerge by new investors in the publishing arena. The acceptance of the Latin Alphabet is the most radical movement for the envisioned progress of society, beginning with the education of the masses according to the norms of the "Western Civilization". It was

both a sign of the Republican sensitivity towards the route of Western civilization and an act of political and cultural mobilization in the public sphere in favour of a great break with the entity of Ottoman past and integration into the modern and secular nation-state politics. It was both a prerequisite of imagining the Turkish community⁴³ as embedded in an homogenous racial, ethnic, historical entity under the auspices of the modern Turkish nation-state and a movement to start a mobilization of education in favour of a regeneration, development and progress of a primordially perceived Turkish nation that “deserved to be” a part of the Western modernity. Due to the statistical records given by Owen and Pamuk, enrollment in elementary schools increased from approximately %22 school age children in 1925 to %45 in 1945 and overall illiteracy rates declined from %81 in 1935 to %70 in 1945.⁴⁴

But there is something very significant: This mobilization in discourse seems to create an illusion in which the country as a whole and unified identity is progressing rapidly and the children all over the Turkish territory both from the city and the countryside are involved in a unified modernization process. But this is not the case. The acceptance of the Latin Alphabet is a great change but not for the children living in the countryside under poor conditions if they are not the sons and daughters of bureaucrats and civil servants such as station chiefs in the countryside. As Owen and Pamuk continue to highlight, “if gains were made in life expectancy, health and education during the inter-war period, these most have occurred primarily in the urban areas. Government policies must have reinforced this pattern since the

⁴³ Benedict R. O'G Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. and extended ed. (London ; New York: Verso, 1991). and Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism, New Perspectives on the Past* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

⁴⁴ Roger Owen and Şevket Pamuk, "Turkey, 1918-1945," in *A History of the Middle East Economies in the Twentieth Century* (1998): 26.

health and education spending of the single-party regime favored the city.”⁴⁵ So, although these periodicals had circulations in Anatolia, their customers in Anatolia were the sons and daughters of state administrators, bureaucrats, teachers and soldiers as the readers’ letters show. The perception that is wanted to be instilled onto children that the society is full of adrenaline together, in a unique, organic identity running towards the dream of the nation-state seems really to be a great illusion in the countryside. The city was changing; schools were opened, factories were constituted but not with so much effect as the discourse in the periodicals show.

Following the establishment of the Turkish Republic and the other transformations in the public sphere regarding the efforts of modernization, the acceptance of the Latin Alphabet marked a great transformation in the metaphorical space and in fact the metaphors of nationalism came before its effects at the social level. Nationalism as an economic, cultural and political phenomenon was something to be taught to the masses and its metaphors would have to be disseminated for the sake of the envisioned transformation towards nation-state politics in society. There was a discourse of disjunction with the past; but of course there was no disjunction with the past at the everyday level, a Republic had been established, a national claim was made based on a great trauma of lost lands, the Balkan wars, the Independence War and the ghosts of nationalism were floating in the air and looking for channels to flow in. As Ahmet Oktay evaluates, the period was one of an illusion in which everything was believed to be made out of nothing.⁴⁶ The Republic did not enter such a transformation free from the problems that it had inherited from the earlier years. Many things were changing, but many things were insistent on resisting those

⁴⁵ Ibid: 28.

⁴⁶ Ahmet Oktay, *Yeni Edebiyat Dergisi: Yazın Ve Sanat Anlayışı, Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları* (Bilim, Felsefe, Sanat Yayınları, 1986): 332.

changes. The sources of the culture of the Turkish nation, its connection to Islam, the masses as the source of the new regeneration of the Turkish nation and the debates around the construction of language were not on the agenda of only the constructors of the nation-state-bureaucratic elite-but most of the intelligentsia who also attributed to themselves great roles in this period of transition. All the problematics above had their roots in the whole experience of Turkish nationalism that had been discussed for a long time in the pre-Republican period.

Nationalism had risen gradually since the end of the nineteenth century, especially by the developments in language and literature since the Young Turks, which is most seen in the debates about the purification of Ottoman Turkish. The economic policies of the CUP aiming the establishment of a national bourgeois regime made the issue more political because the element of Turkishness then began to be more emphasized. The boundary for the previous claims of nationalism was the protection of the Ottoman State. The Ottoman state as the social unit was still on the minds of the pre-Republican elite and an apparent Turkish nationalism like that of the post-Balkan War period was not there yet.⁴⁷ However, the rising claims of Turkish nationalism with the main trauma of the Balkan Wars were complemented with the establishment of the Republic, which was a disjunction at the discourse level, in fact which was ontologically identified by this disjunction.

After the adoption of the Latin Alphabet, the source for the regeneration of the language was looked for in Central Asia and the political route of the regime in this sense towards purification of the language was made apparent gradually in the 3 congresses of Turkish Language Investigation Institute (TDTC) from 1932 to 1936. The decisions taken in the 1st Congress in 1932 were as such: collecting and

⁴⁷ See for details: Masami Arai, "The Genç Kalemler and the Young Turks: A Study in Nationalisms," *METU Studies in Development* 12, no. 3-4 (1985): 199.

publishing the words that the people used, producing new words from pure Turkish roots and offering the use of these pure Turkish words instead the words of foreign origin for the words of the same meaning⁴⁸ Due to the decisions of these congresses that were radicalized after 1936, new lists of words were published periodically to mobilize the people for the project of regenerating the language in the popular newspapers and journals of the time. Ottoman Past was an interesting loss of memory in this sense whose cultural and etymological heritage was a real target of hatred in this process.

Çocuk Sesi seems to have felt itself very responsible about this mobilization and it had attributed itself the role of educating the child readers of Çocuk Sesi according to the new cultural policies directed at the language issue. Especially from 1934 onwards, *Çocuk Sesi* started to publish the lists of new words and nearly all the writers of the periodical wrote with the new ‘purified’ or ‘constructed’ words. The meanings of the new words were written under the passages; but it was very clear that, there had been a great discontinuity in the language in a very short time and the texts were really difficult to read with those words.

What is interesting about the purification of the language is that, apart from apparent policies and their reflections targeted in the public sphere by the state, there was also a policy targeted on the names of the people. People were changing their names and were getting names that were purely from Turkish origin. The names were also being purified and regenerated and Çocuk Sesi was again active in this process to disseminate its readers the ‘honourable’ act of converting the names if they were not from Turkish origin. In 1932, an announcement took place in *Çocuk Sesi* about the 44 Turkish and Jew students (both boys and girls) continuing to a

⁴⁸ Soner Çağatay, “Otuzlarda Türk Milliyetçiliğinde Irk, Dil ve Etnisite”, *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce- Milliyetçilik*, vol. 4, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002): 249-257.

primary school in Beyoğlu. They had applied on their own to the Ministry of the Republic by a letter declaring their wish for changing their names. In this letter, according to *Çocuk Sesi*, the children had requested to be given Turkish names that they had attached to the letter and to be ‘saved’ from names of foreign origin. Their teacher, named ‘Oğuz’ had visited their parents and as soon as he became sure that the parents allowed the changes, the scene was ready for the new names of children and they were as such: Haydar became Damar, Sabahattin became Cengiz, Niyazi became Yavuz, Mustafa became Çetin, Fahrettin became Yıldırım, Donna became Gündüz, and İsak became Orhan.⁴⁹

As the Republic was established by “an illusion in which everything was believed to be made out of nothing”, this “nothing” had to be presented to the masses, The Republic politically unconsciously needed an imaginative visualization of its aims which should begin from the children of the yet infant republic and it was believed that the children’s periodicals would be great tools for the mobilization of the minds of children; the future adult citizens of the Turkish Republic. In this respect, Faruk Gürtunca and Tahsin Demiray, the two leading figures of children’s periodicals and owners of the most popular periodicals between the 1930s and 40s, opened the space to the most popularized type of nationalist sentiments to be expressed and instilled onto children.

⁴⁹ “Yeni Türk Adları, 40 Talebenin ismi Türkçeye çevrildi. Vekalet teşekkür etti”, *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 155 (19 December 1932): 9.

Faruk Gürtunca and Tahsin Demiray's Periodicals: Narrators of the Nation-State to the Child Audience

Faruk Gürtunca and Tahsin Demiray were the two important figures of the Early Republican period who published periodicals for primary school children of the time and continued to publish their periodicals for longer terms than any other publishers. Their professional status as teachers was an advantage for them while they were writing for children. Among the periodicals published by them, the most popular were *Çocuk Sesi* (1928), *Afacan* (1934), *Gelincik* (1936), *Çocuk Romanları* (1941) and *Çocuk Gözü* (1945) by Faruk Gürtunca⁵⁰ under the auspices of Ülkü Publishing House; and *Haftalık Resimli Gazetemiz* (1924), *Resimli Mecmua* (1925), *Ateş* (1930), *Yavrutürk* (1936), *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* (1938), *Binbir Roman* (1939) and *Çocuk Haftası* (1943) by Tahsin Demiray under the auspices of Türkiye Publishing House.⁵¹

Faruk Gürtunca was a graduate of the Edirne Teachers's School and he was a teacher in Edirne before he began to publishing periodicals for children. He even had gone to School of Dentistry after the Teachers's School, but his main job became publishing in İstanbul. He did not continue his career as a teacher in İstanbul while he was publishing periodicals, but from his signatures in *Çocuk Sesi* where he signed as Teacher M. Faruk, it can be guessed that he preferred to identify himself as a teacher. As will be later seen through *Çocuk Sesi*, most of the issues presented in his

⁵⁰ There were also *Genç Liseli*, *Okul ve Öğretmen*, *Her Ay*, *Her Hafta* published by him.

⁵¹ A more detailed summary about these periodicals can be read from Şeyma Gençel's short article. Şeyma Gençel, "Çocuk Dergileri." in *Türkiye'de Dergiler Ansiklopediler(1849-1984)*, (İstanbul: Gelişim Yayınları,1984): 185-202.

periodicals through stories, news and other items, based their ideals on the dissemination of nationalism by a consciousness of history and tradition together with the belief in progress.⁵² But among all these *Çocuk Sesi* was particularly successful in establishing a special place for itself as it attracted children of the primary school level with its campaigns, rewards and club activities, the most attended of which were cinema days, competitions and rewards arranged by the periodical's effort to create an interactive community of children.⁵³ This can also be observed in the periodicals of Tahsin Demiray, especially in *Yavrutürk* and *Çocuk Haftası* which was published after *Yavrutürk* had been closed down.

Tahsin Demiray established the Türkiye Publishing House in 1923.⁵⁴ This publishing house was a valuable site for most of the nationalist and Turanist discourse of the 1930s and 1940s. Demiray had certainly Turanist tendencies as

⁵² Gürtunca's political stance that is both a mixture of official ideology and Turanism is also visible in the names of his books that were mostly published by Ülkü Publishing House. *23 Nisanı Hızlandıran Türk* (Saruhan Mebusu Mahmut Celal Bey), 1956; *Alp Arslan Oğlu Melikşah*, 1971; *Anadolu*, 1939; *Atatürk'e Ağıt (Millete Destan)*, *Bu Aslana Dokunmayın*, 1939, *Büyük Hakan Alp Arslan*, Selçuklu Tarih ve Medeniyeti Enstitüsü, 1971, *Dokunmayın Bu Vatana (Moskoflara Cevap)* (Resimleyen: Münif Fehim), 1946. *Dokunmayın Bu Aslana* was adapted to a film directed by Vedat Örfi Bengü in 1952. Hasan Pulur reminds us about the popularity of this novel in one of his articles about Turkish-Italian relations where he blames Italy because of giving hostage to Abdullah Öcalan and tries to legitimize his thoughts by looking at some historical events: "O günlerde, yani 1930'ların sonunda, Türkiye'de, bu kadar olmasa bile yine İtalya aleyhinde bir hava vardır ve rahmetli merhum Faruk Gürtunca'nın *Dokunmayın Bu Aslana* adlı kitabı, faşist İtalya'ya ağzının payını verdiği için, peynir ekmek gibi satılmaktadır", Hasan Pulur, "Tarih Ve İtalya," *Milliyet*, 21 December 1998. Gürtunca is also famous for his nationalist poems at that time. He has many famous poems that still take place in today's national education textbooks.

⁵³ In 1936, *Çocuk Sesi* announced that, the *Club of Çocuk Sesi* had members numbering more than 10.000 and the children having watched the movies projected by *Çocuk Sesi* had numbered at least 3000. "14üncü Cildimize Başlarken; Harf İnkılabının İlk Günündenberi Tatil Yapmadan Çıkan Biricik Mecmua (ÇOCUK SESİ) oldu; Çocuk Sesi sekiz yılda 800.000 Türk Çocuğu Tarafından Okundu", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 326, (23 March 1936):3. Another reason behind the popularity of Gürtunca's and Demiray's periodicals was that, they published qualified comics of Walt Disney. Walt Disney comics were introduced to Turkey in 1936 by *Çocuk Sesi* under the auspices of Ülkü Publishing House. See "Miki Fare ile Pipo Gizli Polis Ajanı", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 334 (18 May 1936): 1. There were also other popular pieces from American culture such as news about American stars which was attracting children. The child star Shirley Temple was the most popular image of American culture in child readers of the 1930s. *Yavrutürk* had even published a special edition in the name of her and also in 1938, a series about a fictive voyage with Shirley all around İstanbul was published. "Şirley İstanbul'da", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 105 (30 April 1938): 4.

⁵⁴ Eser Tutel, "Türkiye Yayınevi", İstanbul Yazıları, *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 164, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, September 1997).

understood from his publication policy, expressed both in the books he published and the subject of the Turanist stories included in *Yavrutürk* and *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* in the 1930s about the Turks in Central Asia and their victories before the Ottoman days written by mostly Aptullah Ziya Kozanoğlu.⁵⁵ Demiray's political tendency was similar to that of Faruk Gürtunca's: a mixture of official ideology and Turanism; but their Turanism was bounded by the limits drawn by the six arrows of the Republic in the 1930s and 1940s.⁵⁶ They never passed the limit into the position of Nihal Atsız although they had an intimate relationship with the thoughts of Atsız. Tahsin Demiray had published and distributed Atsız's *Bozkurtların Ölümü* and *Bozkurtlar Diriliyor* which were perceived as the greatest books on the Turanist discourse of the time. And an appreciative review article including very few negative points regarding the books of Tahsin Demiray and Aptullah Ziya Kozanoğlu was published in *Atsız Mecmua* in 1931.⁵⁷

The political motivations of Demiray become more visible looking at his personal history in the political arena. He was one of the founders of the Turkish Peasants' Party with Remzi Oğuz Arık and was also active in the following Republican Peasants' Nationalist Party. He was also one of the founders of the Justice Party and a member of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1961. So, his

⁵⁵ Some of their names were *Kolsuz Kahraman* about the Kirghiz Alpago fighting with Chinese Khans, *Gül Tekin, Olcayto Bahadır, The Turkish Raiders in the Heart of Europe*(*Avrupanın Göbeğinde Türk Akıncıları*) by Kozanoğlu; *Galiçyada Koç Mustafa* by Sezai Attila, *The Children of History*(*Tarihin Çocukları*) by İskender Sertelli published in *Çocuk Sesi* and *The Golden Carriage, The Silver Wheel*(*Altın Araba, Gümüş Tekerlek*) by Burhan Bilbaşar published in *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*.

⁵⁶ The Kemalist ideology and Turanism were sometimes in harmony, sometimes in a tense relationship. In the beginning of the 1930s, the relationship between them was tense because the Kemalist ideology did not base its ideals on a racist expansionism. Kemalist ideology preferred to adopt a nationalism in harmony with Western civilizational norms and advocated "Peace in the Country, Peace in the World" which was perceived as an obstacle by most of the Turanists. Orhangazi Ertekin, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkçülüğün Çatallanan Yolları", *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce-Milliyetçilik*, Vol. 4, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002): 373.

⁵⁷ K.A., "Kitaplar," *Atsız Mecmua* 1, no. 2 (15 June 1931): 46-47.

Republicanist tendencies were limited to the six arrows between the 1930s and the middle of the 1940s which paved the way for a more visible account of his political motivations that were not on the surface during the single-party regime. This can be understood very well from the volumes of *Çocuk Haftası* between 1958 and 1962. *Çocuk Haftası* was published again between these years after its closure down in 1949. In these years, *Çocuk Haftası* was almost an Islamic morality source for children of the time. The weekly Religion lessons with regard to good morals in *Çocuk Haftası* between 1958 and 62 could not take place in 1930s and 1940s when both Gürtunca's and Demiray's periodicals were in the forefront of secularism and the six arrows as shaped by the progress, development and modernization ideals of the one-party regime.

The acceptance of the Latin Alphabet implied also a personal turning point for Tahsin Demiray: Demiray had made his wealth, which he later invested in publishing, from the right he had gained to publish the new alphabet for both primary schools and public schools.⁵⁸ This was a very intelligent move. He also made wise investments so that his periodicals became the most popular ones above with those of Faruk Gürtunca's.⁵⁹ This popularity sometimes is told us by writers who were children around the 1930s and 1940s and grew up reading the most popular children's periodicals published by Demiray and Gürtunca. The words of a conservative intellectual Orhan Okay give us clues both about a childhood experience in the 1930s and his personal history being shaped from his reading habits in his childhood:

⁵⁸ Orhan Okay, "Geçmiş Zaman Kitapçıları 3", *Zaman*, 6 October 2002.

⁵⁹ Some other books that helped to increase his institution's prestige were Aptullah Ziya Kozanoğlu's novels, *Our War Of Independence (İstiklal Harbimiz)* by Kazım Karabekir and *The Chronology of Ottoman History (Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi)* by İsmail Hami Danişmend.

I guess everyone growing up in a bureaucrat family in İstanbul in the 1930s and 1940s must have had a similar adventure like mine with reading. Despite the Rüştîye education of my mom and dad, and my sister going to middle or high school then, we didn't have a library in our house...But my sister was reading a periodical with big dimensions called *Çocuk Duygusu* and sometimes bought *Çocuk Sesi* and *Afacan*. In the Balat Bazaar close to our house, at the crossroads, was the shop of Tahsin Demiray, where one could find newspapers and periodicals. *Yavrutürk*, which I first saw there, became the first periodical I bought with my own desire and money and followed until the end of the primary school. *Yavrutürk* published by Demiray and including writers such as Rakım and Nimet Çalapala, was the most long-term qualified periodical of the time... I don't know if it is necessary to say that I was so effected that I tried to imitate *Yavrutürk* and published a little periodical. When *Yavrutürk* announced that it would give books as rewards to its readers who sent their photographs, my photo was sent there, too. Maybe finding my photo among tens of readers' photos gave me great pride of being seen in a published material. Then we went with my mother to Türkiye Publishing House in Cağaloğlu to get my reward. Tahsin Demiray was an excited Turkist. My award was an illustrated Tepegöz story, which became the first book of my library⁶⁰

Okay's was an İstanbul childhood, for example Fethi Naci as a person growing up in Giresun, says that although he knew Faruk Gürtunca's periodicals as sharing the monopoly of children's periodicals with Tahsin Demiray, they were not available outside the big cities or in the countryside as Demiray's were.⁶¹ This tells us of the reader potential of Tahsin Demiray's periodicals. Gürtunca's periodicals

⁶⁰“Bir memur ailesi içinde 1930'lu, 40'lı yıllarda çocukluğunu İstanbul'da geçiren herkesin bana benzer veya yakın bir kitap serüveni yaşamış olduğunu tahmin ederim. Annemin ve babamın rüştîye tahsiline, üniversiteye kadar gidecek olan ablamın da o yıllarda ortaokul yahut lisede olmasına rağmen evimizde kütüphane yoktu... Ablam Çocuk Duygusu adlı büyük boyda bir dergiyi de takip ediyor, bazen de Çocuk Sesi ve Afacan adlı dergileri alıyordu. Evimize yakın Balat çarşısında, dört yol ağzında Acem dediğimiz (İstanbulluların o zamanlar Acem dedikleri bu insanların İran Türkleri olduklarını epey sonra öğrenecektim) Tahsin Bey'in, gazete ve dergi de bulundurduğu bir büfesi vardı. Orada görüp aldığım Yavrutürk, benim kendi isteğim, kendi paramla(!) alıp tâ ilkökul sonlarına kadar takip ettiğim ilk dergi oldu. Tahsin Demiray'ın çıkardığı, Rakım ve Nimet Çalapala'ların yazdığı Yavrutürk, döneminin en uzun ömürlü ve kaliteli çocuk dergisiydi. Yavrutürk'ü taklitte bir "Küçük Dergi" çıkartıyordum (belki birçok evde çocukların bu gibi hevesleri olduğunu düşünerek) söylememe gerek var mı? Yavrutürk, dergide fotoğrafı çıkan okuyucularına kitap hediye ettiğini ilân edince benim de bir resmim gönderildi; onlarca okuyucu fotoğrafı arasında kendimi bulmam, acaba ilk defa bir yayın organında görünmüş olmam gururunu mu vermişti? Sonra annemle beraber, Cağaloğlu'nda, Vilayet binasının hemen alt tarafında bulunan Türkiye Yayınevi'ne giderek promosyonumuzu aldık. Tahsin Demiray epey heyecanlı bir Türkçüydü, aldığımız kitap da yine kendi yayını olan ve çocuklar için resimlendirilmiş bir-iki formalık bir Tepegöz hikâyesiydi. Bu da kütüphanemin ilk kitabı oldu.” Orhan Okay, "Kitap Sevdası," *Zaman*, 4 March 2002.

⁶¹ Turhan Güney, "Fethi Naci İle Söyleşi," *Cumhuriyet Kitap*, 6 June 2002.

were very popular in Anatolian cities too as understood from the readers's letters. But again, these letters coming from Anatolia, which will be discussed at length in the second chapter, usually belonged to the middle-class children of bureaucrats and other state officials living in Anatolia. The audience of the periodicals mostly were children of these middle-class Republican families living in urban areas.⁶²

The last example regarding the popularity of the periodicals comes from Altumur Kılıç's words about his childhood. Kılıç uses his memory and puts his childhood as an ideal to criticize the "decadent" children and youth of recent times "having no moral values" and idealizes his generation for its reading habits by an ahistorically conservative perspective:

Why were we unique?...First of all, we were the generation following the National Struggle. We grew up with the real stories of our dad and granddads. And what we read in our childhood were not those pornographic novels, silly periodicals and immoral web sites. The films we watched didn't include the same disgraceful materials either as well as those televoles and violence staff of today. What we did read? What we did read with great enthusiasm and wonder were, for example, the nationalist novels of Aptullah Ziya Kozanoğlu such as *Kolsuz Kahraman*, *Türk Korsanlar*; the stories telling the race of Turkish and Greek submarines or science fiction stories such as the first Turks going into Space published in *Çocuk Sesi* and *Afacan* periodicals published by Faruk Gürtunca. And the similar nationalist children's and youth periodicals such as *Ateş* and *Binbir Roman* published by Tahsin Demiray...Then what happened and we broke up with these? I know, we can't bring back those days again! But it

⁶² In fact, when we look at most of the issues of these periodicals, we can understand the urban nature of them by their approach to the village. Although donated with the belief in the significance of development of the villages and peasants for the sake of the country whose population mostly lived in the countryside, the village was perceived as an "other", far away place. The progress of the villages and the peasants was a very significant issue and it was reflected in many poems and pieces in other children's periodicals too. See Rifat Arıncı, "Köy ve Köylü", *Çocuk*, no. 126 (17 February 1939): 2. These pieces mostly aimed to exalt the peasants due to the words of Atatürk that "The peasant is the master of the nation". There were poems about young teachers who went to those far villages for the sake of the village and left all the people they lived behind because they believed it was their duty. See R.G.Arkin, "Vazife Sevgisi-Okul Piyesi", *Çocuk*, no. 132 (31 March 1939): 12. But on the other hand, the villages were portrayed as far away places where just green trees, many animals, and peasants lived in harmony without any conflict. All the villagers were portrayed as working happily for the progress of the country in their beautiful villages. See the cover pages of *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, no. 29 and no. 39 (1939). But in fact, the dissatisfaction of the peasants with the economic policies of the one-party regime especially after the onset of the Second World War would contribute in the Republican People's Party falling from power and the rising of the power of Democrat Party.

mustn't give harm to anybody to think loudly and nostalgically about the gap of our generations!⁶³

The words quoted above, regardless of the political orientations of the people saying them, tell something about the common sense acknowledgement regarding the popularity of Gürtunca's and Demiray's children's periodicals in the big cities in the 1930s and 1940s. This helped in the decision of which periodicals to choose, apart from my criteria of their having sold much more than any other periodical of the time, the proportion of being read not just in İstanbul but also in other cities and being published for a long time. This is why I especially chose *Çocuk Sesi*⁶⁴ of Gürtunca, published by Ülkü Publishing House between the years 1928-39 as the backbone of this chapter. It must be admitted that, although *Yavrutürk*⁶⁵ (1936-42) of Demiray published by Türkiye Publishing House, was being sold in more places outside İstanbul since 1936, the year when they rose as the two popular periodicals published in İstanbul, *Çocuk Sesi* would be a more illuminating material about the

⁶³ "Biz neden başka türlü idik?...Herşeyden evvel, Milli mücadelenin hemen sonrasının kuşağı idik. Babalarımızın, dedelerimizin gerçek öyküleri ile büyüydük. Bir de bizim çocuklukumuzda başlıca okuduklarımız pornografik romanlar, abuk sabuk dergiler ve internetteki ahlaksızlık siteleri değildi... Gördüğümüz filmlerde aynı kepezelikler olmadığı gibi, TV'daki televizyonlar vb. , şiddet ve pislik telkin eden plaklar yoktu, bizim zamanımızda. Ne mi okurduk?: Bizim heyecan ve merakla okuduklarımız, mesela Faruk Gürtunca merhumun yayınladığı ÇOCUK SESİ veya AFACAN dergilerinde , Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu merhumun Kolsuz Kahraman,Türk Korsanları gibi hamaaset romanlarını, Türk ve Yunan Denizaltılarının yarışını anlatan veya Fezaya -Uzaya giden İlk Türkler gibi. Blim Kurgu romanların , Tahsin Demiray' merhumun yayınladığı aynı türden ATEŞ ve BİNBİR ROMAN adlı milli gençlik ve çocuk dergileri idi...Sonra ne oldu da bunlardan koptuk Biliyorum o günlere geri dönüş olamaz artık ! Ama teorik de olsa biz nasıl öyle olduk ta, bugün bazıları başka türlü olabiliyorlar diye nostalgik olarak yüksek sesle düşünmemin de, herhalde zararı yok ya!"Altemur Kılıç, Nerede Yanlış Yaptık? (<http://www.elaziz.net/yazar/altemur/03.htm>, 02 April 2001 [cited]).

⁶⁴ In the first page of *Çocuk Sesi*, was written "Published Every Fifteen Days Under the Auspices of the Ministry of Education For Now"(Maarif Vekaletinin Himayesinde Şimdilik 15 Günde Bir Çıkar). The owner of the periodical was written as Faruk Gürtunca and the price of subscription to the periodical was written as such: 125 kuruş for 25 issues, 75 kuruş for 15 issues and 50 kuruş for 10 issues.

⁶⁵ When *Yavrutürk* was first published, the price of subscription per year was 130 kuruş and 65 kuruş per 6 months.

metaphors of nationalism and the state through children as it started to be published in 1928, eight years before *Yavrutürk* appeared on the stage.

Also, *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* (1938-39) which was being published by Zahide Tan when it first appeared in 1938 but then in 1939 passed to the ownership of Demiray's Türkiye Publishing House where Rakım and Nimet Çalapala, the two teachers wrote was chosen more as a supporting source than for its popularity as it was published only two years, between 1938-39.⁶⁶ Another supporting source is the periodical *Çocuk* of Children's Protection Society headed by Fuat Umay. *Çocuk* was published by Children's Protection Society in January 1936 until 1948 in place of *The Robust Turkish Child (Gürbüz Türk Çocuğu)*. I have not given much reference to *Çocuk* as it deserves to be analyzed with the social history of the Children's Protection Society.⁶⁷

Looking at the environment in which these periodicals were published, it is seen that the writer of one periodical often wrote in other periodicals, too. This tells us that there was no rigid institutionalization of the publishing houses which preferred to cooperate on the process of the projection of the nation-state onto children. There seems to have been a loose atmosphere of writing for children, where the leading roles of Faruk Gürtunca and Tahsin Demiray are undeniable. The writers of their periodicals usually wrote on similar issues and subjects on the forefront of similar identifications and projects of the nation. In the introduction, was mentioned the valuable comment of Tony Watkins regarding the stories and narratives we tell

⁶⁶ When *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* passed to the ownership of Demiray, it was announced as a partner of *Yavrutürk*. In one issue of *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, it was written that *Yavrutürk* was published for the first, second and third classes of the primary school while *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* targeted the older students starting from the fourth class and together they would work for the welfare of the Turkish children: "Ders Materyali Sayfalarımız," *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, no. 13 (1939).

⁶⁷ For a recent and detailed analysis about the specific place of *Çocuk* with reference to *Children's Protection Society*, see Erhan G. Gürsoy, "1930'ların Kültür ve Eğitim Anlayışının Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Neşriyatı Çocuk Dergisi'ndeki Yansımaları", *Kebikeç*, no. 19, (2005): 373-387.

and give children that constitute the maps of meaning that enable children to make sense of the world and shape the way children find a home in the world.⁶⁸ The periodicals chosen for this chapter rise on similar maps of meaning in the context of the 1930s Turkey regarding the illusions and fictive visualizations of the nation-state which I find as common-sense perceptions. This is why I want to make categorizations about the themes included in these maps rather than categorizing the periodicals between themselves.

Who Does the Child Belong To?

Children! You know, you should better know that every Turkish child belongs to the nation as much as it belongs to its parents. It belongs to the people of its nation. The people of the Turkish nation all desire deeply as much as your mothers and fathers to see you studying hard, to see you healthy and to see you being educated and grow up with the high morals and traditions of the Turkish country. Our eyes are on you. We want you to grow up with healthy minds and bodies, with the best and highest morals and with a commitment of love to Turkish will more than any of your individual desires. Start to get ready from now on to be the establishers of the great Turkish future; keep these words always in your ears that a lazy one can not be a Turk, an immoral one can not be a Turk. I virtually trumpet for the truth that, the lazy ones and the ones who do not pay attention to grow up with high morals among you will be our future enemies...⁶⁹

When talking about the relationship between the child and the nation, it is not very difficult to guess how the child becomes a metaphor of the nation carrying the

⁶⁸ Watkins, "Cultural Studies, New Historicism and Children's Literature."Ibid.

⁶⁹ "...Çocuklar...Bilirsiniz, daha iyi biliniz ki her Türk çocuğu anasının, babasının olduğu kadar milletininindir. Budununundur. Sizin sağlığınıza, sizin çalışmanıza, sizin budun ülkesine ve törelerine uygun yetişmenize ananız, babanız kadar bütün Türklük yürekten bağlıdır.. Can gözlerimiz üstünüze dikilmiştir. Sizin kafaca, bedence sağlam, gürbüz yetişmenizi, ahlakca en iyi ve en yüksek yetişmenizi, millet dileğini kendi isteklerinizden üstün tutan gönülle yetişmenizi istiyoruz...Büyük Türk yarının yapıcıları arasına girmek için şimdiden hazırlanan güzel çocuklar, daima kulağınızda çınlasın ki çalışkan olmayan, Türk sayılmaz, ahlaklı olmayan Türk olamaz. Şimdiden bağırarak söylüyorum ki sizlerden çalışmayanlar, iyi yetişmeğe kulak asmayanlar bizim yarınki düşmanlarımızdır..", "23 Nisan Çocuk Bayramında Ankaradaki Merasimde Maarif Vekili Doktor Reşit Galip Beyin Nutku," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 174 (1 May 1933).

present of the nation and its potential future. According to the ideology of “adult” nationalists; who are ideological in two senses: both ideological by their political orientations and as adults; the child is priceless because of its potential because “it is new born and is waiting to be filled with a meaning.” A meaning and identity with which the adult world will provide to it.

In this sense, the child as a new born entity and the nation-state as a modern and again as a new born entity is the main push behind the allegory constructed between the child and the nation-state. This can be called a universal tendency related to the associations made between the linear understanding of history and the child where the child stands just at the zero point, and will show its light in the future, in the positive part of the historical time that will be donated with meaning.

As Köksal reminds us, The Turkish Republic was established just as other nation-states, on a metaphor of a new start, a new birth and a refreshment metaphor.⁷⁰ In a linear understanding of history, this is a period that has to be donated with meaning carefully to reach at a mature and morally “good” identity in the civilized world. In a paragraph related to the Festival of April 23 in 1930 in *Çocuk Sesi*, the writer, whose name was not signed but I guess, is Gürtunca himself, makes a comment that presents us the perceived metaphorical relationship between the child and the nation apparently:

The first light of today’s Republic was born on 23 April. Our army that was more powerful from then on beat the Greeks and made them fall into the sea. In a year or two, the Armenian Dream sank. The British were surprised. Now, just as the first child of a new history was born and a robust Turkish nation emerged on this sacred day; today has been accepted as the festival of the Turkish child.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Duygu Köksal, "Ulusun ‘Çocukluğu’, İsmayil Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, İnkılap Ve Terbiye", *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 40, vol. 7, (April 1997): 8.

⁷¹ *Çocuk Sesi* Opening Page (23 April 1930): 2. In this respect, the relationship that Köksal constructs between the date of the anniversary of the National Parliament and the Children's Fest is very meaningful also. Köksal, "Ulusun ‘Çocuk’luğu, İsmayil Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, İnkılap Ve Terbiye," 12.

As seen from above, the child becomes a fruitful metaphor for imagining the nation, especially as an entity that is both fresh in terms of its passion, energy and potential and readiness to be captivated by society. What Reşit Galip says in the quotation of this part puts the significance of a child as a regime's political target in front of us clearly. In this respect, a child is the one who has to be warned strictly about the things that it can not do and about the qualities that it cannot have while being appreciated and sacrificed in society, because the child is the one who carries in itself the possibility of contaminating the nation with bad morals and qualities devoid of a national culture. This is why, besides having the quality of a permanent source for the future, for the national development and future industriousness of a country, society is aware that childhood is a temporary period that has to pass and reach at maturity in the end.⁷² Being a child is the main motivation for the national development of a nation, both mentally and physically with all its energy, but it can not remain as a child. It can not remain an incapable entity. Otherwise, the dystopia will realize itself concretely in the minds of the adult nationalists because what they despise and want to get rid of is that underdevelopment caused by "childish" tendencies and immaturity; they can not remain childish in the hegemonic world of adult"ism" and progress.

One of the pictures on the cover of *Çocuk Sesi* in 1934 show clearly how the perception of the nation-state was visualized on the innocent child figure in white clothes lying on a silk bed with his beautiful mother smiling down at his face, in her modern clothes. The child is sleeping and the feeling of cleanliness nearly overflows from the picture.⁷³

⁷² Köksal, "Ulusun 'Çocuk'luğu, İsmayil Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, İnkılap Ve Terbiye", 8.

⁷³ Necdet Rüştü, *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 216 (12 February 1934).



Çocuk Sesi, no. 216 (12 February 1934)

The poem written under the cover page is interesting in terms of the perception regarding the significance of the child not as a person valuable in itself but for the great tomorrow of the society whose preparations are made today by overloading the children with great expectations: “Time passes with giant steps/ the future is entrusted to children/let him grow up, be like a lion, now don’t wake him /look how ‘tomorrow’ lies in a cradle!”⁷⁴ As the future lay in children who were

⁷⁴ “Dev adımları ile geçip gidiyor zaman/ Eline emanettir istikbal çocukların!/Büyüsün, aslan olsun, uyandırmayın, aman/Bir beşiğin içinde bakın yatıyor yarın!”, Ibid.

expected to be the healthy future generations paving the way to the functionality and industriality of the population, their physical health was very significant. Most of the issues of children's periodicals saved a place for information-giving pieces about health and physical education among their pages.⁷⁵

But among these examples, there is one highlighting the objectified "Turkish child" as the metaphor of the nation-state very much; it is a series of poems written in *Çocuk Sesi* between 1935 and 1938 by a teacher from Ankara about his daughter named *Erdem* and his expectations from his daughter, which are in fact the common-sense expectations of most of the Republican adults of the time. The poems both give us clues about the expectations of the Republican establishment from the children of the nation-state who are perceived to belong to the Turkish nation and the attitudes of serious, disciplined Republican fathers, mostly with professions as teachers and bureaucrats, towards their children at home. The duties the father wants from his "innocent, angel daughter" are parallel to the duties the founders of the nation-state wait from the citizens.

My dear Erdem, the light of my life!/ My star shining and rising
everyday on the sky/, How good that you've become six today/
Maybe the happiest in the world is me/ thanks to my homeland...You
have such behaviors not all the children have/ the sweetest among
them is that rapid coyness and offence/ my sacred child, keep away
from evil behaviour/ this childishness will pass, your coyness will not
remain/ they are very close: your great mature days.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Selim Sırrı Tarcan, "Selim Sırrı Beyin Sağlık Alfabetesi", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 255 (12 November 1934): 8; "8'inci Jimnastik Şenlikleri", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 279 (29 April 1935): 10; "Salon Jimnastiği, Sıhhatli Kalmak İçin Her Gün 15 Dakika Jimnastik Yapınız", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 289 (8 July 1935): 18-19; "Sağlık Öğütleri", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 347 (17 July 1936) : 7; "Sağlık Öğütleri-Aile Bilgisi, Canını Seven Her İnsanın Bilmesi ve Mutlaka Uyması Lazımgelen Sağlık Bilgileri", *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, (1939): 23.

⁷⁶ "Çok sevgili Erdemim, gözümün nuru kızım/Günden güne yükselen, parıldayan yıldızım/Bugün de girdin işte tamam altı yaşına/Dünyanın en bahtiyar insanından farksızım/Yüz süreyim yurdumun toprağına, taşına...Bazı hallerin var ki her çocukta bulunmaz/Bunların en tatlısı çabuk darılmakla naz/Aziz yavrum kendini fena huylardan sakın/Bu çocukluklar geçer, bu nazlar böyle kalmaz/Sana büyük günlerin görünmesi çok yakın". The lines continue with the honour attributed to Erdem because of being a Turkish child: "Bir kaç bardak almıştı bir gün annen ev için/Bunların renklerine baktın da için için/Kırmızı renklisine bir işaret gösterdin/Önüme ayırınca sana dedim: Bu niçin?/Baba sen türksün' diye onu da bana verdin/Aziz yavrum çoktandır millet, vatan sözleri/Her

As underlined before with references to Köksal and Nandy, childhood was a valuable period only when handled with its functionality in the minds of the adults of the establishment; the teachers, bureaucrats, physicians, doctors; the professional class of the just established nation-state. Childhood was the potential arena for future ends; otherwise, if the “childish” phase continued, then the future end of the nation-state in terms of being a mature state would not be achieved; the “coyness” of a little child was what could destroy the great expectations of the nation-state from the child. The coyness of a child was only perceived as something sweet when it was temporary; but the child immediately should grow up and become the robust, competent, performing, serious, hardworking and industrial individual for the welfare of the Turkish nation.

The second year, in 1935, the year when the party, the government and the state was declared to be unified, Halil İbrahim Yurtseven’s daughter Erdem turned six. Again, Yurtseven preferred to crown his daughter’s new age and the growing age of the Republic together; this metaphoric value caused Erdem’s growth process to be watched out closely:

Erdem, my dear Erdem, my sweetheart Erdem../You will be called a miss before being called a lady/O the heartcore of the Revolution, O little lady Erdem!..It has never been seen in the world before/the great revolutions in such 5-10 years/Let us look what more he will do for you/The great leader of Turks making the revolutions!/ You are growing up so happily under the shadow of these/Today is for you and you for this sacred day!/Never lose a day, behave in the route of the homeland/Don’t remember anything from the past/ wipe everything from your mind!/Today your basic job is to be a woman, be a ladylike woman/To be reared up for the homeland, to grow for the homeland/To be a virtuous woman, to gain good posture/To rise by the beauties deep, deep from the heart!⁷⁷

çıkışta ağzından kamaştırır gözleri/Vatan sevmek yolunda ruhunda coşkunluk var/Türk evladı, bu sözler düşüncenin eseri, Vatan sever olanlar bunu candan alkışlar.” Halil İbrahim Yurtseven, "Erdem Beş Yaşını Bitirirken," Çocuk Sesi, no. 240 (30 July 1934): 14.

⁷⁷ “Erdem, sevgili Erdem, Şeker yavrum can Erdem/Güzelliklerle güzel şeyler yaraşan Erdem/Sana hanım denmeden önce bayan denecek/Ey devrimin öz suyu! Ey küçük bayan Erdem!/Doğrusu



Erdem when she was five.

Erdem, the heartcore of the revolution whose envisioned future posture as a ladylike woman was perceived to be the vitrine of the modern Turkish Republic, should never remember anything of the “dark” yesterday and she should wipe everything from her mind, according to the advice of her father. Because she symbolized the ideals of the nation-state and, like an empty sign, she should be filled

görülmemiş beş on sene içinde/Bu büyük devrimlerin acunda bir benzeri/Bakalım sizing için daha neler yapacak?/Devrimleri yaratan Türkün büyü önderi../Bunların gölgesinde pek mutlu büyüyorsun/Bugün senin içindir, sen de bu ak gün için/Bir gün bile kaybetme, yurda göre anıklan/Bir şey tutma aklında hepsini sil dün için!/Bugün en başlı işin kadın, kadıncık olmak/Yurda göre yetişmek, yurdun için yükselmek/Tözmen bir kadın olmak, iyi kılık kazanmak/Bütün güzelliklerle için, için yükselmek!” It should be paid attention how old Turkish words are being used around 1930s parallel to the political developments around the purification of language. H. İ. Yurtseven, "Erdem Altı Yaşını Bitirirken," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 275 (1 April 1935).

with the codes of present representing the dawn of the Republic. She belonged to the newly established nation-state and was being educated due to the norms of this belonging by her father. It was both the discipline of his father and the discipline of the nation-state.

Teacher Halil İbrahim continued to be proud of and gave advice to his daughter in poems until Erdem was eleven years old. He remained honoured by the miniature adult behaviour of Erdem who gave up this childishness in time and started to arrive at a national conscience.⁷⁸

But the most sensitive point of Erdem's father, as highlighted above, was the point that will take us to another sphere of the nation-state's metaphors: the rejection of the recent past equated with religious underdevelopment and ignorance; by the discourse of enlightenment, progress and positivism in favour of a great Turkish history the roots of which were embedded in Central Asia. He wanted his daughter, in fact the children of the Turkish Republic to lose their memories, if they carried anything in their minds of the past and he wanted them never give up competing in life working hard, going to school and using their intellects; it was that competition that would pave the way to arriving at the promises of the great tomorrow and being mature.⁷⁹

An absolute "tomorrowism" was on the scene; the ideals of progress would rise on the shoulders of hardworking, innocent but very productive, competent and

⁷⁸ "Birgün sordun: Dünyada kaç devlet vardır baba? Dedim ki her devletin ülkesi ayrı ayrı/ Demek kaç ülke varsa o kadar devlet vardır/ Dedin: Bana sayınız babacığım bunları... Baba! Siz buralara hep gittiniz mi dedin?/ Hayır dedim bunların görmedim hiç birini!/ Peki babacığım: ya bizim memleketleri?/ Dedin, onların gördüm dedim bir çok yerini/ Bu soruşlarda derin bir fikir izi vardı/ Gözlerinde okudum bunun parlaklığını/ Yurt duygusile yana içinde beslediğin/ Bu yüksek düşüncenin anladım aklığını/ Yurdunu çok sev, yalnız ona bağlan, onun ol/ Dünyada hiç bir şeyde asla gözün olmasın/ Eğilme, iğrilme hiç/ Doğruluklarla ün sal/ Günden güne çoğalsın, bu öz sevgi solmasın", H. İ. Yurdseven, "Erdem Yedi Yaşını Bitirirken," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 326 (30 March 1936): 7.

⁷⁹ H. İ. Yurtseven, "Erdem Sekiz Yaşını Bitirirken," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 388 (31 May 1937): 15-16.

attractive children of the 1930s which were symbolized by the little lady Erdem, an important vitrine of Turkish modernization for the eyes of children.

How the Republic Saved Us

The main problem in the perception of the pictures and articles in the periodicals related to the past is the misperception of isolating a past space of the Empire from the present and despising it on flexible identifications related to the glory of the “saviour” in the present, which is the Republic itself and great expectations from the future. In 1934, a piece written in *Çocuk Sesi* by a teacher signed as *Muallim İhsan*, shows how the abstraction applied to the “past” in terms of its being identified with the superstitious, illiterate, underdeveloped, and autocratic features of the Sultanate in favour of the new, modern life styles that came with the civilizational norms of the Republic. According to this, the children of that era were very unlucky because they were beaten all the time and they had to learn so many silly things in *medreses* such as “Babeyli bala bula, Bamborleyli bob bob...”⁸⁰ The text continued with the attitudes of the soldiers in war, which Muallim İhsan criticized and made fun of a lot; he told how the soldiers preferred to pray against all of the technological war machines of the enemy and how they were being beaten

⁸⁰ Muallim İhsan, "Neymiş O Günler!..." *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 253 (29 October 1934): 7. But there is something very interesting here. Although nationalism and secularism leaves religious identity behind the ethnic identity which was an effect of the Republican Period, in one of the earlier issues of *Çocuk Sesi*, the Armenian Missionaries were insulted and blamed a lot of poisoning the brains of children with the books about Protestantism that they gave as a gift to children in schools, “İçimizde Bir Yılan, Bir Mikrop Gibi Yaşayanlar Kimlerdir? 1000 Sahifelik Koca Bir Kitabı 100 Paraya Veya Bedava Veren Şu İhtiyar Ermeni Bunu Niçin Sattı?”, *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 172 (17 April 1933): 10-11. Although religious identity was not much on the surface in the Republican Era because of secular policies, the perception of threat as the “old Armenian Missionaire” stemmed from a fear of some children being misled towards Christianity. Although the Muslim identity had receded, the perception of threat was identified as a religious identity.

because of praying which was perceived as a superstitious act and despised because of this.⁸¹

What saved the people from these ignorant, supine, autocratic, violent days in the medreses and the Sultanate was the Republic itself, which saved Turkish society from the heavy iron chains on its ankles and from the cloth over its eye and now fortunately although it was late in the way of progress, it had made a great progress and would first reach the nations in front of it and then leave them behind and lead all the world like it once had. An article comparing Ottoman and Turkish children from 1938 in *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* is significant in terms of this perception idealizing the Republican ideals, which ignored the modern forms of violence towards children in modern times, while criticizing the Ottoman past in terms of the “underdeveloped” attitudes in society towards children.⁸² In this piece, the Central Asian Turks’ attitudes, especially those of the Huns’ are idealized and said to be invoked in the Republic again after the bad experience of the Ottoman days.

The Ottoman Turks appreciated children and gave them freedom and rights like the Huns in the beginning. But, slowly the Ottoman Sultans and the government who established an absolutist administration, spoiled the social life of society with their underdeveloped rules. The best rules and traditions of the Turks were

⁸¹ Here, the text continues with despising other superstitious acts of the people living in Empire days against illnesses, epidemic diseases etc. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar’s *Huzur* is a great novel about this issue of despising superstition against scientific progress and solution and tries to show the dilemmas of eliminating the superstitious beliefs of a society just at the edge of a great civilizational transformation in time of war and poverty following the establishment of the Republic and the debates on westernization. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Huzur*, (İstanbul: YKY, 2001).

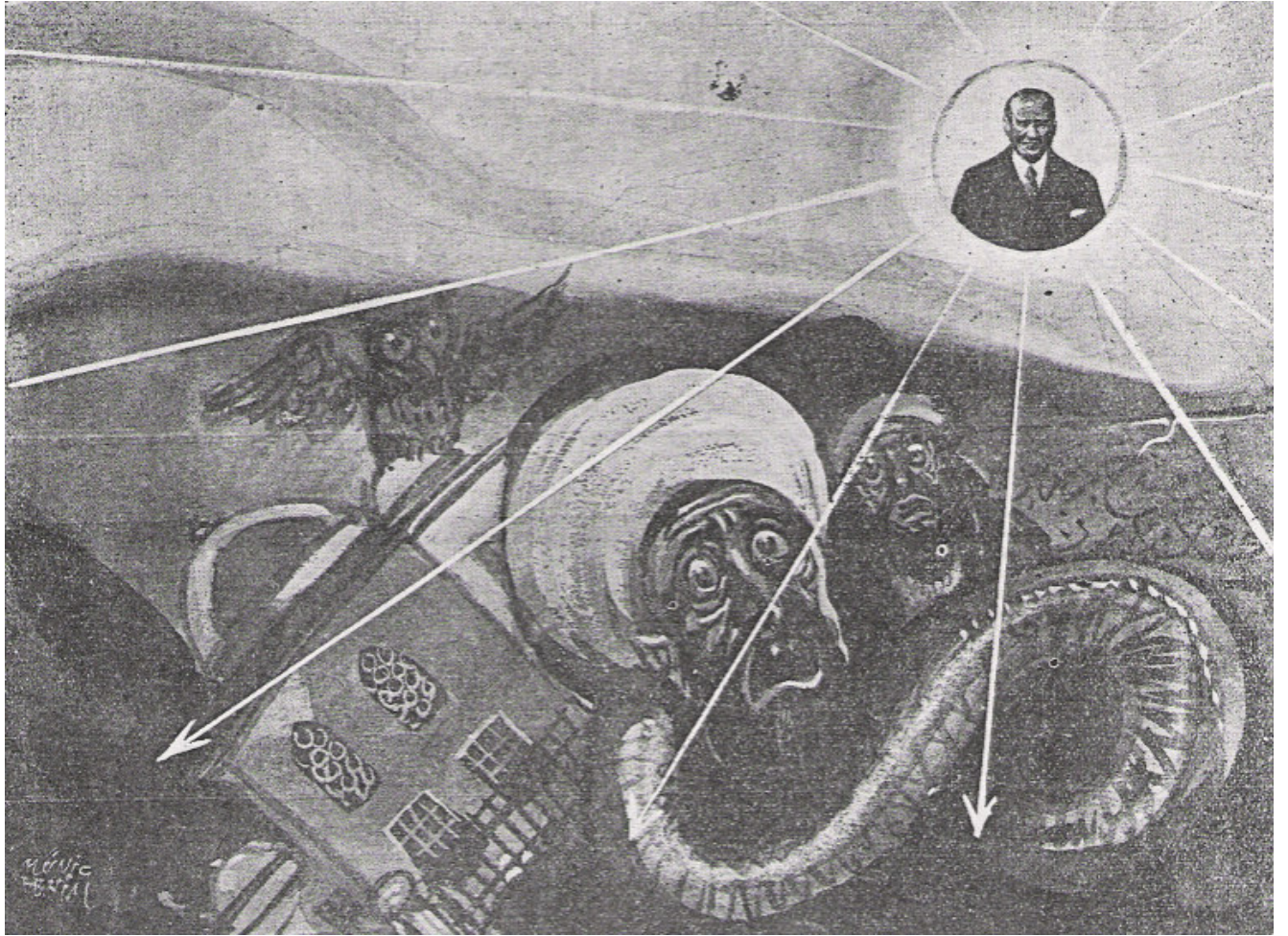
⁸² Despising the underdeveloped attitudes of the Ottoman times towards children was also evident in *Çocuk*. For example, in one issue, was told about children being punished because of talking about flying star-shaped kites because in Turkish language, “flying” also comes to mean “exploding”. While the zaptieh was passing from there, he had heard the words of children and had thought that they were talking about “exploding the Star Palace”, “Otuz Kırk Sene Evvel, Padişahlık Devrinde Çocuklar Rahat Bir Uçurtma Bile Uçuramazlardı”, *Çocuk*, no. 198, (31 August 1940): 3. In another example, there were illustrations of homeless poor children who had to walk door-to-door like beggars in fest days and take the food donated from houses and mansions, “Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumunun Teşekkülünden Önce: Bilhassa şenlik günlerinde kimsesiz fakir çocuklar, kapı kapı dilenci gibi dolaşırlar; konaklardan, evlerden verilen kap kap yemekleri paylaşırlardı!..”, *Çocuk*, no. 199, (15 September 1940): 3.

forgotten. By this time, the child was ignored, too. Its civil rights were crushed. The Ottoman child started to be a being overcrowding the home. It was deprived of all its rights and was beaten, insulted everyday and started to live a life in the house like a captive. The father said, "Be as rough as you want with him" when giving his child to school. The Ottoman child lived so roughly until the collapse of the Empire...The future adult of the Republic child; it would be unnecessary to repeat to you the happy and secure life you live now, you yourself better appreciate your life and its value. If I make you hear of me by these short pieces of writing, it will be a great happiness to me.⁸³

This perception was not something new; but what is important in the context of the children's periodicals here is the form of this disjunction and denigration of the past, which was made perfectly evident and by an unaware simplification and caricaturization. One of the best examples of this is a picture within the boundaries of an article telling of the glory of the made progress since May 19, which put an end to the "owl" perceptions of the Empire days when the Turks had been despised by the Europeans and Americans, with whom the Turks were sitting at the same table, as could be seen from the leadership of foreign minister, Tevfik Rüşti Aras at the League of Nations that met in Geneva. As it said, "once the literacy in our nation was not even %2 although the Turkish children of the present are nearly cultured %100. In the place where once owls were living, now rises the smoke of modern factory chimneys."⁸⁴ It is very meaningful that the owl in the picture below is flying over the hodja and mosque, which seem to collapse with the light of Atatürk and the "dawn of the new era".

⁸³ Cumhuriyet Çocuğu Öğretmeni, "Tarihten Yapraklar, Türk Tarihinde Çocuk," *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, no. 26 (1938): 473.

⁸⁴ Çocuk Sesi, "Atatürkün Samsuna Ayak Bastığı Gün: 19 Mayıs," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 394 (18 May 1936): 6-7.



"Atatürk'ün Samsun'a Ayak Bastığı Gün: 19 Mayıs"
Çocuk Sesi, no. 394 (18 May 1936).

In another picture, the abstraction of the past in its categorization of clothes seems interesting. This picture is a great example of the abstracted dualities of the religious versus the secular and the traditional versus the modern on a linear understanding of time:



According to the explanations about the pictures made on the other page, for example, the three pictures from the left at the bottom are “a student of Medrese, a student in junior high school in the Constitutional Period and a student of junior high school in the Republic.”⁸⁵ In the pictures, what we see is a perception of the categorization that feeds from the illusions related to the clothes carrying the codes of the political developments and transformations in life styles towards the Republic, which made it easier for the children to absorb the difference and be aware of what was “modern”, “secular” and “scientific” in these pictures. As seen, the pictures have no faces; because the illusion of modernization and progress was to be made visible through the clothes, not through an understanding of the agency of the students or the people in the pictures. In the pictures, people seem to be just empty signs. They are just like fashion mannequins used for the legitimization of the way towards the Republic. The same manner was also seen in *Çocuk* in 1939 where the people from the sultan to the hodjas of Ottoman Era were portrayed with their clothes as old images to which the children of the Republic could just laugh. Because the children of the Republic were born into an era when “young parachutists, an undefeated army, captains of big ships, little boy scouts, a student who learns reading in just two months, a child with his coin box, machinists, factory workers and well-informed miners”⁸⁶ lived.

⁸⁵ *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 201 (29 October 1933): 21-22.

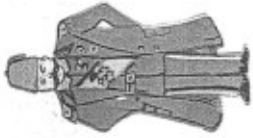
⁸⁶ “Genç paraşütçüler, yenilmez bir ordu, büyük gemi kaptanları, küçük izci, iki ayda okuyan bir talebe, kumbaralı çocuk, makinistler, fabrika işçileri, bilgili madenciler”, “Biz Bunları Görmedik, Bunları Biliyoruz”, *Çocuk*, Special Volume, (29 October 1939): 22-23.

BİZ BUNLARI GÖRMEYİZ

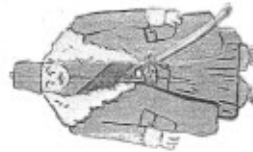
Dün, yani bizim babamızın çocukluğunda, bir takım adamlar vardı. Artık bunlar hikâye kitaplarında kaldı. Onların yaşayış-
larını şimdi sadece gülerek okuyoruz.



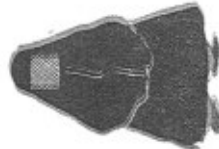
Padişah



Papa



Papa gençliği



Çarşaf kadın



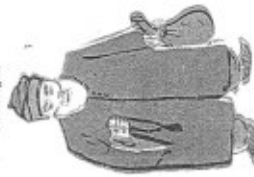
Haremşahi



Bir kupa içtiler içtin



Kıy alması



Salla



Unutuluş

BUNLARI BİLİYORUZ..

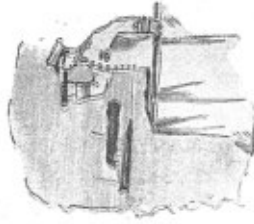
Bugün, her vakit her yerde gördüğümüz bu insanların çoğunu babalarımızın
çocukken bilmediklerini işliyoruz. Cumhuriyetin yarattığı yeni insanlardır.



Türk paralıci ve



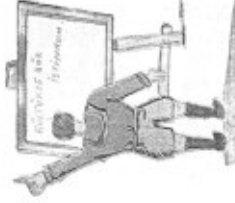
Yeni bir adam



Büyük yeni kapıdan



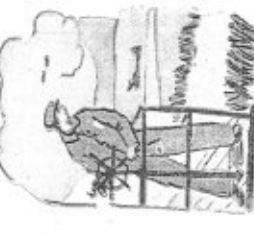
Yeni bir



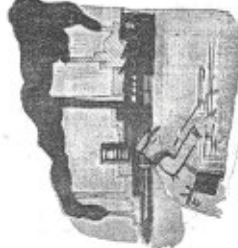
Bu ayda okuyan lise



Kıbrısın geçi



Bakışları



Fabrika işleri



Büyük eserler

"Biz Bunları Görmedik, Bunları Biliyoruz"
Çocuk, Special Edition, (29 October 1939)

This kind of categorization through clothes as metaphors or appreciating “progress” and “modernization” was also visible in one of the school plays in *Çocuk Sesi*. In this play named *Our Independence and Revolutions (İstiklalimiz ve İnkılaplarımız)* which was reported to have been presented by the Beyoğlu 15th School, the Atatürk Revolutions were depicted through the dualities between the past and present clothes and postures in terms of a comparison of an underdeveloped and uncivilized “before” with the modern, developed “after”. In the play, Çiçek, a Turkish girl living in Europe and missing her country a lot met her Turkish friends and told them how great the Turkish Revolutions had echoed in Europe and how Europe had admired them. In this self-orientalizing tone, the play continued and the Turkish children represented the transformations in the society through a ceremonial parade of clothes; first, girls in veils and black sheets came onto the stage and then modern girls with books in their hands came. First, boys in fez and white, long traditional underpants pass and then boys wearing felt hats pass.⁸⁷ The civilizational norms of an abstracted, unified, secular West later adapted by the Republic were represented and appreciated as such over the clothes again, which made the “achievements” of the Republic more visible in the eyes of the children.

Another significant example related to the discourse of disjunction from the past was about the appreciation of the abolition of Turkish music from the İstanbul and Ankara National Radios in 1934. This news echoed as such in *Çocuk Sesi*:

Children, if you have radios or phonographs in your house, you must have heard Turkish music. Even if this music is said to stem from Turkish nation, it does definitely not belong to Turkish roots. This music was making people sleep, mourn and grieve. But, the Turks are a nation that has chased rainbows from the East to West. This nation

⁸⁷ "İki Perdelik Mektep Piyesi: İstiklalimiz Ve İnkılaplarımız," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 201 (29 October 1933): 30-33. In this play, as in most of the other pieces too, we also see the legitimization of corporatism that is used for hiding the class conflicts in the society by creating an illusion of oneness and unity under the auspices of the great national ideal: “Yaşadığımız devir/Cumhuriyet devridir/Zengin de bir fakir de/Saraylarda sedirde”, *ibid*.

has never cried, never shed tears!..How could this music be ours? The Great Ghazi made a great speech in the Public Assembly. Now our leader guides us in a new music route. Now there is no more Turkish music in the radios. One day, a music expert who will emerge among you will hear the voice in the Turkish folk songs and will complete these voices due to the norms of the Western music and will create the new Turkish music that we will be pleased to listen to. O the children interested in music!...Let it be your aim to create this kind of music that the Ghazi desires.⁸⁸

Music became a very valuable space in terms of the transformation embedded in erasing the traditional in favour of the modern, the both of which categories were flexible and fed from hegemonic abstractions materialized in the East and West debate. The children were attributed a great role in transforming the Turkish way of life as seen in this example; the new music heroes were called on to the stage at this time. The children of the Republic most of the time were perceived as little heroes in nearly all the phases of the transformation of society. This was more a pragmatic act rather than an expression of love. As seen between the lines, children were valuable not because they were children, but because they were potential adults through whom the transformation would progress to the future.

Apart from the above examples, there were many stories, apparent ideological texts, poems, school plays in the periodicals related to the discourse of disjunction from the past.⁸⁹ In most of these pieces, the general ideological stance going parallel

⁸⁸ “Çocuklar, Evinizde radyo varsa veya gramofon bulunuyorsa mutlaka alaturka denilen şarkıları dinlemişsinizdir. Göya Türk musikisi olarak gösterilen bu musiki, hiç de Türk budununun içinden çıkmış değildi. Bu musiki insanı uyutur, içe yas verir, ah ve oflandırırdı. Türk Gündoğusunda Günbatısına kadar at koşturmuş, medeniyet kurmuş bir ulustu. O ağlamamış, gözyaşı dökmemişti!...Böyle bir musiki nasıl bizim olabilirdi? Büyük Gazi Büyük Millet Meclisinde bir nutuk söyledi. Şimdi Yüce Önderimiz bize yeni bir musiki yolunu gösteriyor. Artık radyolarda alaturka müzik kesildi. Bir gün sizin aranızdan doğacak bir musiki ustası Türk köylüsünün, Türk halkının türkülerinde yaşayan sesleri duyacak, onları Garp musikisi ölçülerile tamamlayacak ve bize zevk duyacağımız Türk musikisini yaratacaktır. Ey musikiye özenci olan çocuklar!..İşte ülkenüz Gazinin istediği böyle bir musikiyi yaratmak olsun...“, "Cumhuriyet Çocuğunun Musikisi, Büyük Gazi Türk Musikisinde Büyük Değişmeler Yapıyor. Alaturka Denilen Uyuşturucu Musiki İstanbul Ve Ankara Radyosundan Kaldırıldı," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 254 (5 November 1934): 3.

⁸⁹ See for example "Türk Mektepleri," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 197 (2 October 1933), "Ağ gibi her tarafı sardı Türk mektepleri/Türk çocuğu okuyor bu bilgi yuvasında/Heybetle yükseliyor mekteplerin her biri/Yurdumuzun en ucra dağında ovasında/Yarın burdan çıkacak en değerli kumandan/Yarın burdan

to the discourse of hatred from recent past in favour of the ideal of progress, was secularism invoked even in cartoons and fables. It is very interesting that, religion which was a main reference point in an identity claim in a society until very recent times, became a target of denigration in the discourse of the establishment and it was mostly the city, where religious faith was equated with underdevelopment and superstition. The image of the factory became much more important than the image of the mosque, which was in fact even drawn to collapse like the empire in the first picture in this part as we have seen. Religion became just a cultural reference in invoking the old Turkish ideals in many epic stories about old Turkish heroes: “Allah” was intoned like a reflex word in most of these stories of Abdullah Ziya and Sezai Attila, the word “Allah” became a moral feature of the Turkish heroes who needed the recommendation of Allah for the greatness of their, in fact Turks’ high morals. Islam was just a cultural link among the people which was preferred to be invoked seldomly and if invoked, it was done in a very secular tone. In fact, “Tanrı” was used more than the word “Allah” which was in a sense related to the sanctifying the old Turkish God, “Tengri.”⁹⁰

One of the most important aspects making the secular tone so apparent in *Çocuk Sesi* was the Darwinist positions seen especially in Ahmet Ekrem’s writings.⁹¹

*çıkacak en bilgili mühendis/Yarın burdan çıkacak en yüksek bir kahraman/Bundan sonra saramaz ülkeyi bir duman, sis!/Bu mektepler ülkeye büyük Cumhuriyetin/En mukaddes, en aziz armağanıdır bugün/Timsalidir burada çocuklar hürriyetin/Falakalar içinde hep inlerdik daha dün!/Yaşa Cumhuriyetin ey aziz mektepleri/İlim meşalesinin ışıklarını yakın/Kutsi ocağınıza süsledikçe her yeri/Cehaleti maziye, gerilere bırakın!”, “Kurtarıcı Cumhuriyet, Üç Perdelik Mektep Piyesi,” *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 200 (23 October 1933): 4-5.; H. İ. Yurdseven, “Başka Şekil Hükümetler,” *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 287 (24 June 1935): 11., Sezai Attila, “Hikaye/Padişahım Başaşa!,” *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 202 (6 November 1933): 6.*

⁹⁰ “Tanrı sana hamdolsun/Bize verdiklerine!../Bu varlığı, bolluğu/Esirgeme ver gene!/Tanrı Türk toprağını/Sen cennetine döndür!/Ona göz dikenlerin/Sen gözlerini söndür!”, Vildan Aşır, “Çocuğumun Duası,” *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 179 (5 June 1933): 7.

⁹¹ According to the commemoration of Ahmet Ekrem published in *Çocuk Sesi* after his death in 1937, he was born in 1893 the son of a soldier and had very good education and learned English, French, German and Arabic in his youth. After taking part in the First World War, he went to both Europe and

Most of Ahmet Ekrem's writings in the periodical were based on introducing Darwin and his theory to children, which was complemented with sanctifying positivism and scientific knowledge against superstition, which sometimes included religious intuition as well. Ahmet Ekrem preferred to finish most of his pieces by warning children with an adult attitude, about being open-minded in a rational manner. For example, in a piece where he told about Darwin's theory of evolution and natural selection after asking the question how it was possible that although life started with one-cell plants and animals when our world was just born, these plants and animals changed shape and evolved slowly by slowly until their present shapes. He linked the subject to the appreciation of progress to reach true knowledge:

People behaved towards Darwin's theory until recent times in the same manner of narrow-mindedness and conservatism they behaved towards new and transformative ideas. There is no doubt that, Darwin made some mistakes but I ask you, is there anyone who has brought the whole truth to light about anything? Will you despise the new ideas that you don't understand too? Or will you think, care about them and try to reach truth by making experiments through these new ideas?⁹²

In an article about the evolution of the human being written by Rakım Çalapala, a teacher and a writer in 1939 in *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, Çalapala put some pictures of skeletons and skulls, and explained about the discoveries about how the human being evolved from the ape. After making an analysis about the primitive, uncivilized and underdeveloped manners of primitive men, Çalapala proudly mentioned about the great step of progress that had risen on the shoulders of science, discoveries and the appreciation of the modern intellect of human beings. The linear,

America and continued to his education there. Apart from being a writer at *Çocuk Sesi* and *Afacan*, he was the chief editor at the İstanbul Chamber of Commerce: *Çocuk Sesi*, "Ahmet Ekrem Harmankaya," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 397 (2 August 1937).

⁹² Ahmet Ekrem, "Darvin'in Masalı," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 179 (5 June 1933): 10-13. See also Ahmet Ekrem, "Şimdiki İnsan Oğlu Kaç Yaşındadır?," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 175 (8 May 1933): 12. for his further positive evaluations on Darwin.

modernist understanding of history made itself apparent in this piece, like in many others of the period. He said, “today we are flying like birds, swimming like fish, crossing the deserts, plains with lightning speed. Today’s human being is much more intellectual than primitive man. Particularly in the last century, today’s human being has progressed a lot in the way of knowledge and science. But maybe the differences between us and the tomorrow’s human being will be much greater than the differences between us and primitive men.”⁹³

Logic, rationality and scientificism, which were important discourses in the context of the Republican development and progress, were supported by a sensitive secular appreciation of science and material knowledge against superstition and metaphysics. Superstitious behaviour was equated with underdevelopment and when this kind of information was presented to children, this was done with a discourse sanctifying the intellect and logos of the human being. For example, in a piece written by a writer signing himself as *Hekimbaşı*, who wrote a series about the health of children, children were warned to drink milk for their health. He sanctified the rules of nature that gave humans all of the animals and plants and appreciated the great intellect of human being who challenged the nature and adapted nature to the human being’s life: “If you ask old-fashioned people, they answer that “Allah created all these (our food such as fish, sheep, chicken, egg etc) for us”. But, in fact, the progress of our knowledge about nature has taught us the rules of it. And today we know that these animals from whose flesh, eggs we are benefiting, were not created

⁹³ “Bugün kuş gibi havada uçuyor, balık gibi su içinde dolaşıyor, yıldırım hızile çölleri, bozkırları aşılıyor. Bununla beraber bugünkü insan ilk insandan çok bilgilidir. Hele son yüz yıl içinde ilim ve fen yolunda çok ilerlemiştir. Fakat yarının adamı yanında belki ilk insanla bizim aramızdaki farklardan daha büyük farklar olacak“, Rakım Çalapala, “İlk İnsanlar Ve Biz,” *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, no. 41 (1939): 290-93. See also a piece about the exhibition of primitive families living 20.000 years ago, in Museum Buffalo in New-York.”Meraklı Şeyler/20.000 Sene Evvelki Dünya,” *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 235 (25 June 1934): 12, “..Şimdi bunları bir de bugünkü medeni şehirlerle bir ölçünüz, insanların zekası, buluculuğu ve o vakittenberi gösterdikleri terakkiye sahiden şaşar, kalırsınız”.

for our pleasure. But as the people coped with everything with their intellect, they beat the other animals in the world and tamed most of them.”⁹⁴

In another passage in a piece related to the denigration of old habits and superstitions of the Irish, the main point came at the end by finding these behaviours apparently silly and admiring the Turkish intellect, which was logical enough at present when it was no longer possible to believe in such silly things. According to this perception, the present was so developed that Turks could be proud of their reason and intellect and laugh at all of the old habits and superstitions.⁹⁵ This is why the cartoon hero Cabi Katıltan asked so proudly in one of the cartoons about fortune-telling in India that if there were any people poor of intellect believing silly things in the Republican era.⁹⁶ Of course, the answer was perceived to be no. The epoch was the era of science, renewal, logical reason, scientificism and progress and in this epoch there was no space for such “silly” beliefs which were equated with “underdevelopment” in essence. What was expected from the child reading this, was to feel the honour of that intellect and behave always within the boundaries of it.

When the honour and appreciation of positivist intellect merged with the perception of disjunction from the past, it paved the way for despising the “old” religious intellect and its representatives. There emerged ironic pieces in the periodicals that made fun of imams and presented religious worship just an issue about oppression between the lines by caricaturizing the Ottoman era. Two of Necdet Rüştü’s stories written in the form of funny poems were interesting examples of this. One of the stories took place in the Sultanate era at the time of Ramadan. At this

⁹⁴ Hekimbaşı, "Tabiat Tetkik, Süt Biricik Tabii Bir Gıdadır," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 203 (13 November 1933): 8.

⁹⁵ "Dünyada Neler Oluyor, Çok Yaşamak İçin Ne Lazım!," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 193 (9 September 1933): 16.

⁹⁶ "Cabi Katıltan Kayıptan Haber Veriyor!," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 286 (17 June 1935): 3.

time, the Sultan announced that, whoever ate something in the street, would be imprisoned and beaten in a dark jail. The people were described as very fearful of this announcement in the story. Two Muslims named Hasan and Hüseyin did not fast and one day were so hungry that they ate something in the street. They were caught by the *zaptiehs*, arrested and taken in front of the ranking police officer. The story continued: Hüseyin lied about his religion and saved himself by saying he was a Jew. He left, but came back to save his friend, Hasan, by saying that he had found Islam so trustworthy that he had changed his religion and converted to Islam and wanted the *zaptiehs* to free Hasan as a gift for this merit. The *Zaptiehs* forgave Hasan and the two friends left happily. The story ended with the lines that: “What an oppression/The Sultanate’s was/How lucky we are/The Republic saved us.”⁹⁷

Another story took place in one of the villages in the Republican era. It was ironic especially in terms of its characters. The story was based on a duality between an intelligent and slightly crazy man who was liked by the peasants a lot and was called as *kahya* by them and an imam, swearing at modernization and preaching against it in the village, deceiving the uneducated peasants and threatening them with going to hell.⁹⁸

In this context, the *kahya* always became angry with the imam and said to him “You must escape/from ignorance, narrow-mindedness/you must open the eyes/of those poor peasants/if the peasants/don’t be adopted to modernization/then

⁹⁷ “İşte Saltanat halka/Böyle cefa yapardı!./Bizi bu cefalardan/Cumhuriyet Kurtardı!..”, Necdet Rüştü, “Hem Müslüman, Hem Yahudi!/Çocuk Sesinin Şen Öyküleri,” *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 313 (23 December 1935): 8-9.

⁹⁸ The peasants were drawn very close to Yakup Kadri’s ignorant peasants in *Yaban*: Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997).

by the coming enemy/your neck will be blown!”⁹⁹ The story continued with these two men’s struggle and in the end, of course, the *kahya* representing the modern, secular, scientific reason won by warning the peasants reasonably and intelligently using his wits. The imam was forced to run away from the village. The story ended with the lines, “the peasants behaving sensibly from then on/Opened their eyes and the spurious imam/ran away in the Republican dawn!”¹⁰⁰ The victor was the intellect of the establishment, represented in the reason of *kahya* and the peasants to follow him.

The reason for *kahya* being the one that adopted the Western Reason of the Republic rapidly is a parallel sign of the alluded disjunction from the Ottoman past mentioned earlier in this part. The Ottoman past in the stories was equated with a false-consciousness of superstition and narrow-minded reasoning of religious discourse against the progressive science, technology and modern reasoning that advocated searching for material evidence in truth.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ “*Sen cehaletten/Yalandan kaçmalısın/Zavalı köylülerin/Gözünü açmalısın/Eğer medeniyete/Uymazsa bu köylüler/Düşman gelir, bu sefer/Senin boynunu keser!..*”, Necdet Rüştü, “Camideki Kurt/Çocuk Sesinin Şen Öyküleri,” *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 335 (25 May 1936): 18-19.

¹⁰⁰ “*Akıllanan köylüler/Artık gözünü açtı/Cumhuriyet Devrinde/Sahte İmam da kaçtı!*”, *ibid.*

¹⁰¹ The issue of disjunction from the past and secularism and the resistance moments such as conservative modernism is a much broader one in Turkish political and cultural history. But summarizing the debates on Western modernity, science, technology, intuition and modern conservatist thinking against the common-sense positivistic affiliations in the Republican Era is beyond the scope of my study which just aims to show the illusions and metaphors embedded in these debates served to children in the popular children’s periodicals of the time.



Çocuk Sesi, no. 215 (5 February 1934).

Progress, Discoveries in Far Away Lands and Adventure Stories

The above picture¹⁰² is a good example giving the clues of the common-sense perception of progress and its relation to children. The modern boy and girl, the sun, the planes, monuments of the Republic, the factories, the railways are not just simple pictures drawn but are illusions of the dissemination of the honour in the achievements of the Republican era in its last ten years given to children in the simplest form. The news about the “hugely” growing economy, paper, glass, textile

¹⁰² *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 215 (5 February 1934).

factories that were opened; bridges that were constructed; current news about the railways, the increasing number of schools opened were always supported with pictures and statistical information.¹⁰³ The legitimization of this hysterical narcissism of the Republican progress in the periodicals was embedded in one important sentence focusing on the sacrificed present: “It is the path of this era to progress with huge steps in the way of the civilization.”¹⁰⁴

But there is also one very important thing between the lines in the picture; it is the desire to reach more and more knowledge and science; the boundaries of the brain and intellect seem so hungry to discover further things in order to take further steps in the route of modern civilization. More books should be read, more places should be seen. But what this means is, very roughly, in fact a colonial perception of the world stemming from the desire of progress. The secular desire rising on the shoulders of positivistic desire to learn more and more about the material world which is made an object of discovery and wonder paves the way for symbolizing

¹⁰³ See "Cumhuriyet Devrinde 10 Yıllık İlerleme," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 201 (29 October 1933): 19-20. and "On Beşinci Yıl," *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, no. 1 (1938): 1-4. In this first issue, *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* opened on the front page with a comparison of the Ottoman and Republican Industries where the writer whose signature we don't see, tried to show the "hugely" growing economy and industrial developments. See also, "11 Yıllık Cumhuriyette Yeni Yeni Mektepler Açıldı. Şeker, Dokuma, Cam, Yün, İplik, Süt, Kömür, Sabun Fabrikalarının Kimisi Genişledi, Kimisinin Temeli Atıldı, Demir Ağları Memleketi Baştan Başa Sardı. Ordumuz Dünyanın En Kuvvetli Bir Ordusu Haline Getirildi", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 253 (29 October 1934): 18-19; "Demir Yollarımız Genişliyor, Bu Hafta Demiryollarımız Sivas, rğaniden Uzayarak Sevinç ile Diyarıbekire Girdi, Artık İstanbuldan Kalkınca Doğu Sınırlarımıza Kadar Gideceğiz. Bu Günler de Yaklaştı", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 309 (25 November 1935) : 3; "Cumhuriyetimizin Yeni Zaferi, Afyondan Karakuyuya ve Bozanönünden Ispartaya 127 Kilometrelik Demir Ağı Çekildi", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 327 (30 March 1936) : 3; "Türk Ulusunun Elinden Her İş Gelir, Dört Günde Dört Fabrikadan İkisinin Temeli Atıldı, İkisi İşe Başladı", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 310 (2 December 1935): 3; "Türk Kuşu, 11 Uçaktan Birleşmiş Olan Türk Kuşu Filomuz 11 Haziran Günü Ankaradan Hareket Ederek Büyük Bir Yurt Gezisine Çıktı", *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, vol. 2, no. 35 (1939): 163.

¹⁰⁴ "Japonlar ve nüfusları: Gazetelerde okuyorsunuz; Japonlar Çinlilerle hemen her gün harp etmektedirler. Bunun sebebi memleketlerinin kendilerine dar gelmesi ve başka yerlerde vatan aramalarıdır. Gerçi, Çinliler dünyanın en büyük nüfusuna malik iseler de pek geri olmalarından dolayıdır ki 67 milyon nüfusu olan Japonya ile bile başa çıkamamak tadır. MEDENİYETTE DEV ADIMLAR İLE İLERLEMEK BU ASRIN YOLUDUR. Bu yolda yürümeyenlerin akabeti başka milletlerin esiri olmaktır. Biz de çok çalışalım ve imperialist devletlerin boyunduruğuna geçmeyelim", "Resimle Devrialem/ Japonlar Ve Nüfusları," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 155 (19 December 1932): 10-11.

progress with a colonial gaze. Looking for the roots of adventure in the social context takes us to the transformations in the social realm since the Industrial Revolution.

As Sealander reminds, “for the first time in history, the Industrial Revolution allowed tens of millions of ordinary people, mostly Europeans, to travel the globe seeking employment or adventure. Americans made folk heroes of the man on the move-the wanderer-the Huck Finn quick to abandon civilization and light out for the territories.”¹⁰⁵ The world was perceived as an open space from then on and the literary figures rapidly accomponied this soul of adventure that people continued to read any time. Martin Travers makes a valuable analysis regarding the contested literature in Germany in the Nazi period where he wants to challenge the misrepresentation of the scope and extent of Nazi control on literature based on a wrong perception of all-pervasive ideology and a total control of the nation: he puts forward the fact that the range of everyday literature material including adventure stories exhibiting no evident concern for political policies but just having a diverting, entertaining or amusing function in the Nazi period was enormous.¹⁰⁶ The adults were already reading these pieces before children.

The march and adventures towards the unknown lands began on a “reasonable” desire of discovery while it continued with categorizing and “otherizing” the people mostly living in the East. How was it told? It was told through the stories about the voyages and adventures of Turkish scientists, engineers, doctors, boy scouts to far places in the East which were mostly perceived as belonging to the “barbarians”. The head of the Turks represented in the periodicals looked at “West” smiling while it strenghtened its power by travelling to those far

¹⁰⁵ Judith Sealander, *The Failed Century of the Child* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003):10.

¹⁰⁶ Martin Travers, "Politics and Canonicity: Constructing Literature in the Third Reich," in *The Attractions of Fascism*, ed. John Milfull (Munich: Berg, 1990): 43-44.

“underdeveloped”, “primitive” lands in the “East”. The Turkish child should feel lucky in these adventures as the powerful subject in comparison to the primitive and usually black barbarian. Civilization beat the East in this sense in most of the adventures with all its false essentialist and culturalist categorizations reifying the East and the West. The West was perceived mostly to categorize European countries; how was the East pictured by this desire of colonialist gaze then?

*In Other Lands: LIBERIA, The Weird Country of the Black Skinned*¹⁰⁷, *In Weird Lands: The Fortune of the World: EGYPT*¹⁰⁸; *Weird Lands: Arabia*¹⁰⁹; *From Weird Countries of the World: India, The Land of Tigers and Snakes*¹¹⁰, *The Leopard Hunting in India*¹¹¹, *An Adventure in Africa*¹¹² etc. These are the titles of some informative writings about the other places in the world and adventure stories published in *Çocuk Sesi*. Pertaining to the informative writings, they were written mostly as rough anthropological texts trying to give information about those people far away in the East living so differently. Some points included in these pieces were the religious superstitions of Indians; the weird habits of Indian fakirs such as burying themselves under the soil, whose reasons according to *Çocuk Sesi* could not yet be discovered by those European doctors thinking about these for a long time; the bedouins’ lives; exotic jewels, long caravans in deserts; the magical carpets of Baghdad and the black skinned Liberian child playing with monkeys. As seen, what

¹⁰⁷ "Başka Memleketlerde, Lİberya, Kara Tenlilerin Acaip Ülkesi," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 344 (27 July 1936):11.

¹⁰⁸ "Garip Memleketlerde, Dünyanın Hazinesi Mısır," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 343 (20 July 1936): 11.

¹⁰⁹ "Garip Memleketler: Arabistan," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 347 (17 July 1936): 11.

¹¹⁰ "Dünyanın Garip Memleketlerinden: Kaplan Ve Yılanlar Diyarı Hindistan," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 341 (6 July 1936): 11.

¹¹¹ "Hindistan’da Pars Avı", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 499 (17 July 1939): 2.

¹¹² "Afrika’da Bir Macera", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 506 (4 September 1939): 8.

was presented to the imagination of the Turkish child reader was a mixture of exoticism and pride about being a “normal” white-skinned in a “developing”, “progressing” country in the world civilization. The Turkish child was expected to read the pieces and look at the drawn maps of these contained geographic spaces enthusiastically and with great surprise.

Progress merged with a great ambition of discovery which paved the way to identifying and categorizing the discovered objects from a suppressing power position.. Turkish scientists, doctors, engineers, travellers, journalists, young students and little Turkish child heroes were presented as great discoverers of those lands far away in some stories and cartoons in the periodicals. These adventurous stories and cartoons mostly were set in exotic forests, deserts, among “the barbarians, cannibal blacks and big animals”. Some titles from the stories were illuminating in terms of their content in this respect: *Discoverer Tulgar is in the Indian Forests*, *the Adventures of Young Turkish Hunters in Barbarian Lands* and *Yaman and Duman Are in the Lands of the Machine Men*¹¹³ about two boy scouts’ adventures in Egypt among the old Egyptians. Other popular pieces were closer to rough science fiction; in the arms of development, progress, science and machines such as *Dr. Dolittle and His Animals*, translated from abroad by Sezai Attila, *The Iron Men of Doctor Haks*, *Scientific Novel Belonging to the Future*¹¹⁴, *Crazy Doğan*¹¹⁵ and *World Race in Dangers*.¹¹⁶ Jules Verne seems to affect the writers very much in this period.¹¹⁷ In

¹¹³ “Bilgin Tulgar Hint Ormanlarında, Vahşi Ülkelerde Genç Türk Avcılarının Serüvenleri”, “Yamanla Duman Makineli Adamlar Ülkesinde,” *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 297 (1935).

¹¹⁴ “Doktor “Haks”ın Demirden Adamları, İstikbale Ait Fenni Roman,” *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 154 (12 December 1932).

¹¹⁵ Sezai Attila, “Deli Doğan/Büyük Milli Roman,” *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 397 (1937).

¹¹⁶ “Tehlikeler İçinde Dünya Yarışı/Birinci Bölüm: Küçük Kahraman,” *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 362 (1936).

fact these subjects of discovery and adventure are valid for most of the children's literature in all eras. But what distinguishes the context of the Republic in the 1930s and 1940s lies in fact that, the ideological implications of such stories in the nation-state formation process would not be immune from categorizing the world in civilized people and others. This would not remain as a naive literary desire because the metaphors in the narratives were intertwined with other metaphors of the nation-state in the public realm. When a child saw the picture of a smiling İnönü, the picture of a microscope and the picture of black-skinned following each other in the periodical, his maps of meaning would not be immune from perceiving adventure on the same level with a discourse of civilization as revived in his imagination with the earlier metaphors he gained.

When we are talking about the stories in the East, we can say that the Turkish discoverers and heroes were always the ones winning the battles in these exotic lands after many risks and dangers. For example, in one story published in *Çocuk Sesi* in 1935, two journalists from a significant journal in Turkey took a great risk and wanted to go to India to report on a mystical and dangerous tariqat. These two "Turkish heroes" travelled to India with great enthusiasm to learn the secrets behind the Merravi Tariqat, which belonged to the Indian Fakirs.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ In 1935, a teacher had written a critique letter to Aptullah Ziya Kozanoğlu and had criticized him that his heroes in the nationalist epic stories were illogical characters. The severe answer of Kozanoğlu was published in *Çocuk Sesi* where he advocated his heroes and said that heroism could not combine in any case with logic. He compared Ahmet Cevdet's *A Turk in Europe* with Jules Verne's books and wrote that if a book of journey was so real, it would be like Ahmet Cevdet's book, no one could read it. But if it relied on imaginative power, it would be like Jules Verne's books which were read by everyone even then throughout the world. "*Seyahat romanı hakiki olursa Ahmet Cevdetin (Avrupada Bir Türk) kitabına benzer, kimse okumaz. Hayale dayanırsa Jül Vern'in kitaplarına benzer, bütün dünya bugün bile elden bırakmaz*", Kozanoğlu Abdullah Ziya, "Bayan Öğretmen Şadiye Yavuzere Açık Mektup", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 289 (8 July 1935): 5.

¹¹⁸ "*Fakir adını elbette işitmişsinizdir. Bunlar türlü türlü büyüculük oyunları yapan Hintlilerdir. Hele Merravi fakirleri Hindistanın en yaman ve korkulacak adamlarıdır. Bizim Çelikyürekle, Demirgöğüs Hindistana varır varmaz, yapmak istedikleri soruşturmanın ne kadar güç olacağını anlamakta çekinmediler*", "Fakirlerin Tutsakları," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 288 (1 July 1935): 8-9.

Nevertheless, the story went on with the herosim of these two great Turkish journalists. They were subjected to a great physical torture by the members of this tariqat. Interestingly, the scenes of torture were visualized for children by photos where the two journalists were hanged by the arms from the ceiling and shouted badly because of the pain from which they suffered.¹¹⁹ The adrenaline in the story was provided from this expression of violence which was in fact a general feature of most of the nationalist children's stories and cartoons in the periodicals of the time where marks of pain, murder, blood and violence were used very comfortably although the texts targeted at the children. This was an important point while we are rendering the hysteria of nationalist discourse, which was not unique to the Turkish experience. All nationalisms use violence for legitimization and this is an important step in the way towards the "otherization" process. In the context of the 1930s children's periodicals, Aptullah Ziya Kozanoğlu's stories about the herosim of old Turkish tribes against the Chinese were very important pieces in terms of the usage of apparent violence in publications for children.

These two Turkish journalists symbolized civilization here. They went discovering the East because they could not go West; if they had, then the story would have been not about heroism, but one of inferiority. The power relationship would have been turned vice versa then. The two faces of pride and inferiority acted together in the nationalist discourse. Being in the West was not something to be appreciated when talking about the great Turkish history with its roots in Central Asia, but being in the West became an identity desired to be owned when positioning the self against the Fakirs of India and Blacks of Africa. The two Turkish journalists went to the East with a feeling of going from the West; but not from the "West" of

¹¹⁹ "İki Türk gazetecisi kollarından tavana asılarak işkence görüyor, bu acıya dayanamıyorlardı". Ibid.

the East as a geographical meaning; they went from the “West” in a civilizational sense.

In a cartoon in one of the early issues of *Çocuk Sesi*, a boy scout named *Afacan* travelled to Africa with his ship. He was pictured as a genius sailor boy from the navy. He wanted to wander around the desert and while he was wandering, suddenly an African appered in front of him. We understand from the cartoon that the African was a child, but he was drawn like a creature much more than a human being and this visualization of black people especially seemed to be valid for most of the publications of the period: big limbs, naked body, a ring in the nose, a creature drawn like a monkey. The black boy had a knife in his hand, but he seemed so weak compared with the clean, white clothes of the Turkish boy scout and his confidence in himself and cunning with a sarcastic smile on his mouth. Nevertheless “our” *Afacan* did many genius acts such as throwing coconuts at the African boy, who was written to be a “primitive and cannibal”,¹²⁰ and was beaten by every act of *Afacan*. The final blow aganist the African boy became the lighter of *Afacan*, by which he burned the hair of the African boy who had to run away with pain. What *Afacan* did at the end was to pose with pride and that sarcastic smile on his mouth. The child is taught to be always powerful and self-confident against others beginning from the childhood and *Afacan* is a good example in terms of this, of those who strenghten their power consuming the image of a “naturally” inferior being: “the primitive, barbarian and canibal negro boy”.¹²¹

It was the same tendency eight years later, too: In 1938, in a story in *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, Mr Dünder, a rich trademan of Turkey took his family with him

¹²⁰ "Afacan Yamyamlar Memleketinde," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 31 (20 January 1930): 3.

¹²¹ The story ended with these words: “Bizim şu bahriyeli Afacan’ın deminki korkusuna bedel hele şu gülüşüne bir bakınız. Kırkbir kere maşallah.” Ibid.

on a journey to Africa where his children found themselves on an adventure in a barbarian village of the Africans.¹²²

In another piece, a Turkish traveller went to make a movie about pygmies in Africa, which is said to seek this barbarousness far away where Africa becomes a geographical object for children.¹²³ In another one, cannibalism was drawn as a feature of these primitive people whom the great colonizers tried to educate and civilize to make them give up these habits: "The nations colonializing Africa try to make these men give up their cannibalism. The cannibalist cases still continue although they are few. There are such half-cannibals in the world that they eat just the hearts and brains of the humans they kill. As seen for ages, cannibalism is just unique to some negro tribes. Never and nowhere has it been seen that the white men eat each other."¹²⁴ But very interestingly, just one year after this piece, in another piece the great development and progress of Africa was mentioned, but without losing the colonial gaze:

South Africa is a country that has changed at a bewildering speed. 50 years ago, just hero men could come here who could take their life in their hands. The country was full of bloodthirsty animals, barbarians

¹²² "Ormanların Çocuğu, Bir Serüven Hikayesi," *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, no. 29 (1938): 56-57.

¹²³ "Maksadımız, Orta Kongo mıntkasında yaşamakta olan Pygmen cücelerini görmek ve bir çok rivayetleri, masalları ile kulaklarımızı dosludurmuş olan bu vahşilerin yaşayışlarını, gündelik hayatlarını filme çekmekti..En eski insanlar gibi bugün tamamen iptidai yaşayan Pygmen cüce zencilerini Kongonun şimali şarkısındaki asırlık ormanlar içinde görmek, filme çekmek üstüva hattı mıntkasında yaşamakta olan bu vahşiliği tetkik etmek fena bir şey değildi...", "Cüceler Ve Orman Devleri-Afrika'nın Korkunç Karanlıkları İçinde Film Çeviriyoruz, Afrika'da Film Çeken Bir Seyyahın Hatıraları, Maceraları İçinde-1," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 151 (21 November 1932): 4-5.

¹²⁴ "Afrikayı idareleri altında tutan milletler bu adamları insan eti yemek sevdasından vazgeçirmeğe çalışmaktadırlar. Ara sıra görülen yamyamlık vakalarının bugün hala arkası alınamamıştır...Dünya yüzünde bir de yarı yamyamlar vardır ki bunların kimisi öldürdükleri düşmanın beynini, kimisi de sade kalbini yemekle iktifa ederler. Görülüyor ki eskidenberi insan eti yemek yalnız zenci kabilelere, o da bir kısmına mahsus bir şeydir. Hiç bir zaman ve hiç bir yerde beyaz insanların birbirlerini yediklerine dair ne bir iz, ne de bir esere tesadüf olunmuştur".Necat Aziz, "Eski Beyaz İnsanlarda Yamyamlık Var Mıydı, Bugünkü Dünyanın Yamyam Diyarı Neresidir?," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 242 (13 August 1934): 6-7. For other pieces about categorization of esp. Africa and India, see "Zencilerle Hayvanların Kavgası-1/Aylık Resimli Hikaye," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 151 (21 November 1932): 2.; A. Naci, "Ölüm Korkusu," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 227 (30 April 1934): 14-15.; "Kırmızı Derili Vahşilerin Baş Tuvaletleri Ve Evleri," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 175 (8 May 1933): 6-7.

and deserts impossibel to traverse. Now this place is sull of green grassy plains and pastures where cattle graze. Great cities with the latest fashion are constructed around the diamond mines. In these cities having the most contemporary avenues and high apartments, there are unbelievable scenes. Here it is the black-faced native, walking on the street with his lion chained...Look at that vivacious huge woman; maybe going to meet her fiance...There are such girls dressed due to the latest fashion that while wandering in the evenings, sometimes stop and gossip..On this side, the latest fashion buildings; on the other side, such strange clothing and scenes; sounds weird?¹²⁵

All of the above examples take us to the same point of the colonialist discourse that is positioned by barbarizing some and internalizing the other. The abstracted dichotomy of the East and West does nothing more than to serve the interests of orientalism and occidentalism by the reification of the East and the West in the culturally essentialist sense, but this essentialist discourse in the periodicals was repeated enough to shape the route of a child's memory with the big lipped, monkey-like black-skinned people and the great desire of beating the environment, the forests, the deserts, the barbarians and in a sense, owning the environment. The East was constructed as a property in the child's imagination after its discovery. In children's periodicals, stories of adventure and progress served colonialism in this sense.

¹²⁵ "Cenubi Afrika şaşılacak hızla değişmiş bir ülkedir. Bundan 50 yıl önce buraya ancak kellesini koltuğuna alabilen en yiğit kişiler gidebilirdi. Ülkenin içi baştan başa yırtıcı hayvanlar, yabani insanlar, aşılmaz çöllerle dolu idi. Burası şimdi yemyeşil ovalar, sürü sürü sığır ve davar yetiştiren geniş otlaklar olmuştur. Elmas madenlerinin çevrelerinde son moda büyük şehirler kurulmuştur. Koca koca apartmanlı, geniş caddeli bu asri şehirlerde sizin ve benim inanamayacağımız manzaralar eksik değildir. İşte yüzü kapkara bir yerli, elinde tuttuğu zincire bağlı arslanla sokaklarda dolaşıyor...Hele şu boylu postlu yerli YOSMASINA bakın: Yanıbaşında yürüyen Gepardla belki de nişanlasile buluşmağa gidiyor...Bazı son modaya gore giyinmiş kızlar vardır ki şehrin sokaklarında akşam gezintisi yaparken, durup biraz da dedikodulu laflar ederler. Bir taraftan en son moda apartıman, öte yandan da böyle tuhaf tuhaf kılıklar göze acaip görünüyor değil mi?" "Cenubi Afrika Tuhafliklar Ülkesidir!..." *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 269 (18 February 1935): 9.

Children and the Images of Political Socialization During the 1930s

As underlined previously, we can not think of a childhood devoid of the political and social context of the society. Children of a specific era grow up with the specific needs, expectations, burdens and the perceptions that era load them. The society reflects the political aura of an era through its children.

In this respect, for the context of the 1930s Turkey, the images of political socialization for children in children's periodicals were generally shaped around the efforts to continue the hegemony of one-party regime. Most of the pieces written in mainstream periodicals during these years aimed to integrate children to nation-state politics under the leadership of Republican People's Party. The news about the development and progress of the country went hand in hand with the images exalting the party, the government and the state which were declared to be unified in 16 June 1936 by İsmet İnönü's printed notice.

In 1930s, there were at most two political figures who were almost regarded as sacred in mainstream children's periodicals; Mustafa Kemal and İsmet İnönü. After 1938, the death of Mustafa Kemal and the strengthening of İsmet İnönü's power as the "National Chief", the image of İnönü started to take more place in the pages.

In 18 September 1933, *Çocuk Sesi* published a questionnaire that aimed to measure the love of children to Atatürk and their knowledge about him. There were questions in the questionnaire such as, "Have you ever seen the Ghazi? Where did you first see him? Whatv did you feel? How was your enthusiasm and excitement?, Have you ever heard the Ghazi making a public speech?..How does Ghazi talk?

What kind of feelings does he give birth to in your hearts?, Have you got any poems written about the Ghazi? Tell about the flattering in your heart about the Ghazi..”¹²⁶

The image of Mustafa Kemal was very strong and every time it was reminded to children that, they were indebted to him. The Republican Regime was equated with Mustafa Kemal and loving Mustafa Kemal was the first measure for children in terms of showing their commitment to the regime.¹²⁷ But after Atatürk’s death in 1938, the speeches and the advices of İsmet İnönü both to Turkish society and children covered more place in the periodicals.¹²⁸

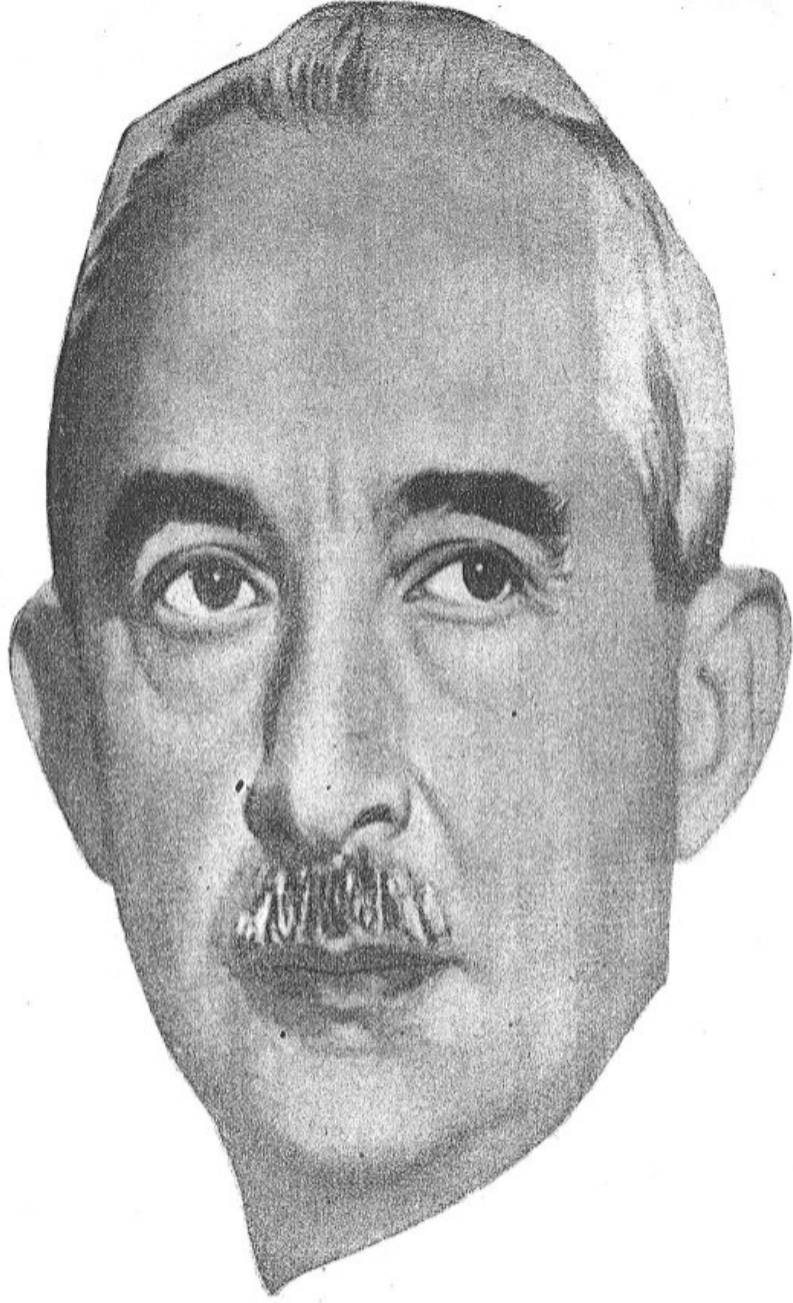
Apart from portraying really strong images of Mustafa Kemal and İsmet İnönü, the most important tools for political socialization in the periodicals were poems and writings exalting the one-party regime, the institutions of the state from military to government posts, the responsibility of paying taxes, joining the military and the responsibility of being aware of the duties of every citizen towards the state. The responsibilities of the state were perceived at most within the boundaries of providing order and development in the country unified as an organ with its police, gendarme, doctors, soldiers and bureaucrats. Especially in the Fest of 23, some

¹²⁶ “Gazi’yi gördünüz mü? İlk defa nerede gördünüz? İçinizde neler duydunuz, heyecan ve taşkınlığınız nasıldı?, Gazi’yi nutuk söylerken hiç dinlediniz mi?Gazi nasıl söz söyler, sesi, sözleri sizde neler uyandırır?, Gazi hakkında yazılmış şiirleriniz var mı? Hulusa, Gazinin hayatı, Gazinin kkalbinizdeki çarpıntısını anlatınız.” Büyük Gazi ve Küçükler kitabında, sizin de düşündüklerinizin bulunmasını isterseniz hemen bize bir cevap veriniz“, *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 195 (18 September 1933): 2. See also “Atatürk Florya Plajında”, *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 291, (22 July 1935): 15.

¹²⁷ While commenting on the role of Atatürk’s image in political life in Turkey, Hasan Önder calls Kemalism as the civil religion, and Mustafa Kemal as the prophet of this religion. Hasan Önder, “Atatürk İmgesinin Siyasal Yaşamdaki Rolü”, *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce-Kemalizm*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001): 151-152.

¹²⁸ “Cumhurbaşkanımız İsmet İnönü”, *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, vol. 1, no. 3 (12 October 1938): 54-55; “İsmet İnönü, Üç Mükemmel Çocuğun ve Bütün Türk Çocuklarının Sevgili Babası”, *Çocuk*, Special Edition, (29 October 1939); “İsmet İnönü Bir Halk Çocuğudur”, *ibid*; “İnönü Çocukları-Küçük Hikaye”, *Çocuk*, no. 224 (15 March 1941): 5.

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Üç Mükemmel Çocuğun ve Bütün Türk Çocuklarının Sevgili Babası

"İsmet İnönü, Üç Mükemmel Çocuğun ve Bütün Türk Çocuklarının Sevgili Babası"
Çocuk, Special Edition, (29 October 1939)

children were chosen as symbolic representatives of these state posts and the hegemony of the state was strengthened in the eyes of children.¹²⁹

One of the other ways to integrate children to nation-state politics was designing a geographic perception of Turkey in children's minds. Geography was a significant tool that helped the country be imagined in children's minds as the land of beauties. There were a lot of pieces telling about both the geographic and political virtues of Ankara and the other Anatolian cities.¹³⁰

But there were two important spheres about which the children were warned much in terms of the political life of Turkey. The first were the warnings to children about the consumption of native goods and saving money for future both for the self and for the sake of the country as the investments the children had saved would contribute to the economy of Turkey.¹³¹

The second sphere was, reminding children the significance of the census for the sake of the country. As will be discussed later in the third chapter about the significance of motherhood and pro-natalist policies, the Republic had entered an era when most of the healthy, working male population had been lost during the Balkan, The First World and Independence Wars, population exchanges and migrations. In

¹²⁹ "Vali Çocuk", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 226 (23 April 1934): 4-5; H.İ. Yurdseven, "Bütçe- Yurt Bilgisi, Erdem'in Koşuğlarından", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 269 (18 February 1935): 7; H.İ. Yurdseven, "Başbakanlık-Yurt Bilgisi", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 270 (25 February 1935) : 8; H.İ. Yurdseven, "Bakanlıklar-Yurt Bilgisi Koşuğlarından: 8", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 273 (18 March 1935): 8; H.İ. Yurdseven, "Yurddaşa Karşı Devletin Ödevleri", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 290 (15 July 1935) :11; H.İ. Yurdseven, "Vergi Vermek Ödevi", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 292 (29 July 1935): 15, H.İ. Yurdseven, "Askerlik Ödevi-Yurt Bilgisi Şiirleri", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 296 (26 August 1935) : 10, C.Ç. Öğretmeni, "Askerlik ve Ordumuz", *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, vol. 2, no. 26 (1939): 470; H. İ. Akçam, "Tek Parti", *Çocuk*, no. 134 (14 April 1939): 2, "Bir Yıllık Yurt Bilgisi Derslerine Bir Kuşbakışı", *Çocuk*, no. 135 (23 April 1939): 32-33.

¹³⁰ See for example, "Ankarada Yolculuk, Türkiye'nin Kalbi Ankarada Çarpar", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 305 (28 October 1935): 10-11 and Gezgini, "Memleketimiz Vandan Haşab'a Kadar", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 319 (3 February 1936) : 3, "Yeşil Edirne-Güzel Türkiye", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 358 (9 November 1936) :6.

¹³¹ "Yerli Mallar Revüsü, Bir Perdelik Piyes", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 207 (11 December 1933) : 3; "Tasarruf Haftası", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 364 (14 December 1936): 6; Latif Öktem, "Yerli Mallar Savaşı", *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, vol. 1, no. 7 (14 December 1938): 104-105.

the first census of the Republic in 1927, it was estimated by the statistics that the population had decreased by %20 from 1924 till 1927.¹³² The Republican state at first focused on policies to increase the population and compensate this rapid decline by pro-natalist policies that encouraged state-led marriages and the birth of many children for the progress of the Turkish nation-state.

The census of 20 October 1935 was very significant in terms of the policies aiming at the rapid increase of population and this was reflected in children's periodicals, too. The children were warned about the significance of the census:

Children, the rise of a nation and her progress among the other nations is only provided with the abundance of her population. A nation whose population decreases from day-to-day or makes no increase, loses her prestige and other nations take her place in time...So that, we are all working to increase our population by increasing the fertility rates and decreasing the death rates. Children, during the Ottoman era, in our vast lands reaching over to the West from the East, to the South from the North, population was not considered significant. The colonialist states immediately put their eyes on lands having low population. Now it will be by the greatness of our population that we will take their eyes off whoever put their eyes on our nation. By our population, we will block the wishes of imperialist states.¹³³

As it is seen from the above points, the Republic cared a lot about informing her children of the political issues and the political routes of the country. The general aim was to remind children that they belonged to the Turkish nation-state and warn them about their duties starting from their childhood on.

¹³² "Genç Cumhuriyetin İlk Nüfus Sayımı", *Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi 1923-2000*, vol. 1: 1923-1940, (İstanbul: YKY, 2003): 97.

¹³³ "Çocuklar, bir ulusun yükselmesi, öteki uluslardan daha ileriye gitmesi ancak nüfusunun çokluğu ile olur. Günden güne azalan, yerinde sayan bir ulus, günden güne de düşer, onun yerini başka uluslar kaplar...Biz de nüfusumuzun çoğalmasına, doğumların artmasına, ölenlerin azalmasına çalışıyoruz...Çocuklar, Osmanlı hükümeti zamanında doğudan batıya, kuzeyden güneye doğru uzanan uçsuz bucaksız topraklarımızda nüfusa hiç önem verilmemişti. Nüfussuz, insansız memleketlere (emperyalist) yani sömürgeci, müstemlekeci devletler hemen göz koyarlar ve o yerleri ellerine geçirmek isterler. Nüfusumuzun çokluğudur ki yurdumuza göz dikenlerin gözlerini çıkaracağız. Nüfusumuzun çokluğudur ki emperyalist devletlerin dileklerine sed çekeceğiz.", "20 İlkteşrin Pazar Günü Yurdumuzun Her Tarafında İkinci Genel Nüfus Sayımı Yapılacaktır!..O gün Nüfusumuzun ne bir eksik, ne bir artık kaç milyon kişi olduğunu kesin olarak anluyacağız", *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 302 (7 October 1935): 3.

The Onset of the Second World War and the Turkish Boy Scouts

The memories of children living in war conditions are filled with images that are too difficult to forget. The Second World War paved the way to great devastation in the countries attended the war. William M. Tuttle makes a significant analysis in terms of the war time children regarding American children's lives: "Children's wartime experiences often placed them in adult situations, which reinforced both strengths and vulnerabilities. Bolstering personal growth during the war, children took on additional responsibilities. As the older siblings either left home to join the service or took war-production jobs, their younger sisters and brothers assumed household responsibilities"¹³⁴

Turkey did not attend the Second World War but could not be immune to the international effects especially in terms of the hard socio-economic problems during the war years. Even the economic problems of the periodicals reflected in their pages especially in terms of the lack of paper was an evidence of the hard socio-economic conditions during the war and the children's periodicals were announcing to their readers that they had to sacrifice from the number of their pages.¹³⁵ The effects of these problems in children's periodicals in terms of the visibility of poverty is the issue of the second chapter. In this part, I just want to show how the Second World

¹³⁴ William M. Tuttle, Jr, "Age, Culture and History" in *"Daddy's Gone to War" The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993): 241. See also his another article about the experience of American children in the Second World War from a cross-disciplinary research of psychology and history: William M. Tuttle, Jr, "America's Home Front Children in World War II" In *Children in Time and Place, Developmental and Historical Insights*, ed. Glenn H. Elder, Jr, John Modell, Ross D. Parke, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 27-46.

¹³⁵ "Sevgili Okurlar", *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, vol. 2, no. 46 (1939): 387; *Çocuk*, no. 173 (22 January 1940): 3.

War became a tool for reminding Turkish children their particular responsibilities in war years as today's boyscouts and tomorrow's soldiers especially with reference to *Çocuk*.

While the Second World War continued, some news writings and photographs about the War were published in *Çocuk*. The general aim of these pieces was to show children the lesson they should take from the War. The most emphasized subject was solidarity during war time which attributed children some duties. There were stories about solidarity and heroism of children during war time.¹³⁶ But, there were also real stories from the ongoing war. For example, in one of the issues, an example from China under the invasion of Japan was given. The Chinese children abroad had prepared an exhibition "while their fathers were fighting in the War" and *Çocuk* published photographs from the exhibition and appreciated their work much in terms of the support they were giving to the struggle of their country. Also, *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* had compared the children of China and Japan in misery with the children of other countries who were getting ready happily to the coming Christmas.¹³⁷

It was told children that the wars from then on were total wars where the war did not just continue on the front but on the back front, too. In this respect, "there is work to do for children at the back front of the war. These children living in the conditions of war, pay their debts to the country either by getting involved in farming or directly within the military but in any case by filling the emptied spaces of adults.

¹³⁶ Nezihe Araz, "İki Candan Arkadaş", *Çocuk*, no. 159 (6 October 1939): 14; Cevdet Demiray, "Cepheye Koşan Çocuk", *Çocuk*, no. 183 (1 April 1940): 8.

¹³⁷ "Resimler ve Haritalar ile Dünya Haberleri", *Çocuk*, no. 159 (6 October 1939): 12; "1939a Girenken Dünya Çocukları", *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, no. 10 (4 January 1939).

The Turkish child knows well more than everyone what he should do both at the front and backfront when required in war.”¹³⁸

At the same time there were writings of informative pieces teaching children some practical informations that could be needed in war times such as how it was possible to prevent from airplane assaults or what kinds of poisonous gases existed.¹³⁹

In fact, through these writings the mind of the child was getting used to the idea of the “war”. It was expected from children to be aware of their responsibilities in war conditions. It was reflected from the periodicals that, they were the “future soldiers of the nation” and this was why they had to be serious about these warnings. In terms of this, the virtues of boy scouting were told at length for pages in most of the issues during the War years. Because, the boy scout was attributed the role of taking place in defense of the nation when it was the time. An example from French boy scouts were given in one of the issues of *Çocuk* in 1940 which was about the duties of French boy scouts during the War: “When the war had started this year in France, the crops had not been harvested yet. Immediately, the boy scouts were called to work. The boy scouts were divided into groups throughout the whole country and harvested the products in the farms. They did the work left behind by the adults fighting at the front as well as them.”¹⁴⁰ In the same issue was written that “ If

¹³⁸ “Geride kalan çocuklara da işler vardır. Bu çocuklar, harp olan memleketlerde, bazen çift işinde, bazen doğrudan doğruya ordunun yanında ve her vakit büyüklerden bş kalan yerleri doldurmakla vatana olan borçlarını ödemeye koşmaktadırlar. Türk çocuğu, gereğince cephe ve cephe arkasında ne yapacağını herkesten iyi bilir“, “Harpte Çocuklar”, *Çocuk*, no. 159 (6 October 1939) : 16.

¹³⁹ “Tayyare Hücumlarına Karşı Nasıl Korunmalıyız”, “Zehirli Gaz Nedir, Kaç Türölüdür? ”, *Çocuk*, no. 191 (27 May 1940): 6.

¹⁴⁰ “Bu yıl Fransada harp başladığı zaman daha mahsul ortadan kalkmamıştı. Hemen izciler işbaşına çağrıldı. Yurdun her tarafına dağılan izciler tarlalarda kalan ekinleri topladılar. Cepheye harbe giden büyüklerin gerideki işlerini onlar kadar iyi başardılar”, “İzci Zamanı Gelinece Yurd Korumasında İş Alır”, *Çocuk*, no. 198 (31 August 1940): 13.

we are boy scouts today, tomorrow we will be soldiers, too. Long live the Turkish Army...Tomorrow we will join it, too. Long live the Turkish boy scouts.”¹⁴¹

In these writings, the messages were told to children as if they were coming from the mouths of all Turkish children. The messages in the writings were told by the subject “us” which was a significant tool to attract children more to the message. And in these messages,, the boy scout was defined as “the row made up of the groups of hardworking and patriotist features of the Turkish Child” and it was a wish of “all of us” to be a boy or girl scout. “The brown uniforms of the boy scouts have many features resembling the uniforms of soldiers. The Turkish child loves the military profession so much. Maybe it is because of this love that ww want to wear those uniforms of boy scouting that make us feel like in the army until the honourable age for joining the army comes.”¹⁴²

Boy scouting in this respect was perceived as a very serious issue having its own principles. Rakım Çalapala had underlined the features of boy scouts as such: “The boy scout always keeps his promise, what he says is always true, the boy scout keeps his honour and integrity above anything else, the boy scout obeys to his adults, the boy scout is active and not afraid of taking responsibilities, the boy scout is brave and runs to help the weak, the boy scout is the brother of everyone and the friend of all other boy scouts, the boy scout is good-hearted, polite and joyful, the boy scout is

¹⁴¹ “Bugün izci isek, yarın biz de askeriz. Yaşasın Türk ordusu. Yarın biz de ona katılacağız. Yaşasın Türk izcisi.”, ibid.

¹⁴² “İzci, Türk çocuğunun çalışkan, vatansever varlığının düzgün sıralar halinde kümelenmesidir. İzci olmak, izci elbisesi giyinmek hepimizin pek istediğimiz bir şeydir. İzcilerin toprak rengi elbiselerinde askere benzeyen çok şeyler vardır. Türk çocuğu askerliği ne kadar çok sever. O şerefli askerlik yaşı gelinceye kadar bize ordudan birşeyler veren izci elbisesini belki biraz da onun için bu kadar severek giyinmek isteriz.”, “Cumhuriyet Bayramı Çocuğu İzci”, *Çocuk*, Special Edition, (29 October 1939): 12.

thrifty, the boy scout loves and protects the animals and the boy scout makes a favour each day.”¹⁴³

To gain all these features, the children first had to learn to live together in harmony and in solidarity. The camps opened every summer near seashores were significant places for socialization of children. Camp life was something very appreciated and emphasized a lot by children’s periodicals as the scheduled, disciplined life and good nourishment “prepared robust children as little soldiers to the country.”¹⁴⁴

As it is seen, the children were expected to internalize the conception of the reality of “war” and “honour” of taking place in the war and boyscouting during the 1930s provided the space through which the hegemony of the army was strengthened in the minds of children.

This chapter focused on the political discourse level of six mainstream children’s periodicals examined for this study and tried to show the meaning of children for nation-state politics. The Republican elites equated the child metaphorically with the nation and departing from this perception, attributed a specific significance to instilling the ideals of the nation-state and the Republic onto children. These children were expected to be aware of the greatness of their nation

¹⁴³ “İzci sözünden dönmez, onun dediği doğrudur, izci namus ve şerefini herşeyin üstünde tutar, izci söz dinler, izci girişkendir, mesuliyet yüklenmekten çekinmez, izci cesurdur, güçsüzlerin yardımına koşar, izci herkesin dostu ve diğer izcilerin kardeşidir, izci iyi huylu, nazik ve şendir, izci tutumludur, izci hayvanları sever ve korur, izci her gün bir iyilik yapar“, Rakım Çalapala, “İzci”, *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, vol. 2, no. 43 (1939): 330-331.

¹⁴⁴ Kemal Bilbaşar, “Kamp ve Çocuk”, *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, vol. 2, no. 31 (1939): 90-91.

and behave due to this. They had to get rid of their childish behaviours immediately , reach at maturity and internalize their duties for the sake of the Republic.

The adoption of the Latin Alphabet paved the way to the emergence of children's periodicals in Latin letters and most popular periodicals of the era were owned by two teacher publishers, Faruk Gürtunca and Tahsin Demiray. They had Turanist tendencies but their publication policies were in harmony with the state. Their periodicals such as *Çocuk Sesi* published by Gürtunca; *Yavrutürk* and *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* published by Demiray reflected the most popular nationalist sentiments of the time. The images and themes published in their periodicals mostly tried to internalize the secularist, progressivist, developmentalist ideals of the Republic established on a faith in disjunction from the past. The tools internalized to socialize children politically, were generally shaped around the power of single-party regime and the state. After 1939, the periodical *Çocuk* of *Children's Protection Society* reflected the new meanings attributed to children in terms of war politics more than other periodicals. The children were in these terms, the future soldiers of the nation and as today's boy scouts, they had to learn their responsibilities in the country while their fathers and brothers were fighting.

Throughout this chapter, the socio-historical and political value of children in Turkey in the particular context of nation-state formation was analyzed through the mainstream children's periodicals. The main aim was to present how children of the Republic were perceived as valuable more in terms of the burdens the nation-state politics attribute them than their essential value of being just "children."

CHAPTER III

THE IDEALIZATION OF REPUBLICAN MIDDLE-CLASS CHILDREN: READING ABOUT “POOR CHILDREN”

The codes of the ideal Republican family envisioned in the narratives of children’s periodicals pave the way to perceiving the universe of children in the 1930s and 1940s Turkey as composed of the ones belonging to these ideal families and the ones that are excluded from this idealized picture between the lines. The ideal Republican family is a nuclear organ of the nation in which every member of the family has specific roles within a division of labour. This chapter tries to shed light on the ways through which the idealized picture of the Republican family with its gendered nature in the periodicals combines with a specific middle-class life style and paves the way to perceiving the children of mainstream middle-class Republican families as the real subjects of the Republican project. This condition results in otherizing the “poor, street, homeless” children just as the heroes or heroines in the stories, poems or series of different writings in the periodicals that the middle-class children read about as will be told in the fourth chapter. Poverty becomes an issue

with which the reader middle-class children are expected to establish a dialogue only in terms of the emotions of mercy and the virtues of charity. The conception of poverty in this sense, is emptied from its socio-economical and political value and is just donated with moral meanings. “Poor children” and poor people are objectified in most of the pieces as the objects who either were morally corrupt and vagrant and that is why they remained poor or vice versa were very good-hearted, honest and hardworking and that is why they became rich at the end and got rid of poverty. In both cases, the middle-class child reader is expected to read about them and learn a moral lesson.

The Idealized Roles of Fathers, Mothers and Children

Mom, dad, my little sister/And me, the little Kaya/Four of us together/Make a family/Dad earns money outside/Mom does housework/ My little sister and me/Just do studying work/The four of us gather together/ Every evening in our house, in our shelter/ A deep joy shines/ Just at that moment in our hearts.../We are four people in our house/Locked together, linked together as a family/Each of us has in this house / A responsibility to live in harmony.¹⁴⁵

The most visible feature of a mainstream Republican family as reflected in the periodicals is its nuclear nature being the space where the nation-state is reproduced. The father, the mother and generally the two children -one boy and one girl- are shown to form the home as the space of an organic entity suitable to the solidaristic understanding of the nation-state where the family is an organ of the

¹⁴⁵ “Anam, babam, kardeşim/Bir de ben küçük Kaya/Dördümüz bir aile/Getirmişiz meydana/Babam dışarıdan taşır/ Anam yapar ev işi/Kardeşimle bana da/ Kalır okumak işi/Dördümüz toplanırız/ Her akşam evimizde/ Sonsuz bir neşe parlار/ Hemen o anda bizde.../Biz evde dört kişiyiz/ Kilit olmuş dört kişi/Hepimizin bu evde/ Var yapacak bir işi”, Rakım Çalapala, “Dört Kişiyiz,” *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 45 (6 November 1943): 3.

nation.¹⁴⁶ In this context, the family in the periodicals becomes the metaphor of a functional organ where the division of labour in the family and the morals of this division pave the way for the reproduction of order, normality and functionality as perceived for the welfare of the Turkish nation-state. The efficient processing of the roles of every member in the family are attributed the value of dignifying the Turkish nation-state while the improper processing of these roles is shown to degenerate the dignity of the nation-state.

My father is a civil servant. His entire job is made up of sitting at a table and writing pieces of writing on the papers brought by the office man...See him when he comes home in the evening: he complains a lot of tiredness...My mother is tired too as she tidies the house and sews all day. My older sister went to curl her hair, that's why she is tired, too. And my older brother; he is completely tired as he studied his lessons in law.¹⁴⁷

The family as described from the mouth of a child in a monologue in *Çocuk Sesi* in 1934 is very similar to the family mentioned in a poem nine years later in *Çocuk Haftası* in 1943 in the first quotation of this chapter. Both pieces of writing put the emphasis on the nuclear family where every member has responsibilities to carry the Turkish society to the destination where all members of the family know their places, their roles and try to fit the status-quo of the normal daily life of Turkish society.

¹⁴⁶ See for a detailed analysis of corporatism and solidarism in Turkey; Taha Parla, *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm Ve Türkiye'de Korporatizm* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001).

¹⁴⁷ "Babam memurdur. İşi sabahtan akşama kadar bir masanın başında oturup, odacının getirdiği beş on kağıda yirmi otuz satır yazı yazmaktan ibarettir...Bir de eve döndüğü zaman görür, kapıdan girer girmez, of yorulmuş, diye başlar...Annem de yorgunluktan dem vuruyor, odasını toplamıştır, dikmiş, büyük ablam bir yere kadar gitmiş saçlarını kıvırtmıştır. Onu da bir yere kadar gidip gelmek yormuştur. Hele ağabeyim, o büsbütün yorgundur, çünkü bilmem hukuk mektebinde okuduğu kanun dersine çalışmıştır", İsmet Hulusi, "Tembellik," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 238 (16 July 1934): 14.

The father, as the figure of discipline and order, works outside, looks after the family and when he comes home in the evening, begins the process of educating the child object. He becomes the figure who voices the moral norms of nationalism, especially by the stories in the periodicals, particularly stressing the responsibilities of every Turkish child in knowing and preserving the dignity of his nation by being hardworking and reasonable.¹⁴⁸

The mother, who is both a modern and lovely figure, shapes the inner house, takes care of the children and reproduces the moral norms of the Republican family as the moral education and discipline of children are her responsibilities throughout the day until the main disciplinary figure -the father- comes home in the evening.

The children are responsible for studying their lessons, obeying their parents and behaving in the way their parents expect.¹⁴⁹ The children in this context are generally expected to reach maturity at a very young age and to get rid of coyness and childish behaviours, as we have seen in the second chapter in the poems about *Erdem*. They are generally represented as little men and little girls who are aware of their huge responsibilities for the welfare of the Turkish nation-state as honest, hardworking, morally upright future citizens.

¹⁴⁸ See Mahmut Attila Aykut, "Harp Madalyası," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 92 (30 September 1944): 5; and Semiramis Kök, "Kremalı Dondurma," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 130 (23 June 1945): 14.

¹⁴⁹ When we look at the features of a mainstream family in the context of nation-state formation between the 1930s and 1940s as reflected in the childrens' periodicals, we see some universal features that are not bounded to the context of the 1930s and 1940s. For example, the fathers continue to be figures of discipline both at home and in the public sphere in many contexts at present as the children's sole and biggest responsibility is obedience to their parents. But what makes the case different for the 1930s and 1940s is related to the special place attributed to the family by the nation-state discourse and practice. The nation-state discourse constitutes the family as an organic entity which means the interference of the state to the family in the context of nation-formation is identified through the norms of the welfare of the Turkish nation-state. But today when the norms of global capitalism come before everything else and the space of the social is constructed on the norms of a consumption culture, the family is perceived as an agent reproducing global capitalism by its consumption patterns where the significance of nationalism is left behind.

The relationship of the mother and the child as reflected in most of the periodicals can be best represented by one of the stories in *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*. A boy named Aykut, who lived in hard conditions with his mother as his father had died as a military officer in the National Struggle, always came home late and wandered around the whole day as the leader of a group of naughty, vagrant children. His mother was very sad about this because when she had warned Aykut, the boy had responded in an very impolite manner and had broken the heart of his mother. From then on, his mother had said nothing to him.

Aykut continued to steal money from home and spend it with his vagrant friends. His mother knew this, but she also knew that Aykut would not be able to find the right way by being rebuked. “And what she wanted was that her child, her only child, whom she loved more than herself, would understand the harm of his bad behaviour himself so that he would never do them again.”¹⁵⁰

One night, Aykut came home, sat down at the table and waited for some food. His mother brought the food, but she did not sit down. When he asked her why she did not sit and eat, she said that there was a thief coming into their house everyday and stealing all their money. The food in the house was just enoough for one person and as there was not any money to buy some food, she could not eat.

It was at this phase when Aykut was educated morally as he understood his tragic flaw and started to cry and beg to his mother to forgive him: “Mommy, mommy, forgive me for all of all those days I gave harm to you. I swear on the soil of my father is buried that I will never do bad things again. I beg you, forgive me, embrace me. Take me away from this town. Let’s go away, let’s go far away. I want

¹⁵⁰ “Ve istiyordu ki; çocuğu, canından çok sevdiği biricik yavrusu, yaptığı şeylerin kötülüğünü kendisi anlasın da bu kötü şeyleri, işleri bir daha yapmasın”, A. Öykümen, “Küçük Hırsız,” *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, no. 12 (1938): 192-193.

to become a good person, like everyone else”¹⁵¹ The mother embraced her child and the story arrived at a good and emotional conclusion.

What is important in this story is the style of the mother while educating her child and the expectation from the child. The mother did not warn her child outright, but she made him understand his mistake himself. To borrow the Javanese conception, this style of the mother is very similar to the style of the mothers reflected in the children’s stories in Soeharto’s Indonesia: guiding from behind (*tut wuri handayani*). It was a state ideology in Soeharto’s Indonesia.¹⁵² This is best told by an Indonesian children’s story in the best-selling children’s weekly magazine *Bobo* in 1991. In a story titled “Silence Does Not Mean Approval”, a boy named Yoga goes swimming with his friends after he asks for permission from his mother. His mother keeps silent. Yoga comes home with an headache in the evening and complains a lot. Then his mother says that it was because he had got too tired while swimming all day and spending too much energy. The story as quoted by Shiraishi goes on with the question Yoga asks:

“But why did Mama keep silent? Doesn’t it mean that Mama gave Yo permission to go swimming?” Mama smiled. “Silence does not mean approval, Yo! Aren’t you already grown up now? Mama does not like to treat Yo as a little child who needs to be told everything every time...Yo must know by now what is best to do”, said Mama while placing the cold compress on Yoga’s forehead.”¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ “*Anneciğim, anneciğim; sana çektirdiğim o kötü günlerden, işlerden beni bağışla. Sana babamın toprağı üzerine andıçerim ki bundan sonra ben artık kötü şeyler yapmıyacağım. Yalvarırım sana beni bağışla, beni kucakla. Bu kasabadan beni kaçır. Buradan gidelim, uzaklara gidelim. Ben de her iyi insan gibi iyi olayım*”, Ibid.

¹⁵² Saya S. Shiraishi, "Children's Stories and the State in New Order Indonesia," in *Children and the Politics of Culture*, ed. Sharon Stephens (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995): 169-83.

¹⁵³ As Shiraishi says, “the theory that the child should be free and learn from his mistakes is thus beautifully turned, in this children’s story, into a theory that the child should watch carefully and try to find out what is in Mama’s mind, so as to avoid making a mistake and receiving parental/supernatural

Although this story belongs to a different context, the educational principle in the story called “guiding from behind” is very fruitful for the context of the Turkish nation-state in the 1930s and 1940s. In the children’s stories in the periodicals of the 1930s and 1940s, the child is always watched by parental discipline, but the mother is more a figure of compassion while the father is more a figure of an apparent discipline. The mother and the father both are responsible for the moral education of the child, who in fact belongs to the nation more than to them but their relationship with the child is different. The mother educates the child generally by guiding from behind, and continuing to support him while he is making mistakes, while the father generally gives straightforward advice and waits for direct obedience from the child.¹⁵⁴ In short, the style by which “domesticity” is constructed in the periodicals

punishment. This is the basic principle that any writer has to learn in order to survive in Soeharto’s Indonesia. Writers can make considerable profits by voluntarily making their writings effective educational and political tools for the regime. Editors buy the stories and parents buy the magazines because the message in the stories is considered useful. The stories offer vital knowledge people need to know in order to be citizens of the Republic(that is, to know what is in Soeharto’s mind.) The story becomes politically effective, as well as commercially profitable.” Ibid:171.

¹⁵⁴ In her book *The Homework (Ev Ödevi)* about the perception of childhood in some important literary pieces in different eras in Turkey, Nurdan Gürbilek makes a valuable contribution while identifying the codes of middle-class fathers as figures of authority and discipline with reference to Tezer Özlu’s novel, *The Cold Nights of Childhood (Çocukluğun Soğuk Geceleri)*: “The mother and father are penetrated to the book as just the representatives of a public world, an ideological tool rather than as psychological contents or as faces to whom love or anger is directed. From what is told, we learn that the father is a school inspector, tries to establish a military order at home and stands still when the National March is played. A father made up of advices, warnings, daily schedules, notes on small papers with his name, surname and signature at the end: “The light must come from the left”, “The Book must be 30-45 centimeters away from the eye”, “The lights must be turned off as soon as the studying is over” (*Anne ve baba, bu kitaba sevginin ya da öfkenin yöneldiği birer yüzden, ruhsal birer içerikten çok, sanki sırf kamusal bir dünyanın, ideolojik bir aygıtın temsilcileri olarak girmiştir. Anlatılanlardan, babanın okul müfettişi olduğunu, evde askeri bir düzen kurmaya çalıştığını, İstiklal Marşı çaldığında evde hazırol durduğunu öğreniriz. Öğütlerden, günlük programlardan, küçük kağıtlara tutulmuş çetelelerden, adı, soyad, bir de imzadan oluşan bir baba: “Işık soldan gelmeli”, “Kitap gözünüzden 30-45 cm. uzaklıkta durmalı”, “Çalışma biter bitmez ışıklar kapatılmalı”...), Nurdan Gürbilek, “Memur Çocukları, Ev Ödevleri, Pazar Öğleden sonraları,” in *Ev Ödevi* (İstanbul: Metis, 1998): 67-68. Who Gürbilek identifies as the middle-class father working auspices the state as a civil servant, is the figure who wants not just to be the representative of the family order but the representative of a more eminent public order; this is why he always prepares schedules for his children, always wants to give advice and gives his children small papers with notes on it reminding about all these issues (Ibid: 66). This analysis is most valuable for this study in terms of putting forward some of the cultural codes that differentiate the roles of mother, father and children at home in its complexity. They have been useful in evaluating the middle-class and mostly civil servant fathers of Republican Turkey between the 1930s and 1940s. Another interesting book about the child perceptions of its family and outer world in the beginning of the 20th*

highlights how the roles of the mother, the father and children within the boundaries of the nuclear family are made apparent.

Sons, Daughters, Beautiful and Compassionate Mothers, Mustached and Modern
Fathers in the “Warm Family Home”

Before evaluating the meaning of the metaphors of the middle-class family values represented in the front pages of the periodicals *Yavrutürk*, *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* and *Çocuk Haftası* from the 1930s towards 1940s, the significance of domesticity must be rendered clear. Because the clues of the materialized aura of the middle-class Republican family in the house pave the way to analyzing the cultural codes surrounding the life-style in that house which symbolize a broader universe of Republican ideology. The values of a modern life in harmony donated with a great love to the nation and state were wanted to be instilled into children of the 1930s and 1940s.

The English word “home” is a curious conflation, embodying elements of both place and affect. A historical narrative plotting the gradual union of these elements and the growing importance of “the home” in modern Western societies is now familiar to many readers. This history typically describes the intensification of emotional ties within the nuclear family group, and the nineteenth-century development of what has been called a “cult of domesticity”, accompanying the proverbial “separation of work and home” and the retreat of the middle class from the industrial city to the suburbs.¹⁵⁵

century is Walter Benjamin’s *Berliner Kindheit um Neunzehnhundert* (*Bin Dokuz Yüzlerin Başında Berlin’de Çocukluk*, translated by Tevfik Turan, (İstanbul: YKY, 2004) where Benjamin tells his memories of even smallest details of his surrounding in a mentally and physically transforming bourgeois society. Once more, it becomes possible to render the significance of child eyes about the world which reflect the most dramatic thresholds and value transformations of societies by small details.

¹⁵⁵ Jordan Sand, "At Home in the Meiji Period, Inventing Japanese Domesticity," in *Mirror of Modernity, Invented Raditions of Modern Japan*, ed. Stephen Vlastos (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1998): 191. With reference to Lawrence Stone’s *The Family, Sex and arriage in England, 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1977). Sand reminds us that the “closed domesticated nuclear family” originated in the late seventeenth century.

Jordan Sand focuses on the significance of domesticity as a tool of analysis referring to the Japanese experience with domesticity in the context of modernization in the Meiji Period.

The discourse of domesticity did not take place only on the plane of language. Normalizing the home in Japan required redrawing the contours of domestic space and reappointing its interior. Two fundamental spatial problems had to be solved in the invention of Japanese domesticity. First, to bind family and place, and give the bond normative significance, families had to be persuaded not merely to cohabit, but to exhibit family solidarity in some concrete form. Devising and encouraging such manifestations became the concern of progressive journalists and educators in the 1890s. Second, to articulate the priority of family over other social groups, a house design was needed that would segregate the cohabitant family from non-kin and the outside world. Here architects had a role to play... In its Meiji construction, the Japanese domestic ideal was vehemently “middle class”, representing the segment of society in which the journalists, educators, and architects doing the writing, speaking and designing located themselves and their audience. New gender roles and new moral meanings imbued in material life and daily practice were invented to provide substance to the middle-class image. Thus, in defining home, the framers of Japanese domesticity were also defining themselves.¹⁵⁶

Departing from this analysis, it becomes easier to visualize the relationship between the domestic ideal of a particular era and the idealized class values embedded in this domestic ideal. Just like the Meiji Construction’s domestic ideal targeted the construction of new gender roles and new moral meanings emerging in a particular middle class, the Turkish Republican experience with domesticity placed its ideal on a flexible middle class defined mostly by the hierarchy of proximity to the state. For the context of the 1930s and 1940s Turkey, the middle class values of efforts at modernization and the perception of domesticity belonging mostly to the state intelligentsia composed of mostly bureaucrats, teachers, soldiers and other civil servants, could be observed in their daily lives at home. As Nurşen Gürboğa

¹⁵⁶ Ibid: 193.

comments, “the experience with Westernization paved the way for the reorganization of space in the culture of private life. Home has been loaded with new meanings parallel to the transformations in the family. The modern house was presented in this sense as the “home” of the nuclear family and as the private space of the urban middle-class household dressed up with the elements of the new material culture as the symbol of the transformation in the 1930s.”¹⁵⁷

The “good manners” and etiquette that should be followed and taught to children were one of the most important elements of this material culture of the urban, nuclear Republican family. These values were not just cultural codes belonging to a standard idealized family in those years. They also highlighted the hegemonic class practices in this particular context where the metaphors of poverty told through the image of the child were constructing a duality distinguishing the subjects unintegrated to this idealized middle-class family as will be discussed later.

A kind of modern urban middle-class family morality was on the surface¹⁵⁸ and despite the discourse of “disjunction with the past” of this class, this family morality had roots in the efforts of modernization since the nineteenth century. The

¹⁵⁷ Nurşen Gürboğa, "Evin Halleri; Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Evin Sembolik Çerçevesi," *İstanbul Dergisi*, no. 44 (2003): 58-59. This family was living generally in “healthy, useful, comfortable houses” which was becoming a shelter to the father of the family coming home after work in the evenings with its cleanliness, beauty and comfort that was provided by the talents of the modern and bright housewife, Sibel Bozdoğan, "Sihhatli, Kullanışlı, Konforlu Evler: 1930'ların Mimarlığında Modernlik Söylemi," in *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Problemler, Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar, Sempozyum 1. Uluslararası Tarih Kongresi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998): 346.

¹⁵⁸ As Zafer Toprak tells, the roots of the modern nuclear family morality as envisioned by the thoughts of Ziya Gökalp, was identified and materialized with the Unionist movement. “The ‘National Family’ idea put forward by the Unionists was conceived of as a panacea for the salvation of Ottoman society. Unionist intellectuals in search of national identity relied upon the family as the germ-cell of the nation-state and family morality as the source of national solidarity”. This family was not an imitation of European style, it would be modernized without sacrificing its Turkish traditional roots, Zafer Toprak, "The Family, Feminism, and the State During the Young Turk Period, 1908-1918," *Varia Turcica*, no. XIII (1991): 451.

teachers, the bureaucrats, the soldiers were not creating a daily modern life that was completely new, but they were in a way following the heritage of modernization.¹⁵⁹



Yavrutürk, no. 127 (1 October 1938)

¹⁵⁹ As Cem Behar and Alen Duben say, “The model of the European family which Ottomans began to possess in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was part and parcel of a larger material and symbolic world which they had been acquiring with a passion since the early 1800s. It is not possible to separate the images and aspirations they held for their families, their spouses or potential spouses and their children from the totality of the domestic and social environment in which such cultural elements were set. The accoutrements of a European family life-style began to penetrate the homes of significant numbers of Ottomans, particularly during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Many familiar objects of everyday use disappeared and were quickly replaced with alien alternatives. Many ordinary rituals and routines of everyday family life began to change quite significantly. Domestic life in İstanbul came to contain a significant collection of symbolic markers of European origin which would begin to set it clearly apart from its traditional Islamic past. Even the increasingly Europeanized physical appearance of the individual family members served to remind them that they were different from their ascendants. The end result was a significant change of direction in the symbolic environment of the homes of many people in İstanbul.” Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *İstanbul Households : Marriage, Family, and Fertility, 1880-1940, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy, and Society in Past Time. 15* (Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 202.

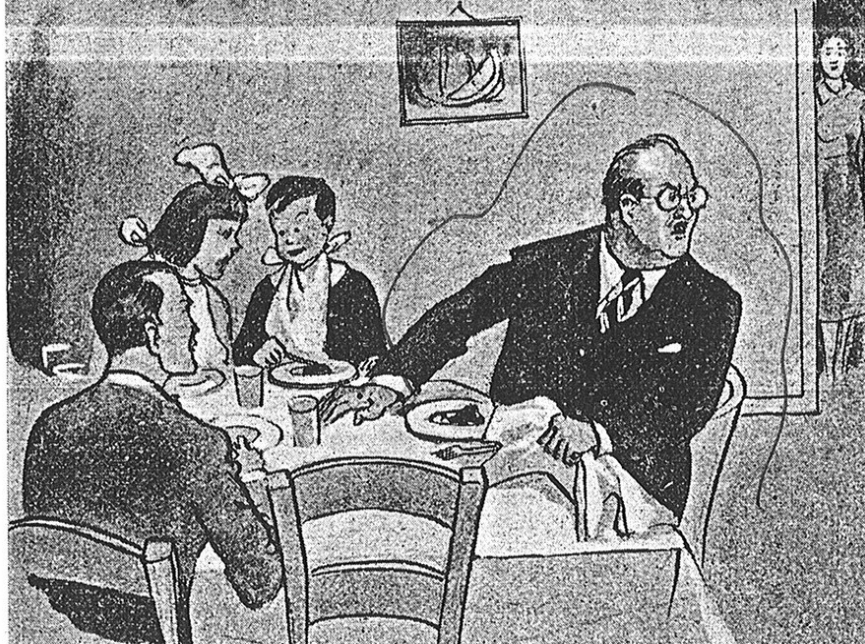
The tools to analyze the metaphor of this Republican family and inner house are mostly the cover pages of periodicals containing cartoons and jokes. The pictures of the father, the mother and the children show how a standard family is encoded in the periodicals.

The most visible feature is the continuation of the nuclear family composed of the father, the mother, the children and, in some cases, the grandmother or the grandfather. The children in the pictures are usually shown studying their lessons, doing their homework or playing home games in their spare time. Usually, the one who is more focused on his lessons is the son of the family. He is pictured as an hardworking, innocent, clean faced and well-dressed boy. He seems to know his responsibilities and this is why his family seems to be proud of him.

As seen from the picture, the family members are trying to be quiet to allow him study well in peace. The admiration and honor observed in the family members is not isolated from the symbolic universe of the Republican admiration of education and enlightenment; the more the son advances his mind, the more modern and enlightened he will be. This is for his own welfare as well as for that of the nation. Education is the main pillar lying in the symbolic universe of the picture as the Republican progress rises on the shoulders of educated and enlightened future citizens.

Looking at the picture, we see that the father is generally a mustached man with glasses and wearing a suit. This is in fact the most frequently encountered presentation of Republican fathers in the periodicals. Their hair is always combed and their clothes are always tidy and clean. Interestingly, these clothes of the fathers can well be clues to how the public space of the Republic was integrated with the private space of the family. The father is usually dressed like that because of his job

as a state official in the context of those years. However does not remove those clothes when he returns home in the pictures. It seems like the father is always dressed like that at home, too. His suit is not just a simple piece of clothing, it carries the power codes of both the state and middle-class fatherhood together. The father, who is working outside usually as a teacher or a bureaucrat in the state, forms the backbone of the Republic and the middle-class hegemony. His home is not an isolated place from the state; his home is the space where the order of the family should be protected just as the order of the state has to be protected. Everybody must know how to behave for the welfare of the family and the state and the father feels great responsibility as the promoter and controller of this order and discipline. The public discipline outside the house and discipline in the house are not separate from each other. While the father does not continue to be dressed like that with full consciousness, he is aware of the power, order and prestige that the suit provides him.



Cumhuriyet Çocuğu, no. 14 (1938)



Çocuk Haftası, no. 11 (13 March 1943)



Yavrutürk, no. 246 (11 January 1941)

The pictures above also highlight how motherhood and gender are constructed in the children's periodicals.¹⁶⁰ Looking at the pictures, we see that the mother watching her son with a smile on her face and the mother bringing coffee to her husband are modern-looking ladies dressed in modern clothes. The mother bringing coffee to her husband is dressed in a pullover and a skirt and in high-heeled shoes, seems to continue the traditional hierarchy between the man and the woman in the family by being a figure serving her husband, but she is also a figure who cares about clothing and her physical appearance as a modern Republican lady. Some other mothers are pictured as more elaborate and modern looking as Republican ladies:



Çocuk Haftası, no. 89 (9 September 1944)

¹⁶⁰ The author of this study is aware that the social context is composed of the interaction of socio-economic, cultural and political processes which are never separate compartments but shape and are shaped by each other. The issue of gender and motherhood in the context of the 1930s and 1940s Turkey can not be well understood just with the symbolic universe related to them in the children's periodicals. They are huge issues which have to be analyzed in the context of the studies about the state, welfare policies and the family. But either the social world can not be understood well without the symbolic universe lying between the lines. This study is just an effort to get pace in social studies and it is limited with the cultural arena focusing on how the social world is constructed literally and culturally related to children in the children's periodicals.

Yavrutürk

Çocuk
GAZETESİ

CUMARTESİ GÜNLERİ ÇIKARILIR



5
KURUŞ

Yavrutürk, no. 282 (20 September 1941)

It is clear that the physical appearance of the mothers in the pictures reflects their assumed socio-economic position taken for granted in the periodicals. But although the standard perception of the family in the periodicals is the middle-class which for example has to be careful about its budget¹⁶¹ and cares about teaching thriftiness to the sons and daughters as the duties of the little organ of the corporatist Turkish economy, the pictures reflect more an upper-middle class character. As seen, the mothers are very assertive ladies who seem to spend a great deal of money on clothes. The mother at the dinner table and the mother taking her son from the school seem to keep up with the latest fashions. All the mothers in the above pictures are wearing high-heeled shoes and their hair styles are quite elaborate. One of them is wearing make-up at the dinner table. Another interesting thing is that they wear their shoes in the house and so do their husbands as a sign of a modern life-style contrary to Turkish tradition. They seem to sit at the dinner-table with aristocratic sensitivities about the good manners that should be taught to children. For example, in the cover page dated 7 July 1945 in *Çocuk Haftası*, the mother warns her daughter about bringing the bread to the table with her hands: “Will I ever be able to teach you anything Ayşe? Does bread ever be brought by hands to the dinner-table? Does it not need to be put in a plate?”¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ “Geliri ayda 60 lira olan dört kişilik bir ailenin bütçe taslağı: Giderler: 10Lira Ev kirası, 25lira yemek içmek, 3 lira su, elektrik, temizlik, çamaşır, 2lira odun, kömür, 5 lira giyim kuşam, 3 lira aile eğlenceleri, sinema ve gezmeler, 7 lira babanın, annenin, çocukların harçlığı, 5 lira kara günler için biriktirilecek para...Böyle bir bütçe hazırlayan aileler hiçbir zaman masraflarını bu bütçeden dışarı çıkmadan yapar. Ve bütçeli hareket eden bir ailenin kenarda birikmiş parası bulunacağı için hastalık veya başka türlü herhangi bir fazla masraf karşısında bütçesi hiçbir zaman bozulmaz ve sarsılmaz”, “Aile Bütçesi-Aile Bilgisi,” *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, no. 17 (1938): 299.

¹⁶² “Bayan-Sana bir şey öğretemiyecek miyim Ayşe? Sofraya ekmek elle mi getirilir? Tabağa konmaz mı?Ayşe-Biliyorum ama, siz bilmiyorsunuz sandım.”, *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 132 (7 July 1945): 1.

NO.132

1945

ÇOCUK HAFTASI

HAFTALIK * ÇOCUK * GAZETESİ

Bayan — Sana birşey öğretemiyecek-
miyim Ayşe? Sofraya ekmek
elle mi getirilir? Tabâğa
konmaz mı?

Ayşe — Biliyorum ama, siz bilmiyor-
sunuz sandım.



Çocuk Haftası, no. 132 (7 July 1945)

These sensitivities about good manners at home reflect the class character of the idealized Republican life style, but before examining this subject in more detail, the dilemma about the construction of motherhood and gender should be highlighted referring to the perception of girls in the periodicals. Because the roles that were attributed to the mothers who were perceived as the “Sweethearts”¹⁶³ of children in the periodicals were the products of the same gendered perception of girlhood. The dilemma is that, it doesn’t matter how modern and “equal with men” the ladies were portrayed in the periodicals since the politics of modernization, their roles and responsibilities in the house continued to prevail.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ “İki Sevgili: Anne Ve Mektep,” *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 197 (1933): 1; Hamit Gündoğdu, “Anne Sevgisi,” *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 132 (7 July 1945): 6. For example, there is a story about a mother donating her eyes to her blind son: Oğuz Özdeş, “Küçük Kör,” *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 181 (22 June 1946): 14. Interestingly, although the woman is perceived as a sacred human being as the “mother” of the future generations, she also continues to be perceived as a dangerous, cunning creature full of ornamentation which can be observed between the lines. For example, in a poem of Rakım Çalapala published in *Çocuk Haftası* in 1943, the metaphor and the picture of the cat is used very skillfully to tell about a woman in fact: “Bizim kedi bir kadından daha fazla süse düşkün/Yalar durur ensesini, kulağını hep bütün gün/Yumuşacık bir kürk ile kaplı iken bütün eti/Bitmek bilmez yaramazın özentisi, tuvaleti...Bu yumuşak patiklerde saklanmasa birer pençe/Bu kediden daha cana yakın bir hayvan yoktur bence/O pespembe dudakları paralayan dişler saklar/O yumuşak ellerde hançer gibi tırnaklar var”, Rakım Çalapala, “Kedim,” *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 18 (1 May 1943): 3

¹⁶⁴ As Abu-Lughod comment about the Egyptian nationalist cause and its gendered practice, “These forms of modernization-the induction of women into new domestic roles as ‘ministers of the interior’, the professionalization of housewifery, the ‘scientizing’ of child rearing, women’s drafting into the nationalist project of producing good sons, the organization into nuclear households governed by ideals of bourgeois marriage, and even the involvement in new educational institutions-may have initiated new coercive norms and subjected women to new forms of control and discipline, many self-imposed, even as they undermined other forms of patriarchy” Lila Abu-Lughod, *Remaking Women, Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (UK: Princeton University Press, 1998): 8. In the same manner, when the unity of work and home collapsed and men and women were separated from the intimate daily routine of the household paving the way to a life style-the man at work and the wife at home in England after the Industrial Revolution, the conditions for the development of children’s literature in England were ready. Because “books that the mother could read to her children became important adjuncts to her new role as child rearer”, Isaac Kramnick, “Children’s Literature and Bourgeois Ideology” In *Republicanism and Bourgeois Radicalism, Political Ideology in Late Eighteenth-Century England and America*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1990): 109-110. For the Turkish case, see also Pinar Öztamur, “Defining a Population: Women and Children in Early Republican Turkey, 1923-50” (MA Thesis, Bosphorus University, 2004). In her thesis about the social welfare practices towards women and children through the governmentality paradigm in 1930s and 1940s, Öztamur examines how gender and motherhood are constructed in the population and health policies of those years.

Tomorrow's Housewives

The nationalist projects attribute great significance to the mothers who must stay uncontaminated and have to be preserved for the welfare of the nationalist course.¹⁶⁵ The significance attributed to the mothers in Republican Turkey was rooted in the policies of CUP whose pro-natalist policies aimed at the population increase because of the great population decline in the country caused by the losses in Balkan and First World Wars, migrations and population exchanges.

According to Toprak's words; since many of the working, healthy, male population had been lost, "women were invited to enter professions hitherto regarded as the exclusive domain of men. They were employed as national governmental and municipal clerks, as factory workers, as street cleaners, and even as barbers in many districts of İstanbul...By the end of World War 1, large numbers of women had been integrated into the social and economic life of the country"¹⁶⁶. But on the other hand, the pro-natalist policies of CUP required women giving birth to many children, increasing the population of the country and bringing up healthy future generations.

¹⁶⁵ As Baron puts forward, from the 1870s on the Egyptian nation was depicted in human form in sculpture, painting and cartoons which was mostly symbolized as 'woman' figures. This was reasonable for the nationalists as they hoped to mobilize the masses for nationalism by drawing the male youth into the cause based on a 'love' of the nation which had to be rescued from foreign insult and preserved in her purity. The symbols of modernization and nationalism went hand in hand in the process where the 'unveiling' represented the modern path to the newly 'awakening' nation. The 'mothers of the nation' were weak and uncontaminated and they had to be preserved who would bring up the future citizens of the modern nation. In the context of competing and shifting understandings of nationalism, the symbolization of the nation as a woman had many competing depictions. But despite this, the 'woman' character of the nation maintained its primacy and continued to be the symbol around which to create the hegemony of the nationalist discourse. Beth Baron, "Nationalist Iconography: Egypt as a Woman," in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, ed. Jankowski and Gershoni (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997): 105-124. See also Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Sevgilive Ana Olarak Erotik Vatan: Sevmek, Sahiplenmek, Korumak," and Sylvia Walby, "Kadın Ve Ulus" in *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*, ed. Ayşe Gül Altınay (İstanbul: İletişim, 2000).

¹⁶⁶ Zafer Toprak, "The Family, Feminism, and the State During the Young Turk Period, 1908-1918": 448. The women were initiated to take more place outside also as the result of the family morality internalized by CUP where "patriarchalism had to be replaced by partnership within the family because the tenets of the 1908 revolution required "liberty, equality, fraternity". The nuclear family based on partnership was seen as the model family, one that would emerge from and also lead to the emancipation of women.", Ibid: 442.

This was a condition that resulted in a dilemma that, although women were needed outside as the working population, their roles as good housewives and mothers in the house continued much more as the result of pro-natalist policies.

The Turkish Republic took the heritage of the Young Turk Period. And in terms of childrens' periodicals, the domestic roles attributed to the mothers as the ones who would bring up the healthy and morally upright future generations of the nation lay at the background of the gendered interior house which started from the perception of the roles of the daughters at home as tomorrow's housewives.



Cumhuriyet Çocuğu, no. 15 (1938)

ELBİSELER ÜZERİNDE İŞLERİMİZ



Ev hizmetlerimiz arasında en büyük bir kısmı da elbiselerimize karşı olan hizmetlerdir. Bu sayıda size erkek elbiselerine gösterilecek ihtimamdan bahsedeceğiz.

Pantolon: Pantolon ütüsü ve temizliği de bir bilgi işidir. Önce ceplerini tersine çevirerek paça kıvrımlarını açarak toz birikintilerini süpürür ve hepsini birden fırçalarsınız. Bundan sonra pantolonu ütü seccadesinin üzerine arka üstü yatırarak hafif sabunlu bir suya batırılan tülbnđi üzerine yayar, dizlerinin çıkıntısını ütölüyerek yatırarsınız.

In discourse of Turkish modernization, there was no difference between boys and the girls: They were equal, they were both the most important people of the nation-state and under secular education, they would grow up and be dutiful future citizens. But between the lines, a different process was going on. The separation of the private from the public space was paving the way to define the role of girls more at home in the domestic arena than in the world. The daughter of the house had to get used to the roles of modern motherhood from childhood. When we remember the part about the metaphor of the child and the nation, we see that *Erdem* would go to school, learn the duties that the family and the nation-state demanded from her and contribute to her nation under the so perceived organic entity of the nation-state. But she also had to learn her duties to be a morally upright and mature woman and mother who would bring up children in the future. Just like this example shows us, the roles of the girls and boys were being defined on gendered terms which were setting the boundary of the space of activity for girls as future mothers.

Because of that, girls had to learn housework from their childhood and to prepare themselves to be good and dutiful housewives. Şerifsoy, who examines the content of the textbooks on *Family Knowledge (Aile Bilgisi)*, which was oriented towards girls, and *Citizenship Knowledge (Yurttaşlık Bilgisi)* between the years 1928 and 1950, gives interesting examples of this:

Our daughters should exalt their dignity from day to day so that in the future when they become mothers, their children will resemble them. It must also be known that, the children look like their mothers by their morals as well as their physical appearance. The thing you learn today is a prerequisite for the generations after you more than yourself. So, when you carry out your womanhood and motherhood duties, we all construct a strong basis, a basis of humanity linking everyone to each other.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ “Kızlarımız kendilerini günden güne yükseltmeye çalışmalıdırlar ki ileride ana oldukları vakit çocukları kendilerine benzesin. Şunu da bilmelidir ki, çocuklar şekilce olduğu gibi huyca da annelerini andırırlar. Sizin bugün öğrendiğiniz şey kendinizden çok, sizden sonraki çocuklar için lüzumludur. O vakit kadınlık ve analık ödevlerinizi yaparken hepimiz ayrı ayrı ve birbirimize bağlı

It is clear that the daughters were to be given a moral education that would pave the way for dignifying and exalting the Turkish family and in order to continue the order of the family, the mother was to sacrifice a great deal. For the preservation of the order of the family, she had to shut her eyes to the small mistakes of her children and always be lovely to them, she had to be thrifty and had to use domestic goods, she had to be warm, tough, wise, hospitable, modest, thoughtful, morally upright and she had to never behave ill-temperedly to her husband.¹⁶⁸

In this context, the role of the housewife mother was the backbone underlying the preservation of the order of the house. For everything to function well and normal, the mother had to do many things in the house and these were immediately to be taught to the daughters with the help of pieces composed of advice and small lessons about housewifery. In *Çocuk Sesi*, this was provided with advices to girls under the title *Hanım Kız*. Some of the subtitles included under this title in 1934 were; *Ordering the House, How Is a Paper Flower Made?, How To Arrange the Furniture?, How To Clean the Mirror?* and *What Colour for the Walls?, Napkin Ties* (“The elegance of your napkins on the table is one of the things proving how a lady you are”), *How Is Ink Removed and How Is Desert Prepared* and *How Is A*

sağlam bir temel, insanlık temeli atmış oluruz.” Quoted from Pakize İçsel and Nazım İçsel (1937-38), *Aile Bilgisi ve Ev İdaresi, İlkokul IV*, İstanbul: Mürettibiye Basımevi, by Selda Şerifsoy, “Aile Ve Kemalist Modernizasyon Projesi, 1928-1950,” in *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*, ed. Ayşe Gül Altınay (İstanbul: İletişim, 2000): 165. Although not much as girls, the boys were also attributed significance in terms of “Family Knowledge”. For example in an article in *Terbiye* in 1929, it was written that the boys had to be given the class about “Family Knowledge” with the girls as they would be the future fathers of the families and an example from America about the boys taking the class of “Family Knowledge” was given. A.B., “Oğlan Çocuklara Evidaresi Dersi”, *Terbiye*, no: 13, (1929): 22-24.

¹⁶⁸ Quoted from İbrahim Hilmi (1937), *Aile Bilgisi-Ev İdaresi Üzerine Pratik Dersler*. İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi by Şerifsoy, Ibid.: 166. Şerifsoy also reminds us how the family is compared and resembled to a government where the father is the president, the mother is the minister and the children are the subjects. For the narratives from the 1940s about the definition of the separate roles of women, see Hamit Gündoğdu, “Bütün Türk Kızları Gibi, Sarı Efenin Hikayelerinden,” *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 37 (11 September 1943): 12-13; Mahmut Atilla Aykut, “Avrat Yanında Er Ağlamaz,” *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 6 (6 February 1943): 4; Nihal Yalaza Taluy, “Anne Tembel Olursa,” *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 98 (11 November 1944).

*Bundle of Napkins Wrapped? ("You must have seen how your elder sisters and mothers order the linen cupboard tidily by great care. What suits the housewife is cleanliness and order. It is a very bad thing if the napkins are folded haphazardly and their iron is messed up.")*¹⁶⁹

The pieces about teaching housewifery to girls continue in the following years under different subtitles under the title *Family Knowledge (Aile Bilgisi)*.¹⁷⁰ These were not just about the duties of housewifery that the girls should learn from their childhood on; they were also pieces teaching the good posture and modelling the ideal clothes for this ideal posture of a "well-mannered, innocent, warm" girl.¹⁷¹

But these definition of the roles of girls in children's periodicals on gendered terms did not pave the way for a political socialization of gendered hierarchies on their own; they were meaningful as the parts of an ideological process that defined and praised that hierarchy within the issues about nationalism. In other words, the gendered terms in the periodicals as a broad picture of the context were much more visible when taken together with the definition of the roles of the girls in the public arena of the nationalist project where they were perceived just as supporters of brothers and fathers, not as real agents fighting for the the nationalist course. To put

¹⁶⁹ "Ev Düzeltmek, Kağıt Çiçek Nasıl Yapılır, Mobilyaları Nasıl Yerleştirmeli, Aynaları Nasıl Temizlemeli, Duvarları Ne Renge Boyamalı, Peçete Bağları ("Peçetenizin sofrada şık durması hanım olduğunuzu ispat eden şeylerdendir"), Mürekkep Lekesi Nasıl Çıkar, tatlı Nasıl Yapılır, Mendil Bohçası Nasıl Yapılır ("Annenizin, ablanızın bir çamaşır dolabını ne kadar büyük bir dikkat ve intizamla düzelttiğini görmüşsünüzdür. Ev hanımına temizlik ve tertipli olmak yakıştır. Mendillerin rasgele yere tıklıp, ütülerinin bozulması fena bir şeydir.")", Hocanım, "Hanım Kız," *Çocuk Sesi* (1934). For the comparison of the perception of boys and girls, see "Anneniz Parmağına Niçin Evlilik Yüzüğünü Takar?," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 256 (19 November 1934): 8; "Erkek Çocuklar Niçin Kız Çocuklardan Daha Kuvvetlidir?," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 190 (21 August 1933): 14.

¹⁷⁰ "Evin Tertibi-Aile Bilgisi," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 360 (16 November 1936): 17; "Temiz Yoğurt Yapalım, Halıları Nasıl Temizlemeli-Aile Bilgisi," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 361 (23 November 1936): 9; "İpek Çorapları Nasıl Yıkamalı, Ellerin Beyaz Ve Yumuşak Olması İçin," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 363 (7 December 1936): 18.

¹⁷¹ "Kız Arkadaşlara Yaz Tualetleri," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 389 (7 June 1937): 14; "Kızlarımıza Bahar Modelleri," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 378 (22 March 1937); Hadi Fahri Ozansoy, "Kabahat"Te"De!-1 Perdelik Komedi (Kız Çocuklar İçin)," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 311 (9 December 1935): 18-19.

it another way, they were perceived as fighters in the domestic arena of the house. It could only be for the sake of the nation if they were needed outside.

In an operetta by Necdet Rüştü published in *Çocuk Sesi* in 1933, a girl says to her mother that she wants to be a soldier: “Mama let me go/ I’ll join the army, yes I’ll go/I’ll fight the enemies/ I’ll serve my nation.”¹⁷²

Her mother listens to her with patience and love, but then she tries to make her give up her dream by reminding her of real duties: “My dear, give up that kind of a thing! Try to be a good housewife, not a good soldier. A woman who makes a comfortable home from the house to her sisters, brothers, mother, children and husband, already serves her nation just as a man soldier fighting in war.”¹⁷³

But the girl does not listen to her mother and in the following issues, she goes for an health check with some other girls to join the army. And at last they join the army. An interesting dialogue occurs there with a young soldier. The soldier says to the girl: “Your brother is here, your father is here. They are fighting for the homeland. But your grandmother is at home, she is old. She needs your help. Now go home. Cook her soup in this winter day: Don’t let her stay hungry!...Feed her stove, don’t let her be cold...We the men are fighting here. But if we give our lives for the nation and the fighting arena becomes empty, then you and all your friends can come.”¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² “Anneciğim beni bırak, Ben askere gideceğim, Düşmanlarla vuruşarak, Yurda hizmet edeceğim”, Necdet Rüştü, “Mektepli Kızlar Asker Olunca, Mekteplere Mahsus Operet, Necdet Rüştü Beyin (Kadın Asker Olursa..!) isimli Kitabından Mekteplere Mahsus Adapte Edilmiştir.”, *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 209 (25 December 1933): 12-13.

¹⁷³ “Haydi Yavrum! Böyle şeyden vazgeç! Sen iyi bir asker değil, iyi bir ev hanımı olmaya çalış. Evini kardeşlerine, anasına, abasına, çocuğuna rahat bir ocak yapmaya çalışan bir kadın, harbe gitmiş bir erkek kadar vatanına hizmet etmiş demektir”, Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ “Erkek asker: Senin kardeşin burada, baban burada. Vatann için cengediyorlar. Fakat nenen evde o ihtiyardır. Senin yardımına ihtiyacı var. Şimdi eve git. Kış gününde onun sıcak çorbasını pişir: Aç kalmasin!..Ocağını yak, üşümesin..Biz erkekler burada cengediyoruz. Fakat yurt uğrunda canımızı verir de savaş meydanı boş kalırsa, o zaman sen de, bütün arkadaşların da, hepiniz, yurdun bütün

The interesting thing is that, at the end of the operetta we learn that all of it was just a dream. The girl was dreaming all of it; in fact, presenting this narrative as a dream helps the fictive character of women soldiers taking place in the mind of the children. According to this narrative, it could only be a dream, not a reality experienced. And with the help of this dream, the girl arrives at self-realization and the song that the girls sing at the end serve the message of the mother and the soldier more than their words: “Woman and man are not the same/ A great difference exists between them/ Let them go to war/ We will stay here then/ We have a home here/ Who will take care of it then?/ If the Turkish Independence/ is endangered here/ It is that time/ That the women be soldiers/ We have a name here/Who will take care of it then?”¹⁷⁵

As seen above, the girl comes to the right way at the end with self-realization and this is the most encountered style of narrative in the periodicals. The hero or heroine in the narrative under””stands her mistakes herself and “comes to herself” in the end. She understands herself that her place was the home, her real duties are within the boundaries of the sacred home at the end of most of the pieces.

For example, in one of the earlier pieces dated 1930, a little girl wants to make great discoveries, join great adventures, create new things and know the world well. She wants to be a pilot, a girlscout, a poet. She writes all her dreams in a notebook and it is the narrative we read. One day she goes to discover a forest, but she gets very disappointed that there is nothing new in the forest. She falls down, hurts herself, gets lost and so has a very bad day. She gives up many of her dreams as

kadınları buraya gelirsiniz”, Necdet Rüştü, "Mektepli Kızlar Asker Olunca," Çocuk Sesi, no. 211 (8 January 1934): 14-15.

¹⁷⁵ “ ..Erkek, kadın başkadır, büyük fark var arada, onlar harbe gitsinler, biz kalalım burada, bizim bir evimiz var, sonra ona kim bakar, tehlikede kalırsa, Türk istiklali eğer, işte kadınlar olur, ancak o zaman asker, bizim bir adımız var, sonra ona kim bakar?” Ibid.

she gets disappointed and she also gets sad that her mother is ill and as her sister is small, she has to take care of the house. In this period, she arrives at a self-realization too and learns her place very well:

“My mother has got better now. Now I have given myself to reading and writing. I am learning my lessons. I am sewing..I am dressing up my dolls. I am taking care of the kitchen. Well, I am starting to be just a little lady. I don’t have any complaints now. These things that I do are more attractive. Today my mother saw what I have written and she said: -Don’t be sad. Maybe you can not be a famous person as you want. But if you do all these small daily duties everyday and be good and hardworking at keeping the house, be sure that tomorrow everybody will praise you. If you listen to me, believe me that this is the secret of happiness my sacred child!”¹⁷⁶

Interestingly, the adventure and journey narratives about far away lands presented to the children in the periodicals seem to be written just for the imagination of little boys. Because although the adventure and the ideals of making discoveries were important metaphors for progress and enlightenment as we have seen in the second chapter, in fact these ideals in real life could only be true for boys. The girls should not dream of making discoveries in the world; their vision had to stay more bounded. If they tried to do these “tragic flaws” and left home to discover the world, they would not be successful, they would collapse metaphorically, just as the girl in the above story fell down and hurt herself in the “unknown” world of the forest.

But there was one exception. In normal conditions, the girls in the narratives mostly arrived at the self-realization that their homes were more important than anything else. But, if the issue was about the appraisal of the Turkish nation, the boundaries were cancelled in favour of this. In another children’s play in *Çocuk Sesi*

¹⁷⁶ “Annem yavaş yavaş kendine geldi. Ben de şimdi kendimi okumaya, yazmaya verdim. Derslerimi öğreniyorum..Dikiş dikiyorum..Bebeklerimi giydiriyorum...Mutfak işlerine bakıyorum. Hasılı, tam bir küçük hanım olmağa başladım. Artık şikayetim yok..Bunlar beni daha çok sarıyor. Bu gün annem elimde defterimi gördü. Ben de ona yazdıklarımı okudum..Ne kadar sevindi. Güllümsiyerek alımdan öptü ve kısım dinle dedi-üzülme, belki istediğin kadar meşhur bir isim olamazsın! Fakat her gün küçük gördüğün bu işleri yapar ve dikkatli, hamarat bir kız olursan emin ol ki bugün ve yarın herkes seni alkışlar. Ve hem de beni dinlersen, inan ki saadetin sırrı budur aziz yavrum!...”M. Murat, "Büyük İşler Yapacağım, Bir Küçük Kızın Defterinden," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 32 (6 February 1930): 7.

in 1935, a rich girl named Yıldız, having received a foreign education from foreign teachers abroad, returns to Turkey and at first starts to praise Europe to her friends.¹⁷⁷ She is shown as a superficial girl lacking national consciousness. Her nationalist friends in Turkey, who accuse the “snakelike” foreign teachers of washing the brain of Yıldız, find her words praising the places in Europe meaningless. They compare the places that Yıldız describe to them in Europe and say that in every case, they would choose to go and discover the lands of Turkey, especially Ankara first. They leave and when Yıldız stays alone behind, she arrives at a self-realization and travels alone to Ankara to find her friends and learn the city’s history.

As we see, Yıldız is able to travel alone to Ankara, without needing to get the permission of her parents because she is carrying out a very dignified duty by wondering about her homeland and trying to learn its history. She is able to travel alone and make discoveries about her homeland for the nationalist cause; otherwise her parents would probably not let her go in real life.

Good Manners and Etiquette For Children

The above examples shows us that the moral education of girls in the children’s periodicals was consistent with their future roles as mothers targeted by the nationalist modernization project. According to the periodicals, they would be the backbone of the preservation of the physical and moral order of the house, which was so significant for the welfare of the nation as all the families served to keep society tight as an organic entity. The interior house and the roles of the father, the mother and the children in the house were not immune from the state. Just like the father

¹⁷⁷ Muallim İsmail Hakkı, "Ankara Yolcuları-Ulus, Küçük Operet: 3 Perde, Okul Temsillerinden," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 271 (4 March 1935): 8-9.

pictured in a man's suit in the domestic arena of the house shows us, the house was not isolated from the state and free from control. The life-style of the Republican father and mother in the house, their perceptions about each other and their children's roles in the narratives are very significant in terms of highlighting the mainstream perception about the family and its living arena. Because this will illuminate both the gendered hierarchies in the house as well as the hegemonic class practices of the middle-class family.

We now turn to domesticity and the education of children about good manners which will focus attention more to the class conflict taking place in the Republican idealization of the middle-class family and child. While the middle-class child and its manners is idealized, the vagrant child in the street is objectified.

The normal behaviour that is expected from children is generally presented in the periodicals in the form of advice and educational materials and as hidden in the messages of stories which show children who do not obey their parents as making tragic mistakes.

When we look at the nature of pieces in the periodicals about good manners and etiquette rules to be taught to children, we see that most of them are about idealized behaviours that should be followed at home and outside. Below are some examples from a list of good manners to be followed in 1938 in *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*:

1. When you wake up in the morning, the first thing you must do is to go to the washbasin and clean yourself. Then go and get dressed. Go to the room where your family meets after getting dressed in order. When going inside, greet everyone by saying "Good morning, Mother dear, good morning, Father dear, good morning Sister/Brother dear."

8. Both at breakfast and at other meals, sit down after the adults and sit wherever they show you to sit.

11. Both in the morning before going to school and in the evening when you return home, ask your mother if there is anything that she would like you to do or to get from outside before focusing on your

studies or games. This desire of you to help your mother strengthens your mother's love for you.

18. Whenever you see or you are informed by your parents that it is time to go to bed, go to your room saying "good evening" without complaining, even if you are not sleepy. You must get used to living a daily life that is planned from your childhood on.¹⁷⁸

These rules target and idealize a child that is both a lovely and tidy, obedient to his parents and other adults, who always want the best for him. As we see from the rules above, the love of the mother is perceived as something conditional. Up to now, we have seen the figure of the sacred mother living for her children and sacrificing a lot from herself and trying to educate her children by guiding from behind. But in these rules, the mother is described more as a tough and disciplined figure whose love is conditional on the behaviours of her children.

This ideal child never deviates from the Republican ideals as long as he continues to live a planned life in which he knows where to study, where to play, where to talk and when to keep silent. There is another dilemma here. It is interesting that although most of the comic pieces in the periodicals up to the 1940s praise wise children who are active, social in behaviour and in speech as seen from the caricatures in the front pages, the etiquette praise silence and passivity for children between the lines. These children in the pictures make jokes to their parents and are

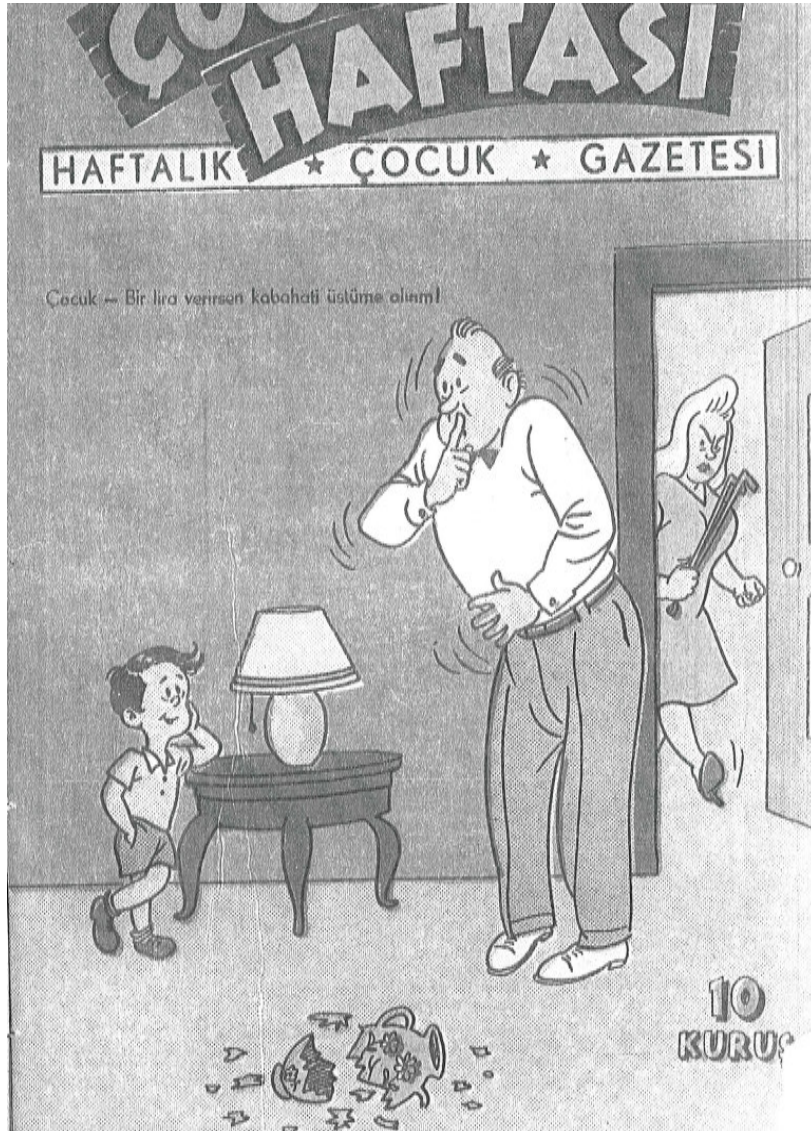
¹⁷⁸ "1- Her sabah yataktan kalkınca her şeyden önce musluk başına koşarak temizce yıkanınız. Sonra gidip giyiniz. Ailenizin sabah toplandığı odaya temizlendikten ve giyindikten sonra gidiniz. İçeri girerken (Günaydın anneciğim, günaydın babacığim, günaydın kardeşim) diye selam veriniz...

8- Gerek kahvaltıda, gerek başka yemek zamanlarında yemek masasına her zaman büyüklerinizden sonra ve size gösterilen yere oturunuz.

11- Gerek sabahleyin okula gitmeden önce ve gerek akşam döndükten sonra kendi işlerinize, oyunlarınıza başlamadan önce annelerinize (bana yaptıracağınız bir işiniz, dışarıdan aldırılacak bir şeyiniz var mı anneciğim?) diye mutlaka sorunuz. Bu yardım yapma istekleriniz annelerinizin size karşı olan sevgisini kuvvetlendirir.

18- Yatma saatinizin geldiğini gördüğünüz veya size haber verildiği zaman büyüklerinize tünaydın diyerek onları üzmeden uykunuz olmasa bile hemen yatak odalarınıza giderek yataңыз. Programlı yaşamaya daha küçükten alışmalısınız.", "Sosyal Hayat Bilgileri, Evde Ve Aile İçinde," Cumhuriyet Çocuğu, no. 17 (1938): 293.

pictured as very sympathetic and wise children who are good at giving quick replies and making their parents laugh or surprised with their cunning. But in fact, when we look at the definition of good manners, we see that these rules target a child whose image is just a silhouette and who doesn't talk much. The child envisioned in these rules is more a silent, passive and obedient figure opposed to the more confident and assertive children in the pictures.



Çocuk Haftası, no. 181 (15 June 1946)

NO.179

1 HAZİRAN
1946

ÇOCUK HAFTASI

HAFTALIK * ÇOCUK * GAZETESİ



Öğretmen — İki kere iki 5 değil,
4 eder.

Çocuk — Aman öğretmenim,
böyle küçük şeyler
için çekilecek değı-
liz ya... Öyle olsun!

Çocuk Haftası, no. 179 (1 June 1946)

The other important thing is that, the child as an object to be filled with good behaviour, is objectified for the promotion of the modern image of the Republican daily life the production of which is sought everyday by the daily aristocratic patterns that had proceeded parallel to the route of Europeanization since the nineteenth century. The most important space for this had been eating habits.

64. When you get inside the dining room and sit down at the table, do not look around and try to learn what will be eaten during the meal. Do not ask anything. Otherwise they will call you greedy and a thief.

65. Do not rush when you sit down at the table. First wait for the adults to open their napkins and get ready for dinner. Then you too can open your napkin carefully and silently and get ready for dinner.

66. When you start, eat your food slowly with a smiling face. Never sit with a sullen and low-spirited face at the dining table.¹⁷⁹

Looking at the rules for meal times, we see that the focus of the concept and atmosphere of the “dining-table” is very strong. The dining table is arranged as a space with its own modern atmosphere for the nuclear Republican family. The father, the mother and the children sit around it according to a planned daily life and its rules and this image feeds the reproduction of the visualization of the modern family between the 1930s and 1950s whose roots were embedded in the transformations that were taking place especially in the twentieth century. According to what Behar and Duben say, the middle classes were hit by the process of Europeanization in dining habits such as eating on a dining table in a fixed meal time in the early 20th century.

¹⁷⁹ “64- Yemek odasına girdiğiniz ve masa başına oturduğunuz zaman etrafa acele göz gezdirerek ne yemekler bulunduğunu öğrenmeye kalkışmayınız. Hiçbir şey sormayınız. Sonra size aç gözlü ve hırsız derler.

65- Masaya oturduktan sonra hiç acele etmeyiniz. Önce büyükleriniz peçetelerini açsınlar ve hazırlansınlar. Sonra siz de sessizce ve dikkatli olarak peçetenizi açar ve yemek için hazırlanırsınız.

66- Yemeğe başlandıktan sonra neşeli bir yüzle yemeğinizi ağır ağır yeyiniz. Yemek masası başında neşesiz ve asık bir suratla sakın durmayınız.”, “Yemek Masası Başında,” *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* 1, no. 26 (1938): 471.

In the traditional Ottoman home of the nineteenth century, there was no set, regular mealtimes and “ regardless of class, the family dined crouching around a large tray (*sini*) set in the centre of what was, at least for those other than the elite, a multi-functional room. In upper-echelon families men and women might dine separately. There was no dining room, nor was there a dining table; hands or spoons rather than knives and forks were the eating implements, and food was eaten directly from the dishes in which it was served”¹⁸⁰

When we remember the pictures in the front pages of the periodicals, we see that the living space of the family is a living room where the mother, the father and the children spend their time together. There is also a separate space or room for the dining table which has its own rules, as seen above. The Ottoman urban houses with multi-functional rooms based on gender segregation as the harem and *selamlık* throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries¹⁸¹ were transformed and as the harem left its place to the living room and the *selamlık* to the reception room, new rules and arrangements in the household space emerged although not in a linear fashion. As Özbay explains,

“During the Republican period in particular, officers and civil servants perceived the adoption of Western lifestyles as an indication of loyalty to the new political system. However, İstanbul households took up the use of Western furnishings in a rather eclectic and piecemeal fashion. Armchairs were the first to be adopted and were put, as might be expected, into the most public room, the masculine *selamlık*. Soon such features became widespread status symbols for upper-middle and middle-class households. However, the adoption of dining tables took longer, for the traditional order of the house did not change radically with just the adoption of armchairs in the *selamlık*. Household members did not have to sit in these armchairs, which were mainly used for guests, and it was difficult to shift dining habits, learned in

¹⁸⁰ Duben and Behar, *Istanbul Households : Marriage, Family, and Fertility, 1880-1940*: 206-210.

¹⁸¹ Ferhunde Özbay, "Gendered Space: A New Look at Turkish Modernisation," *Gender&History* 11, no. 3 (1999): 558.

childhood, which involved eating while sitting on the floor or off portable mats.”¹⁸²

The pictures in the front pages of the periodicals as seen above show that, the image of the dining room, dining table and living room had already been popularized and idealized as belonging to the standard middle-class Republican nuclear family life-style. This life-style required new etiquette and these rules were in harmony with upper-middle class aristocratic sensitivities, as seen from the rich dining table, the separate plates, forks, knives and the smartly dressed father and mother of the family.

These idealized good manners and etiquette were not bounded with the interior household space. The aristocratic sensitivities of the idealized Republican family were also valid for the street. Interestingly, the etiquette rules thought for the outer space paved the way for the conception of “street children” to be emphasized more in the periodicals versus children living as the “dear sons and daughters of Republican families”:

27. Do not stand for long in front of shop windows and cinemas, particularly not in front of the shops selling food. Otherwise, they will call you shameless.

29. Never jump or hang onto the trams by taking street children as a model. Do not run after cars or trucks.

30. Do not make fun of poor and mentally disabled people in the street when you meet by chance, do not try to make them angry. You must help as much as you can people in this condition.¹⁸³

¹⁸² Ibid: 560.

¹⁸³ 27. *Dükkan, mağaza, sinema vitrinleri önünde uzun zaman durmayınız. Hele yiyecek satan yerlerin vitrinleri önünde hiçbir zaman durmayınız. Sonra size arsız derler.*

29. *Sokak çocuklarından örnek alarak hiçbir zaman tramvaylara atlamayınız, arkasına asılmayınız. Otomobil, kamyon gibi taşıma araçlarının arkasına takılmayınız.*

30. *Sokaklarda, mahallelerde rastladığınız bazı zavallı akıl hastası insanlarla hiçbir zaman eğlenmeyiniz, onları kızdırmayınız. Böyle zavallı kimselere elden geldiği kadar yardım etmelisiniz., "Sokakta," Cumhuriyet Çocuğu 1, (1938): 373.*

As seen, the warnings written for children in the periodical target a particular child as its reader and objectifies another particular child as its object in the piece. It becomes more visible that a particular group of children perceived as the readers of the periodicals were the ones with whom the writers in the periodicals were trying to establish a dialogue. That dialogue was oriented towards children who were definitely not “street children.” Because, the so-called street children were only taken as objects to warn the reader, middle-class children of Republican families were not to behave like them. Between the lines there is the abstraction that a group of children were the readers to whom all etiquette were being explained, and that there was also a group of children that those reader children were to avoid.

Interestingly, the Republican social policies included the integration of homeless children through charity and social control. But the metaphors in the periodicals show us that although the conception and promotion of charity existed in the periodicals due to the “child question” of the Republican period, this was not immune to the reproduction of a duality between the integrated middle-class children buying and reading the periodicals and others living on the street. The children living on the street were sometimes shown as vagrant, naughty and morally degenerated children, as seen in the above example, where the source of bad manners is “street children”, sometimes shown as objects needing the mercy of the adults, or as little heroes who managed their lives with good morals in their childhood and became successful in the end, as will be seen in Kemalettin Tuğcu’s stories in the following chapter.

And the Summer Comes: Children of Beaches and Camping

This dilemma of the duality in the periodicals between the middle-class Republican children living with their nuclear families in warm houses due to good manners and etiquette and reading their periodicals comfortably and “street children” living outside either as the objects of bad manners or vice versa as objects of success stories shows us that although the Republican ideology claimed that all the children were equally the future of the nation, those living in warm houses under the watch of their enlightened parents were “more equal” as they were more inside the Republican vision of the nation.



Yavrutürk, no. 271 (5 July 1941)

In the summer of 1937 *Çocuk Sesi* published a poll and asked its readers their plans for the summer holiday. The answers and the socio-economic background of the writers were very similar to each other:

1. A plentiful calorise, sleep, sports and making open air fun for my health.
2. Strengthening my general knowledge by reading worthwhile and lucrative pieces like *Çocuk Sesi*
3. Always winning the struggle for life by being ready all the time through compensating for my deficiencies.” By *Cavit Topakoğlu, the brother of Isparta 10. Region Land Forces Infantry Regiment Lieutenant Cemal*,¹⁸⁴

Eventually I graduated by passing the examination that I was afraid of so much. Now my only aim is to discover my country, Africa and Australia. The only way to make these discoveries is to be a pilot. So, with the help of my mom and dad, I will be a pilot and fly on the horizons of my country for the nation’s sake and at times for my own pleasure. By *351 Demir Işık, student of Etimes’ut Boarding School*¹⁸⁵,

I will pass my time by reading the volumes of *Afacan* and *Çocuk Sesi* that I have collected with great pleasure up to now under the calm shadows of trees in this holiday which is a gift for me as a result of my nine month tiredness from my studies. By *Lami Ataman from İstanbul Galatasaray High School*¹⁸⁶,

I and my friends thought about going camping for this holiday. We are going to do it on the green slopes looking over the sea at Pendik. Reading the issues of *Çocuk Sesi* under the beautiful calm shadows of pine trees makes us the happiest people in the world. Come on then to the sea! And long live camp life! By *Turanb Üstünel, son of N. Okçu*¹⁸⁷,

¹⁸⁴ 1. Sıhhatim için bol kalori, uyku, spor, açık hava eğlenceleri yapmak

2. *Çocuk Sesi* gibi faydalı ve kazançlı eserler okuyarak umumi bilgimi kuvvetlendirmek

3. Gelecek yıla hazır olmak için noksanlarımı takviye ile hayat mücadelesinde her zaman galip çıkmaktır. *Isparta Piyade alayı BL. 10. K. V. Tğm. Cemal kardeşi Cavit Topakoğlu* "Tatilde Ne Yapmak Fikrindesiniz? Anketine Gelen Cevaplar," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 392 (28 June 1937).

¹⁸⁵ “Çok korktuğum sınav sonunda iyi derecede mezun oldum. Şimdi yegane emelim yurdumu, Afrikayı, Avustralya’yı gezmek ve tanımaktır. Bu gezileri yapmak için de tek çare tayyareci olmaktır. İşte babamın ve annemin yardımı ile tayyareci olup yurdumun nihayetsiz ufuklarında ulusun, icabında zevkim için uçacağım.”, Etimesgut yatı okulu öğrencilerinden S. 5 no. 351 H. Demir Işık. Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ “Çok yorulduğum dokuz aylık çalışmanın hediyesi olan bu üç aylık tatilimi, Pendikte serin gölgeli ağaçların altında şimdiye kadar pek severek biriktirdiğim *Afacan* ve *Çocuk Sesi* ciltlerimi karıştırarak okuyacağım..”, İstanbul: *Galatasaray Lisesi Lami Ataman, Çocuk Sesi*, no. 394 (12 July 1937).

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

I will pass my holiday time swimming amply at our house by the sea in Bebek.¹⁸⁸ *By Günsel Nugay from İstanbul,*

1. Getting up early in the morning and doing physical exercise and after breakfast, studying German and other lessons for two hours.
2. Reading *Çocuk Sesi*, *Afacan* and a novel for two hours and then fishing and bathing in the river.
3. Sleeping after lunch and after that going to green areas with the lamb that my father gave to me. Sitting there under calm shade and reading my dear *Çocuk Sesi* while listening to the lambs. After that, playing football.¹⁸⁹ *By Kemal Güvenli from İstanbul,*

I am going to the Suadiye Family Club that will be opened on the sixteenth of August.¹⁹⁰ *By Aydın Bil.,*

After finishing my camp that will continue for 20 days, I will go to a village and have fun in the sea after 15 minutes exercise in the morning.¹⁹¹ *By Ekrem from İstanbul Şişli Terakki High School.*

Whether or not the answers above belong to the children themselves or to their families writing to the periodical in their names or to the editor familiar to the general aura of the reader profile; these answers give important clues about the socio-economic and cultural background of the readers of the periodicals. These children generally belonged to middle-class families, with educated parents whose idea of holiday was a summer camp where their sons and daughters could learn to plan their lives and learn when to play and when to study. For a literate Republican family, making children learn to live a planned daily life was an important feature as they had to be educated about this from their childhood on. If the children cared about

¹⁸⁸ “*Tatili Bebek’te deniz kenarındaki evimizde bol, bol denize girmekle geçireceğim..*” *İst. Günsel Nugay, Çocuk Sesi*, no. 399 (19 July 1937).

¹⁸⁹ “*1- sabahleyin erkenden kalkıp idman yapmak ve kahvaltudan sonra 2 saat almanca ve diğer derslere çalışmak. 2-İki saat Çocuk Sesi, Afacan mecmuaları ve roman okumak, sonra ırmak boylarında olta ile balık tutmak ve yıkanmak. 3-Öğle yemeğinden sonra uyumak ve ondan sonra babnın aldığı kuzu arkama takıp kırlarda gütmek, püfür püfür esen rüzgarın karşısına oturup kuzuların melemelerini dinleyerek biricik Çocuk Sesini okumak ve sonra top oynamak.*” *İst. Kemal Güvenli, Çocuk Sesi*, no. 399 (16 August 1937).

¹⁹⁰ “*Ağustosun 16 sında açılacak olan Suadiye aile kampına gideceğim..*” *Kurtuluş Cad. Hıdır apt. kat 4. Aydın Bil. ,Çocuk Sesi*, no. 400 (23 August 1937).

¹⁹¹ “*20 gün süren kampımı bitirdikten sonra bir köye çekilerek sabahları 15 dakikalık bir idmanda sonra denizde eğlenmek...*” *İst. Şişli Terakki Lisesi Ekrem. , Ibid.*

their studies, learning a foreign language, keeping their bodies healthy and reading in the summer time too, their time would not be useless but would be fruitful and functional for their future. Summer time continued to be a time for performance for middle-class children, whose mostly literate families cared a lot about giving their children a qualified and modern education embedded in well organized schedules oriented toward both the mind and body.

But the appraisal of camp life was not only a sign of the Republican sensitivity about proper education for the progress of the mind and the body. It was in fact a sign of the Republican vision and perception of “holiday”, which paves the way for an evaluation of the hegemonic daily class codes of the particularly and mostly literate Republican middle-class between the 1930s and 1950s. In one of the issues of *Yavrutürk* in 1938, a question was asked: “What is a camp? What is it good for? Have you ever been to a camp?...Would want to go to the summer house with your family or to a camp with your friends? Why?”¹⁹² This question is not a broad one. It does not offer children many answers, but just two: Either going to the summer house of the family or to a summer camp. To ask a question like this, we must expect from the writer that he perceived he was asking this question to a group of children who surely had summer houses. He definitely was not asking this question to those “poor” or “homeless” children as in Kemalettin Tuğcu’s stories to which I will refer later. There were just two options. And these two options were both in the space of a particular middle-class life-style where the prior needs were afforded so that thinking about summer holiday was not a luxury and the family already owned a private property such as a summer house. So, between the lines, the writers were trying to establish a dialogue with those children who had the option of

¹⁹² “Kamp nedir? Ne faydası vardır? Siz hiç kampa gittiniz mi?...Ailenizle birlikte yazlığa mı gitmeyi istersiniz, yoksa okul arkadaşlarınızla birlikte kampa gitmeği mi? Niçin?”, “Hayat Ve Tabiat,” *Yavrutürk*, no. 120 (13 August 1938): 234.

either going to a summer house or to a summer camp. In short, the subjects that they targeted were children like those we have seen in the front pages of the periodicals: children living with their modern parents in warm apartment flats. Poor children were only to be watched to be felt compassion for in the children's periodicals.

Also, as seen from the letters, some of the children lived in houses near the sea in Bebek or Suadiye so that they could go to the sea to swim everyday. In other letters that are not included here, a significant proportion of them attended schools like Şişli Terakki, Galatasaray and İstanbul High School, which targeted a small population of economically and culturally elite families.

But what is more interesting is that, in other children's letters written to the periodicals especially for the reward campaigns that were significant for the the popularity of the periodicals, as seen in *Yavrutürk*,¹⁹³ the children or their families signed the letters and identified themselves with the job of the father or the brother who was working as a civil servant, as a teacher or as a soldier under the auspices of the state. Once more it becomes more visible that there was a high proportion of middle-class children of civil servants, soldiers, teachers, bankers and private investors reading these periodicals more than any others in lower ranks of the society between the 1930s and 1940s. These letters also what kind of child was inside the Republican vision of the writers, in fact, the Republican intelligentsia in the

¹⁹³ *Yavrutürk*, which was published between 1936 and 1942 and included 10 big child novels, 20 long stories, 170 illustrated stories, 124 stories, 32 tales, 132 short stories, 12 stories written in verse, 62 poems, 153 caricatures, 198 life-nature and history-geography writings, 27 articles, 3 dramas and 21 tables inside its 1268 pages in its first two years, distributed many rewards from books to annuals and maps to 8500 children as a result of puzzles. From *Yavrutürk*, it becomes easier to follow the popularity campaigns and the profile of the readers which was also published in cities in Anatolia such as Tokat, Kars and Diyarbakır, too. *Yavrutürk* sent the rewards to readers in Anatolia by post but readers from İstanbul went to the printing house and received their rewards themselves on Saturday and Wednesday afternoons: “*Yavrutürk ciltleri birer hazinedir. Şimdiye kadar 1268 sayfada 10 büyük çocuk romanı, 20 uzun hikaye, 170 resimli, hikaye, 124 hikaye, 32 masal, 132 küçük hikaye, 12 manzum hikaye, 62 şiir, 153 karikatür, 198 hayat-tabiat ve tarih-coğrafya yazısı, 27 makale, 3 piyes ve 21 tablo vermiştir*”, “*Yavrutürk İki Yılda 8500 Kişiyi Kıymetli Bilmece Hediye Hediye Dağıttı*”, *Yavrutürk* 5, no. 106 (7 May 1938): 18.

periodicals and whom the periodicals targeted as the real subject-readers. Some of the reader-children whose names were published in the list of reward winners or readers' letters had signed their letters as such:

Nihal Arkayın, the daughter of Aydın Turkish Air Institution (*Aydın Türk Hava Kurumu Başkanı Kızı Nihal Arkayın*),¹⁹⁴

Hulki Arısoy, the son of Malatya Railway Station Chief (*Malatya Gar Şefi oğlu Hulki Arısoy*),¹⁹⁵

Suna, the daughter of Beykoz Post-Telegraph-Telephone Civil Servant H. Akgül (*Beykoz, P.T.T Memuru H.Akgül Kızı Suna*),¹⁹⁶
Rıza Dilmener, by the hand of his brother, Turkish Agriculture Bank Accountant (*T.C. Ziraat Bankası Muhasibi Elile Kardeşi Rıza Dilmener*)¹⁹⁷

Ömer Sayılı, the son of Diyarbakır People's House Director (*Diyarbakır Halk Evi Müdürü Süleyman Sayılıoğlu Ömer Sayılı*),¹⁹⁸

Şecaattin Tüzenen, the son of Haydar Tüzenen, Nazilli Head of the State Tax and Finance Office (*Nazilli Mal Müdürü Haydar Tüzenen Oğlu Şecaattin Tüzenen*),¹⁹⁹

Hasan Akbud, the son of Trabzon Dentist Kemal (*Trabzon Diş Tabibi Kemal oğlu Hasan Akbud*)²⁰⁰ and

Nermin Işık, the daughter of the Secretary of Public Prosecutor Hilmi Işık (*Zonguldak E. Müddei Umumisi Katibi Hilmi Işık Kızı Nermin Işık*).²⁰¹

¹⁹⁴ *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 395 (19 July 1937).

¹⁹⁵ "Hatıra Albümünde Resmi Çıkanlar," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 391 (21 June 1937).

¹⁹⁶ "111. Sayımızdan Hediye Kazananlar," *Yavrutürk* 5, no. 115 (9 July 1938): 163.

¹⁹⁷ "113. Sayımızdan Hediye Kazananlar: Birer Yavrutürk Yıllığı Kazananlar," *Yavrutürk*, no. 117 (23 July 1938): 191.

¹⁹⁸ "Muhtelif Hediye Kazananlar," *Yavrutürk*, no. 119 (6 August 1938): p. 223. In this issue, we also see a sign: "Çorlu, the apprentice İbrahim Öztürk by the hand of shoemaker Münir." It seems that a child apprentice of a shoemaker was also following the issues of *Yavrutürk*, but this does not reflect the general reader profile. As we see, the general profile is composed of mostly children of civil servants from middle and upper ranks.

¹⁹⁹ "116. Sayımızdan Hediye Kazananlar," *Yavrutürk*, no. 120 (13 August 1938): 234.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

As seen from the names and jobs above, the reader children generally belonged to a particular middle-class background where the fathers of the families identified themselves by their place under the auspices of the Republican administration. When combined with the interior-space of the houses shown in the front pictures as modernized middle-class flats owned by those Republican nuclear families where the mother, the father and the children have definite roles and the etiquette rules and warnings about a fictive Republican morality is a mainstream Republican ideology in homes with the perception of families and children about their free time during holidays, these letters offer a broader socio-economic and cultural picture of the ideal Republican nuclear family whose clean, tidy, hardworking children living in a daily comfortable order are the real subjects targeted by the writers in the periodicals. Poor and homeless children were just being watched from the inside. The middle-class children were just “looking at” and “reading” about them.

CHAPTER IV

THE ONES BEING WATCHED AND READ ABOUT:

VISIBILITY OF POVERTY IN CHILDREN'S PERIODICALS IN 1940S

*"If a poor child comes and requests your book/Never, but never refuse him, give him your book/He can read, he can study as everyone then/ It is shameful to be stingy, but everyone praises generosity../If a poor child comes and requests your fruit/ Think then: Well-fed people must help the hungry ones!../The poor, helpless child must have felt appetite for it, do not drag him with you/ Do not eat all of it, give him a piece of your fruit!../Never annoy the poor people/ Give them what they request, make them smile!/But: If somebody comes and wants your homeland,/ In no way give your homeland, even give him a severe thrashing, moreover kill him!.."*²⁰²

The Turkish child is warmhearted.

The Turkish child loves honesty.

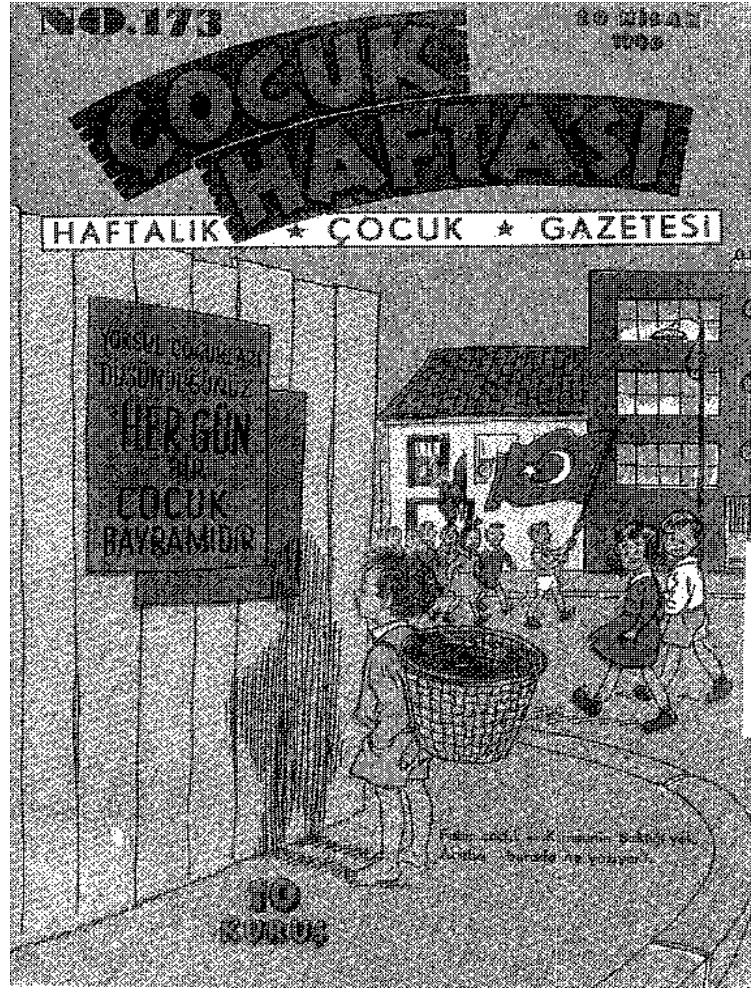
The Turkish child wishes goodness.

The Turkish child feels himself indebted and responsible for helping his poor friends.

O, the Turkish child reading these lines!Do not ever forget to show your warm heart, your honesty and your wish of goodness to the poor

²⁰² Bir fakir çocuk gelip kitabını isterse,/Sakın ha: "Olmaz.."deye, geriye çevirme, ver!/O da biraz okusun, o da çalışsın derse,/Hasislik fena şeydir! Cömerdi herkes sever!../Bir fakir çocuk gelip, isterse yemişinden,/Düşün ki: Tok olanlar yardım etmeli aç!../Zavallı imrenmiştir, sürükleme peşinden,/Hepsini kendin yeme; ver ona da bir parça!../Sen fakir olanların sakın sıkma canını,/İstediklerini ver, mutlak yüzünü güldür!/Fakat: Biri gelip te isterse vatanını,/Ona kat'iiyen verme, hatta tepele, öldür!..., Necdet Rüştü, "Ver!-Verme!..." Çocuk Sesi, no. 248 (24 September 1934): 5.

*in Bayram...Do not forget that you feel responsible for helping the poor.*²⁰³



Çocuk Haftası, no. 173 (20 April 1946)

Until this point the discussion has focused on the target population of the children's periodicals, the children of middle-class Republican intelligentsia, mostly composed of bureaucrats, civil servants, teachers, soldiers and private investors working hand in hand with the state. These families could afford to buy their children the periodicals every week, both because of their socio-economic status and the

²⁰³ "Türk Çocuğu Yüksek Kalplidir/Türk Çocuğu Mertliği Sever, Türk Çocuğu İyiliği Özler/Türk Çocuğu Yoksul Arkadaşlarına Yardımı Kendine Borç Bilir/Ey Bu satırları Okuyan Türk Çocuğu, bayramda yoksullara yüksek kalbini göstermeyi, mert olduğunu, iyiliği özlediğini, yoksul arkadaşlarına yardımı kendine borç bildiğini unutma... "Şeker Bayramınız Kutlu Olsun," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 313 (23 December 1935): 3.

importance they attributed to daily education in addition to the school for the progress of the nation.

These children were always pictured as warm, humorous and shining individuals who were wise and mature for their age. The front pages of *Yavrutürk* and *Çocuk Haftası* usually featured pictures and caricatures where these children living in middle-class flats with their parents, were playing, studying or making wise jokes, and often reading the periodicals at that moment. As noted above, the discourse in the periodicals between the lines paved the way for an abstraction of a flexible duality made up of two groups of children: Those belonging to the middle-class, with all the etiquette rules and appraisal of good manners in their household, and the division of labour particular to the Republican nuclear family in modern houses, and those perceived as “street children,” “homeless children,” “poor children” who were definitely not the target population, but the objects who were just read about in some stories in the periodicals by those middle-class children. The readers either felt pity for them, as in Kemalettin Tuğcu’s stories, or denigrated them as “vagrant street children.” Before looking at the examples of how poor children were objectified in the periodicals as the other side of the coin, we should mention how the broader question of poverty took place in the children’s periodicals, as the perception of “poor children” is not immune from the perception of the broader question about poverty.

The discourse of poverty in children’s literature was not new as the question of poverty had been a social concern for the Republican military officers, bureaucrats and intellectuals since the establishment of the Republic, which was born to hard economic conditions devastated by war. The efforts to create a national economy and a national bourgeoisie together with the policies for industrialization under an open

economy had paved the way for a strong economic recovery until the 1929 World Depression when conditions became harder due to the sharp decline in the prices of agricultural commodities and the solution was found in protectionist policies and etatism.²⁰⁴ But, “the reliance on protectionism and the resulting rents of scarcity as the driving force of industrialization, coupled with the fact that real wages did not exceed their 1914 levels despite considerable growth in the urban economy, suggests that not only the rural-urban differences but also the inequalities within the urban economy may have increased during the 1930s.”²⁰⁵ So, poverty was an important social issue in the context of the 1930s and the hard economic conditions in daily life through children were also reflected in the novels published in the 1930s.²⁰⁶

The discourse of poverty became more visible in the children’s periodicals from the end of the 1930s towards the 1940s and this situation was embedded in the socio-economic context of the Second World War. As Pamuk and Owen estimate, even Turkey had not entered the Second World War, there was a full-scale mobilization during war years and as imports had declined sharply and the maintenance of the army required a great amount of financial power, there had been a huge burden on the sectors of industry and agriculture. This condition paved the way for a sharp decrease in GDP until 1945 and this was very dramatic as it stood at 35 percent compared to pre-war level.

Without the importation of raw materials, intermediate goods, and machinery, earlier levels of production could not be sustained. Manufacturing industry output declined by more than 35 percent between 1939 and 1945. With the spread of bottlenecks and shortages, black markets thrived, and stockpiling and profiteering spread. Under

²⁰⁴ Roger Owen and Şevket Pamuk, "Turkey, 1918-1945," in *A History of the Middle East Economies in the Twentieth Century* (1998): 16.

²⁰⁵ Ibid: 28.

²⁰⁶ See for a summary of “poor child heroes” in the novels of 1930s: Alev Sinar, *Hikaye Ve Romanımızda Çocuk (1872-1950)* (İstanbul: ALFA, 1997): 48-55.

these circumstances, the government was forced to abandon earlier plans for new investments in manufacturing industry. Another reason for the abandonment of etatism was financial. Wartime expenditures could not be met with the existing revenues, and the budget deficits began to be financed by printing money. The result was spiraling inflation, which accelerated the decline in the standard of living of the great majority of the urban population.²⁰⁷

The wartime economic conditions since the beginning of the 1940s had deteriorated and this was visible in children's stories, especially about children being forced to work at early ages in *Çocuk Haftası* that started to be published in 1943 by Tahsin Demiray in Türkiye Publishing House.

In fact, the issue of "poor children" is an integral part of the "child question" of the Republic, which is a broad social issue that includes concerns as summarized by Libal: high infant and child mortality rates, a large number of orphaned, abandoned and poor children, malnourishment and disease, child labor, homelessness, begging, child abuse and abandonment, child prostitution and delinquency.²⁰⁸ As she continues, the task of reconstruction belonged to both state agencies and private associations throughout the 1920s. In 1930s, there were new bends in child question due to the hard conditions with the onset of the Global Depression:

according to those working in the government and many professional elites, such social problems as child poverty and infant mortality were to be met partly by state-funded projects in health and social welfare and partly by civic associations and party branches. By the 1930s, despite a period of normalization of daily life throughout the republic, there remained the persistent question of how to cope best with combatting disease, hunger, and malnutrition. With the onset of global

²⁰⁷ Owen and Pamuk, "Turkey, 1918-1945.", 25-26.

²⁰⁸ Kathryn Libal, "The Children's Protection Society: Nationalizing Child Welfare in Early Republican Turkey," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 23 (Fall 2000): 55. See also Reşad Ekrem Koçu, "Çocuk; Ailesiz, Kimsesiz Çocuklar," in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Koçu Yayınları, 1966): 4057-4059. Koçu writes that homeless street children has been a great problem for centuries. And also, Koçu says that, since Tanzimat although children had been topics in the press, there was no serious article about the child question.

depression, state and local efforts to recover from considerable wartime losses suffered a further setback. Thus, in the 1930s the conditions faced by many children still could be described as dire.²⁰⁹

So, there was a problem of “poor children” in the social scene of the society in the 1930s as socio-economic context of Turkey shows us. But poverty and the subject of “poor children” was not so visible in the children’s periodicals we have observed in the 1930s as it was in the 1940s. The main reason behind this is related to the priorities that took place in the periodicals. The children’s periodicals in the 1930s relied more on the mobilization of nationalism where efforts were made to provide political socialization was by the exaltation of nationalist projects and modernization efforts. As seen in the second chapter, the political discourse in the periodicals in the 1930s was more laden with reference to the nation-state, secularism, progress and disjunction with the past, the single-party and its idealization for the eyes of the children. The reflection of social issues was not a priority for the 1930s’ childrens’ periodicals which were saturated with the codes of establishing the nation-state.

In the 1940s, especially with the onset of the Second World War, the concern with the formation of the nation-state left its place more to socio-economic problems that later undermined the hegemony of the Republican People’s Party and paved the way for the multi-party period. The socio-economic worsening of conditions was more visible when the hegemony of the one-party was slowly being undermined. The children’s periodicals were not immune from the socio-economic context and as the number of working and homeless children increased in real life because of the increasingly difficult conditions in the country, the subject of poverty started to take gain a larger place in the metaphoric space in the stories of the periodicals.

²⁰⁹ Libal, "The Children's Protection Society: Nationalizing Child Welfare in Early Republican Turkey.", 56.

But there is a significant point that should not be forgotten that will be emphasized in the rest of this chapter: Although the issue of poverty took a greater place in the children's periodicals in the 1940s due to the socio-economic context and it became more visible for the eyes of the middle-class children, so that there was another world outside apart from their nuclear families and warm houses, it did not take place as a "social" problem or as an issue of "social conflict." Poverty was presented as a "moral" issue and the solution to escape from poverty was also defined on a "moral" plane, which means the stories in the periodicals emphasized "good behaviour," "honesty," "kindness," "studying hard," and "owning good moral values" as the real saviors of one from poverty. If one was rich, he had become rich because of his good morals, not from "bribery" or "stockpiling." And if one was poor, in the end he would definitely become rich if he was a good man, helped everyone, shared his few things with others and believed in faith²¹⁰ throughout his life.

As seen, poverty was perceived just as a moral issue which closed the doors to the perception of it as belonging to the political arena of "social conflict" and so was hiding the social inequalities in the society. The social conflicts in real life between the rich and poor was compromised on a moral plane through consuming the child hero or heroine in the stories in the periodicals where poor or homeless but morally upright, goodhearted, hardworking children always won at the end and became the objects of "success stories." The authors in the periodicals wrote these stories for middle-class children who were more inside the Republican vision of the world. They were expected to take the same lesson from the stories: "The good will always win in the end." But in fact, the sentence was continuing between the lines in

²¹⁰ It was in the context of the 1940s that the Republican sensitivity about secularism turned to be a more flexible space and the religious cultural motifs came to be seen between the lines in the stories, especially in those of Kemalettin Tuğcu.

a politically unconscious sense: “The good will always win at the end, politics does not matter.”

But here, there is a significant writer whose novels and stories paved the way for a more complex situation: Kemalettin Tuğcu. It would be wrong to evaluate his stories as just ideologically conservative pieces hiding and covering the social conflicts in society. He was a very popular author whose pieces did not just make poverty visible more than any other writer of children’s literature of his time, but his stories also taught children the notion of mercy, and awareness of other children living in desperate conditions in the country. Whether or not he defined the social inequalities on a moral plane, at least he continued to write about the poor throughout his life for the eyes of all children in whose minds emerged the notion that “some other children were out there, had to work a lot and were always hungry.” At least he caused them to feel uneasy about those social inequalities. So, it would be a deficiency to call him just a conservative writer; he in a way caused poverty to enter into the minds of those children belonging to a middle-class life-style in apartment flats.

“Lending A Helping Hand to the Poor”

As seen above, the onset of the Second World War and the bad socio-economic conditions following it were years when poverty started to become more visible in the children’s periodicals. It was mostly seen in pieces about the exaltation of charity in society and the appraisal of associations such as the Children’s Protection Society and the Red Crescent.

Charity is a significant sphere to examine for the codes of the social structure of society where the definition of the poor -the population in need- and the rich paves the way for an evaluation of the hegemonic political relationships in the society. Especially the question of how social control and legitimacy were provided in a particular context after the emergence of the modern state is not immune from the dynamics of charity in society where the relationship between the donor and the receiver reproduces the everyday practice of the hegemonic power(s).²¹¹ In the case of children's periodicals, charity becomes a tool to educate children morally and make them believe in the responsibilities that every member of the nation should feel toward the "poor" members of the nation. "Helping the poor" becomes a moral issue, it is not perceived as a situation that should give birth to political acts and policies that have to be taken by the state. Efforts are made to strengthen this with pieces about the heroism of some Republican elite who are depicted as always ready to lend a helping hand to the poor:

In Topkapı, which is considered as one of the poor districts of İstanbul, has worked a philanthropic foundation for 30 years. This foundation has distributed winter food and fuel for heating to the poor of İstanbul. And like always, it has saved the poor numbering close to 100. This philanthropic foundation in Topkapı is one of the best private organizations of this kind in Turkey. The well-working of this foundation without ever its order being spoiled is the consequence of only Dr. Galip Hakkı's effort and work. This great man that the people of Topkapı call "the father of the poor" struggled for 30 years to provide them medicine, food and fuel as well as recovery of health and last year he died. Dr. Galip Hakkı was a warrior of humanity and was one of the real heroes who sacrificed his own life and suffered to stop the pain of others. Almost every person belonging to the Turkish nation is decent and loves helping the poor. In tomorrow's big and strong Turkey, this national character of ours will be more strongly and clearly visible. Today's Republican children that are growing up

²¹¹ See Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet (1876-1914)* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002).

in today's such honorable examples of humanity will tomorrow all be Galip Hakkı, the father(s) of the poor.²¹²

Libal, who bases her analysis on the contributions and limitations of the Children's Protection Society to the nationalist project, reminds us that,

"throughout the 1920s and 1930s, efforts to address the 'child question' in terms of alleviating hunger, homelessness, and exploitation through heavy labor were largely decentralized and not well coordinated across state and private domains. Thus, efforts often were undertaken simultaneously on local and national levels by private philanthropic associations, local municipal administrations, and the state. The state vested power in the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance and the Ministry of Education to establish infrastructural reforms and concrete services that would benefit the republic's children."²¹³

These activities usually took place and were announced in the periodicals, as seen in the above example.²¹⁴ But it was not just the activities of Children's

²¹² "İstanbul'un fakir semtlerinden biri sayılan Topkapı'da 30 yıldan beri bir hayır kurumu çalışmaktadır. Bu kurum geçen hafta, semtin yoksullarına kış yiyecekleri ve yakacakları dağıtmıştır. Her zaman olduğu gibi gene yüze yakın yoksulu kurtarmıştır. Topkapıdaki bu yoksullara yardım kurumu, Türkiye'deki bu çeşit özel kurumların en iyi çalışanlarından. Bu kurumun bu kadariyi çalışabilmesi ve otuz yıldanberi düzenini bozmayışı denilebilir ki sadece doctor Galip Hakkının emeğiyle, gayretile mümkün olmuştur. Topkapı halkının (Yoksullar babası) adını verdikleri bu büyük insane, o fakirler arasında, onlara şifa, sağlık vermeğe uğraştığı kadar, ilaç, gıda ve yakacak tedariki için de tam 30 yıl uğraşmış ve geçen yıl bu ay ölmüştür. Doktor Galip Hakkı insanlık yokunda savaşıyor ve insanların ızdıraplarını dindirmek için kendiömrünü ıstıraba veren gerçek kahramanlardandı. Türk milletinin hemen her ferdi fakirler babası doctor Galip Hakkı kadar insane canlıdır ve düşküne yardım sever. Yarının büyük ve kuvvetli Türkiyesinde bu milli karakterimiz daha kuvvetli ve daha keskin olarak görülecektir. Bu kadar güzel insanlık örnekleri arasında yetişen bugünün Cumhuriyet çocukları yarın hep birer Yoksullar babası doktor Galip Hakkı olacaklardır", "Cumhuriyet Çocuğu Objektifinden, Yoksullar, Fakirler Babası Doktor Galip Hakkı," *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* 1, no. 13 (1938): 207.

²¹³ Libal, "The Children's Protection Society: Nationalizing Child Welfare in Early Republican Turkey.", 59. The 'child question' was described as such by Kazım Karabekir: "Taking poor and neglected children under the protection of the state and providing them with both a mental and physical training and education that will render them as successful and strong as the other children of the country", "Yoksul ve bakımsız çocukları devlet himayesine alarak memleketin diğer çocukları gibi başarılı ve hayat mücadelesine kudretli kılacak maddi ve fikri bir talim ve terbiye ile donatmak", Kazım Karabekir, *Çocuk Davamız*, vol. 1, ed. Faruk Özerengin, (İstanbul: Emre Yayınları, 2000): 9.

²¹⁴ See also Rakım Çalapala, "Kızılay," *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* 2, no. 35 (1939): 170-171: "Kızılay yurdun her köşesine el uzatmış, yoksulları, zavallıları bir ana gibi kucaklamıştır. Kızılayın yüksek değerini ve büyük hizmetini tanıyan halk ta onun yaşaması ve yücelmesi için elinden geleni esirgememiştir. Bayram günleri göğüslerimizi Kızılay rozetleriyle, mektuplarımızı Kızılay pullarıyla süslüyoruz. Acı günlerde bizi düşünen bu hayır kurumunu biz de iyi günlerimizde hatırdan çıkarmıyoruz. Kızılayla olan ilgimizi hergün biraz daha artırmalı, onun zenginleşmesi için elimizden gelen her fedakarlığı yapmalıyız!..Bütün Türk çocukları Kızılaya üye olmalı, onun için çalışmalı, onun

Protection Society or those activities of other private philanthropic organizations and initiatives announced in the periodicals; “being a person who is always ready to lend a helping hand to the poor and people in need” was perceived as a cultural and essential characteristic that every Turkish child had to have and it is because of this that in children’s periodicals, poverty was always promoted as a situation that required a moral solution through helping the poor and people in need rather than as a political responsibility of the state.²¹⁵

Departing from this point of the idealization of charity and the behaviour of lending a helping hand to the “poor” as a lesson taught to middle-class children, now we can move on to the issue of how those “poor” children were depicted in the periodicals. In the stories, they were described through consuming the child object in the stories who were sometimes denigrated as “vagrant and immoral children” needing the moral guidance of literate middle-class adults and children,²¹⁶ or were sometimes praised as “poor but morally upright, hardworking, warmhearted, helpful

için fedakarlığa alışmalıdır. Kızılay için çalışmak yurt için çalışmaktır. Kızılay bayrağı yoksulların, yaralıların, felakete uğrayanların yarasını saran kutlu bir bağıdır. Onu elimizden bırakmamalıyız.”

²¹⁵ For example, in one of the stories, a middle-class man who sees a poor woman with her daughter in the cold street begging, passes without giving them money, but he can not escape from the voice of his conscience and regrets it very much: M. Oktay, "Kötü Bir Hareket," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 181 (15 June 1946): 6; For other pieces and sentimental stories about the appraisal of helping the poor, see "Adana Felaketzedelerine Bütün Genç Okullular Yardım Etmelidir, Sınıflarınızda Toplayacağınız Paralar Büyük Yardımlar Yapabilir," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 365 (21 December 1936): 2; "Yardımlaşmada Kardeş Mahalleler," *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* 1, no. 12 (1938): 186; "Cumhuriyet Çocuğu Objektifinden, Cumhuriyet Çocuklarını Korumak, Yetiştirmek İçin Bugünün Büyükleri Nasıl Çalışıyorlar?," *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, no. 12 (1938): 187; "Baba-Sevgili yavrularım. Yoksullara, dertlilere, kimsesizlere yardım etmek bir insanlık ödevi, bir vatan borcudur...Onlar da bizim vatandaşımızdır", .M. Hülagü, "Yardım-1 Perdelik Okul Piyesi," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 13 (27 March 1943): 7; M. Oktay, "Fakir İnsanlar," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 128 (9 June 1945): 6; Hamit Gündoğdu, "Yemişler Olunca," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 89 (9 September 1944):.6; Ekrem Bismil, "Hepimiz Böyle Olsak," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 173 (20 April 1946): 6.

²¹⁶ See for example "Küçük Mahkumlar," *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* 2, no. 40 (1939): 263: "Küçük yaşında doğru yoldan ayrılarak bir takım kötü suçlar işleyen çocuklar; şimdiye kadar Edirnedeki Terbiye Evine gönderiliyordu. Cumhuriyet hükümetimiz küçük mahkumları büyüdükçe yurda çok iyi ahlaklı ve doğru olarak yetiştiren bu terbiye evi için, Ankarada Kızılcahamamda yeni ve modern büyük bir bina yaptırmış ve Edirnedeki taşımağa başlamıştır."

and wise children working and sacrificing himself to earn the daily bread for his family” as in Kemalettin Tuğcu’s stories.

“If He Were A Good and Hardworking Child, He Would Not Have Remained Poor”

In a 1938 dated story in *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, a middle-class child boy named Altan whose moral values were described as very good, was portrayed one day as going to his school. On his way, some “vagrant and dirty street children” on the road tried to bother him:

We were in a narrow and empty street; it was 8:30 a.m. Three dirty vagrant street children of the ages of 11-12, whose clothes were torn, bothered and disturbed a clean boy dressed orderly of the same age with them and going to his school. This well-mannered and decent-hearted student did not say anything to these street children making rude remarks to him and kept on walking.²¹⁷

But he would not continue to be silent as those street children got ruder and threw trash on him: “If you were not a Turkish child, too, I would definitely punish you. But if a Turkish child beats another Turkish child, this would be too sad. I hope that one day you will be saved from the streets and feel sad at heart when you remember what you have done.”²¹⁸

The rest of the story continues with the self-realization of the leader of the “idler vagrant street children” named Ali, who feels so ashamed and becomes friends

²¹⁷ *Dar, تنها bir sokaktayız: saat sabahın sekiz buçuğu. On on ikiyaşlarında üstleri yırtık pis üç sokak çocuğu küçük serseri, temiz giyinmiş elinde çantası okuluna giden, gene kendi akranları bir çocuğa sataşıyorlar. Temiz duygulu ve çok terbiyeli olan bu küçük okullu, kendisine bu şekilde söz söyleyen bu sokak çocuklarına başka birşey söylemedi, yürüdü. Burhan Bilbaşar, "Olmuş Hikayelerden: Kaldırım Mühendisi," Cumhuriyet Çocuğu 1, no. 16 (1938): 276-278.*

²¹⁸ *Altan’ın yüzü oldukça acıdı. Acı acı bu sokak çocuğuna bakarak yüzünü sildi.-Eğer sen de birTürk yavrusu olmasaydın, muhakkak ki senin cezanı verirdim. Fakat bir Türk çocuğu diğer bir Türk çocuğunu döverse bu çok acı olur. Dilerim ki, sen de bir gün sokaklardan kurtulasın; ve bu yaptıklarını hatırladıkça iç üzüntüsü çekesin, Ibid: 276.*

with Altan. Altan's words make him come to his senses and understand that "he was living such an ugly life. It was not possible to get rid of this life. He was just a street vagabond and a very bad child."²¹⁹ But, in fact, he was an abandoned child who had a hard childhood and had been beaten every day by his land lady and her children. One day he had escaped from the house and it was at that time that his bad story in the streets had begun. But, Altan had shaken him and had showed him the truth. Altan invited Ali to his middle-class flat and introduced him to his "warmhearted" mother, father and brother, who were in fact from the population that loved "lending a helping hand to the poor." Ali told his story to Altan's father, who said "O little Ali, you are not as bad a child as you think. A Turkish child does not become a bad person in essence. Altan did very well to bring you here...Ali, let's kill that idle and bring that old little Ali back to life again."

Ali never returned to the streets as he became a member of Altan's "good, open-hearted" family, who embraced him and he continued his education. In the end, he became a hero of a success story by becoming a doctor in one of the children's protection societies in Turkey.

In this story, we see how the idealized, clean, mature middle-class Turkish child Altan with his ideal Republican family embracing the "vagrant street-child" becomes a model to that "idler, vagabond Ali" and makes him find the right moral way that every Turkish child had to follow. But we wonder then, what happened to the rest of Ali's vagabond friends in the street? The author Bilbaşar, a teacher, does not mention them as the story progresses to tell a message to the readers, but the street children called "vagabonds and idlers" in the story in fact become the objects of other message pieces in the periodicals for the middle-class children reading them.

²¹⁹ Ibid: 277.

Maybe they become thieves in the end while Altan saves himself from the streets by following that Republican father's advice.



Rakım Çalapala, "Küçük Hırsız,"
Çocuk Haftası, no. 165, (23 February 1946)

“Grab him, grab him! There’s a thief”!/Rang a voice in the street/The police rushed together/Everybody was in wonder/Soon a thin child/was caught../A line of men and women/was formed along the road/Every other child looked at him/with timidity and strangeness/They felt a deep pain/ Right in the depths of their hearts/Every day he escaped from school/ Wandered around here and there/ Now he was unemployed and hungry/ His age passed 15 already!/ “Well it is the result of idling!”/ Said an old woman/ “You should already have a job!”/ “Why did you leave school, studying?”²²⁰

²²⁰ “Tutun, tutun! Hırsız var!”/Diye çınladı bir ses/Polisler koşuştular,/Meraka düştü herkes/Biraz sonra bir cılız/Çocuk yakalanmıştı.../Yol boyunca erkek, kız/Herkes sıralanmıştı/Bütün çocuklar

The miserable child that is seized by two policemen in the picture and the crowd of ladies, men and children on the other side watching the event and feeling pity for the poor child are in fact a reflection of the perception of poverty. The hungry child that is accused of theft seems so miserable with his torn clothes and he also seems so alien to the crowd watching him, they just criticize and feel pity for him. The middle-class children holding the hands of their parents in the picture belong to a safe area and there is an invisible boundary between them and the other child. On the one hand, they feel pity for the poor child; on the other, they are expected to relax as they go to school regularly and not run away so not to make the same mistake as that poor child and fall into his situation. Poverty is attributed to the child just because of his immoral and naughty behaviour and there is even a discourse in the poem that finds it legitimate that a child could work in his childhood and it is because of his laziness that he fell into such miserable conditions. The poor child object is consumed to teach the middle-class children the lesson and warn them not to run away from school and work and be lazy.²²¹ The reason for poverty is once more sought in the moral values of the people, not in socio-economic conflicts. Those middle-class faces are looking from an invisible window at those poor people on the street and are feeling pity and wishing to lend a helping hand for them, but also thinking that it is their own fault that they are like that. The dilemma was that, on the hand, there was a tendency of inclusion as seen in the effort to instill the

baktı/Ona ürkek, yabancı/Gönüllerini yaktı/Anlatılmaz bir acı/Hergün okuldan kaçmış/Şurda, burda dolaşmış/Şimdi işsizmiş, açmış/Yaşı on beşi aşmış/“Haylazlığın sonu bu! ”/Dedi yaşlı bir kadın/“Çalışsan ne olurdu, /“Neden okuldan kaçtın? ”, Rakım Çalapala, "Küçük Hırsız," Çocuk Haftası, no. 165, (23 February 1946): 6.

²²¹ Those I call middle-class children are not a unique group having the same features. I just try to make a metaphor of the hegemonic class codes of especially the Republican intelligentsia; bureaucrats, teachers, soldiers, doctors whose norms about educating the child for the sake of the modern nation-state was similar to each other and so their children in a way were born into the similar symbolic universes where their parents expected from them similar idealized dignified behaviour and moral patterns.

virtues of charity to children; but on the other hand there was a tendency of exclusion which otherized those poor children as “vagrant street children”.

In another story written by Orhan Olay in *Yavrutürk* in 1942, a dialogue between Mr. Naci and two porters is presented.²²² Mr. Naci is a rich man with a beautiful house in Bebek. He is a director in a big bank. One day he hears two porters standing in front of a wall, complaining about their hard work and saying that the rich are unjustly living in comfort while they live in such hard conditions. He calls them upstairs, takes them in and after giving them lunch, coffee and cigarettes, he wants to give them a lesson:

-Now I am going to ask you some questions, he said and asked one of the porters: What was your father’s job?-He was a farmer, -Why didn’t you become a farmer too?-Because farming is very difficult. One must work hard all day from dawn until noon on the farm.

He asked the other: -And what was your father like?-He was a repairman.-And then why did you not become a repairman like your father?-Is repairmanship a job?!! Work hard all day from dawn till night with saw and adz!!!²²³

After getting these answers, Mr. Naci makes a long speech in which he tells the two porters how poor he was in his childhood, but how he started working hard and took care of the household to earn the daily bread of the family. He told them how he had worked with his brother even in Europe as a waiter and managed to make some money for his education. But the more significant sentences come after this:

-You see how difficult my life was? But at the end I became successful. If you had worked hard and gone to school like me, too, you would be as successful as me and would live in comfort like me. Now you understand why I have earned such money. I am given the

²²² Orhan Olay, “Çalışan Kazanır,” *Yavrutürk* 12, no. 16 (7 February 1942): 3.

²²³ Şimdi size bazı şeyler soracağım!dedi. Hamallardan birine:-Senin baban neci idi?diye sordu. – Çiftçi idi.-Sen ne diye çiftçi olmadın?-Çiftçilik zordur da ondan. Sabahtan akşama kadar tarlada çalışmak lazım. Diğerine sordu:-Senin baban neci idi?-Marangozdu.-Sen ne diye marangoz olmadın?-Marangozluk ta iş mi? Sabahtan akşama kadar elinde testere, keser uğraş ta uğraş. Ibid.

prize of my efforts. And you are given the punishment for your laziness. If you had worked enough, one of you would have owned a big farm, and the other would have been owned a furniture factory. The eyes of the two porters got wet. Both of them said: -Right! We now understand why you are in comfort and we are in misery. While they were leaving, Mr. Naci gave both of them some money: - Spend this money for the education of your children! At least they won't be like you.²²⁴

As seen in this story, the perception about socio-economic welfare is linked just to one's working hard, and poverty and misery are in the same way perceived as the result of laziness. Poverty is perceived as the fault of the poor people themselves. According to the Republican rich man giving a lesson to the poor "because of laziness" porters, if they had worked hard enough in their childhood and youth, they would now have been as rich as he. This perception paves the way for an understanding of wealth being a definite destination if one behaves properly, just studies and works hard to arrive there. Wealth is perceived as if it is available to everyone, as if everyone has the same right and opportunity to have it if they fulfill the requirements. Even if there is a perception that the state has to help the poor, it is just within the boundaries of charity. It is not a political condition requiring the responsibilities of the state towards the socio-economic inequalities in the country. And also, wealth is legitimized as a measure of success; this is why all the heroes in the stories become rich at the end if they study, work hard and lend a helping hand to others in need throughout their lives.

²²⁴ *Görüyorsunuz ya neler çektim? Fakat sonunda muvaffak oldum. Siz de çalışsaydınız, okusaydınız muvaffak olur, benim gibi rahat yaşardınız. Şimdi benim nede çok para kazandığımı anladınız ya? Ben çektiğim emeklerin mükafatını görüyorum. Siz tenbelliğin cezasını çekiyorsunuz. Çalışsaydınız biriniz büyük bir çiftlik, diğersiniz de bir mobilya fabrikasının sahibi olurdunuz. İki hamalın gözleri ıslandı. İkisi de:-Doğru! Dediler. Şimdi neden sizin rahatlık, bizim de sefalet içinde olduğumuzu anladık. Kapıdan çıkarlarken Bay Naci ikisine de para vermişti:-Bu parayı çocuklarınızın okumasına sarfedin! dedi.Hiç olmazsa, onlar sizin gibi kalsın. Ibid.* For other examples about criticism of laziness and how Republican children would have to be always hardworking and successful by also behaving morally good as the children of a great nation, see M.Hülagü, "İyilik Ve Fenalık," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 8 (20 February 1943): 12-14; and Adnan Erim, "Tembel Çocuk," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 169 (23 March 1946):11, M.Fazıl Ülküer, "Küçük Hüseyin," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 139 (25 August 1945): 6.

But there is a significant dilemma to be highlighted here. Even if wealth is defined as the measure of success in the general outlook of the stories, the writers, especially the publishers belonging to the Republican intelligentsia, in fact tried to put some distance between their discourse and the praise of wealth because the Republican intelligentsia did not advocate an open wealth. The statist economic and social policies of the Republican People's Party especially since 1932²²⁵ being embedded in the solidaristic understanding of Turkish economy and culture did not allow wealth to be praised by any means. The individualism of liberalism was rejected as well as the class conflict²²⁶ and this means that although individual effort was perceived as the ultimate way to arrive at the destination of wealth in the children's periodicals, the Republican economic policies attributed the real agency to the state where the individual effort was just added to the common good for the welfare of the nation.²²⁷

Looking at the 1923 İzmir Economy Congress, we see that the most general decision that came out as a result was a demand for a mixed economy in which the state would be responsible for big initiatives.²²⁸ This means, the real economic actors that would establish the nation-state would be both the state and private initiative. As Keyder writes, "the economic applications of statism paved the way for the increase in industrial production through the homogenous coalition of bureaucrats and the industrial bourgeoisie. In a period when the enlargement of national industry caused

²²⁵ Owen and Pamuk, "Turkey, 1918-1945."

²²⁶ Parla, *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm Ve Türkiye'de Korporatizm*, 8.

²²⁷ See Fulya Özkan, "A Discourse About Normalization or Fantasy and Its Reflections on Everyday Life: A Cultural-Historical Analysis of Two Popular Magazines of the 1950s, *Bütün Dünya* and *Hafta*" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2004). for the individual initiative taking the place of the state in the context of the 1950s and Democrat Party power.

²²⁸ Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1995): 284.

more political control on the economy, the interests of these two groups were in harmony.”²²⁹ So, the statist policies advocated private initiative to create a national economy with the leadership of a national bourgeoisie.

But the main point is that the state was the real agent in the process. The state would be responsible for big projects and had the right to interfere in the private initiative in which the government had paid encouragement incentives. The state, on the one hand, needed the private initiative of the newly emerging bourgeoisie to create the national economy, but, on the other hand, the Republican People’s Party was trying to maintain some distance with the bourgeoisie and wanted to keep its control and legitimacy mechanisms, despite the complex relationships where the boundary between the bureaucrats and the bourgeoisie was becoming blurred, many bureaucrats were also taking roles in the economy as partners of private initiatives.

This is why there was no boundless appraisal of wealth in the children’s periodicals although it was perceived as the measure of success. Wealth was perceived as definitely the most successful route one would want to have if he behaved properly and saved money in his childhood by studying and working hard. But it was again limited in the discourse by attributing it the right to be owned only by “good and morally upright behaviour”. There was not an individual success taken in the sense of free market economy, the success was only due to the morality of corporatist and solidarist economy where one did not work just for himself but for

²²⁹ “Devletçiliğin iktisadi uygulamaları, bürokratlar ile sanayi burjuvazisinin homojen bir koalisyon içinde birleşmesiyle sanayi üretiminin artmasına yol açtı. Yerli sanayi sektörünün büyümesinin ekonomi üzerinde siyasi kontrolün artmasıyla sonuçlandığı bir dönemde, bu iki grubun çıkarları birbirine denk düştü”, Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye’de Devlet Ve Sınıflar* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1999): 149.

the welfare of the nation by never sacrificing moral behaviour like lending a helping hand to the poor.²³⁰

Poor but Honest!²³¹

Up to now, we have seen poor “street-children” and poor people who were just objects of pity and an invisible exclusion because they were vagrant and unaware of their responsibilities. It was their own fault if they remained poor because of laziness, bad manners etc. But as discussed above, poor children were not just perceived as vagrant street children who had to be educated and guided for the welfare of the nation.

Poor children were in fact were perceived in the stories more as honest, mature, hardworking, wise and good-hearted children who were innocent and just victims of fate. In the end they would always gain because of their good manners and hard life struggle in the streets. So, in fact the metaphors of poor children in most of the stories were consumed by the writers to teach the middle-class children reading them the virtues of being a modest and obedient people. In these cases, the children were not denigrated as “vagrant street children” to be avoided, but were praised as little heroes, as the victims of fate by a very dramatic discourse. Again, there was discourse of socio-economic inequalities and conflicts in society; poverty was just a moral issue.

²³⁰ For examples about the comparison of rich men, some of whom are good, hardworking and generous men and so always gain in life and some of whom are stingy or extravagant, dishonest, insensitive, thoughtless or just think of themselves even if they don't give harm to others and so lose in life, see Ahmet Ekrem, "Babaların Günahı," *Çocuk Sesi*, no. 325 (16 March 1936): 8-9, F. Mahmut Ülküer, "Tüccarın Verdiği Ders," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 148 (27 October 1945): 11, M. Oktay, "İki Zengin," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 157 (29 December 1945): 14.

²³¹ *Fakir ama Gururlu!*

In one of the stories published in *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu* in 1938, the writer took the metaphor of poor children as his subject and exalted them as victimized children:²³² “These little children who had to earn their lives by their own efforts, were holding their old, very thin jackets very tightly, and shivering, had formed small group.”²³³ These children were described in the story as trying to sell newspapers in very cold weather. One of them was crying because another vagrant child had stolen his newspapers. A bureaucrat teacher, Burhan Bilbaşar, passes in front of him in the story as told by Öykümen and after asking the child some questions and trying to measure if he was lying or not, he gives the child some money and says that he was giving that money as a loan. The child becomes very happy and the rest of the story continues with the exaltation of the hardworking child who both goes to school and sells newspapers and in the end finds Bilbaşar to pay him back. The child is described as a mature person who rejects the money as a prize for him to go to a cinema from Bilbaşar as the child says he could not go to the cinema when there were so many other poor children in the streets: “Thank you, Mr. Gentleman. Forgive me, I would be very happy to take this gift from you, but I can not go to a movie with this money, because we have friends who can not work and need this money.”²³⁴

As seen, the poor child is described in this story as an innocent and wise figure whose behaviour should be taken as a model. This is a mainstream perception

²³² For a broader analysis of the discourse of victimized childhood in nineteenth century Victorian England, see Laura C. Berry, “Introduction: The Rise of the Child Victim and the State of the Novel” in *The Child, the State, and the Victorian novel* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989).

²³³ *Hayatlarını kendi emekleriyle kazanmak zorunda kalan bu küçük yavrular, incecik eski ceketlerine sıkı sıkı sarılmışlar, titreyerek küçük bir küme oluşturmışlardı.*, A. Öykümen, “Kendi Kendisinin Çocukları,” *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, no. 13 (1938): 218.

²³⁴ *Çok teşekkür ederim Bay Amca. Eni başışlayın sizing bu hediyenizi almayı çok isterdim. Fakat bu para ile sinemaya gidemeyeceğim. Çünkü böyle yardımlara ihtiyacı olan ve çalışamayan kardeşlerimiz var.*, Ibid: 220.

about “poor but honest” child figure which can be observed in other stories, too. For example, in another story, a boy named Dündar, “who was the poorest but very good-hearted, serious and hardworking child of his class”²³⁵ gives a lesson to his naughty friends in the class while they were fighting and makes them ashamed of themselves with his very mature words. In another one, a little poor child named Turgut, working as a porter in the cold weather with torn clothes and shoes, carries the luggage of a customer. While they are walking, the customer asks him questions and Turgut tells his bitter life story. He tells him how his mother, father and aunt have died and how he is alone in life. The customer is very touched and undertakes the responsibility to educate him and every month gives him some money for his education. Turgut becomes a very hardworking student who wants to be a merchant and the story finishes with the words of the happy customer: “Do you see these little Turkish children! How they still work as soon as they find the opportunity and save themselves even if they are left homeless in the street...”²³⁶

But certainly, the most significant name behind narratives about the life struggle of poor street children was Kemalettin Tuğcu. His writings about poor children and people, which did not have much literary value but were written by such a grief-stricken language giving birth to pity, mercy and teardrops in child-readers, were definitely the most popular ones in the periodicals published by Demiray’s Türkiye Publishing House.

²³⁵ A. Öykümen, “İyi Arkadaş,” *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, no. 11 (1938): 172-173. See also “Hayat,” *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 154 (8 December 1945): 14 for the exaltation of working children.

²³⁶ *Görüyor musun şu Türk yavrularını, sokaklara bile düşseler fırsat bulur bulmaz nasıl çalışıyor ve kendilerini kurtarıyorlar...*, A. Öykümen, “Küfeci Çocuk,” *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu*, no. 36-37 (1939): 209.

Tuğcu's Poor and Morally Upright Children

In a cold rainy day, I was walking down the Ankara Avenue. A poor old man with a little boy holding his hand was walking in front of me. The shoes of the little boy were crooked, had turned white because of being rubbed and had holes in their bottom. Rain washed the shoes of the child and the child turned to the old man and said: 'Look Grandad! They became like new.' I could understand the weakness and pain of the old man at that moment. It was this emotion that made me write the novel "Poor Grandfather."²³⁷

Kemalettin Tuğcu started to work in Türkiye Publishing House in 1932 by the help of family friends' personal contact with Demiray. At first he was doing technical work in the printing house and also he was making translations of different pieces.²³⁸ His real career in writing started in *Yavrutürk* when he had left doing technical work of the printing house and focused on writing in both children's periodicals and pieces oriented towards adults especially women such as *Ev-İş* of Türkiye Publishing House.

Tuğcu wrote many different things throughout his life.²³⁹ The general subject of them was the life-struggle of poor, abandoned, runaway or painful children in bad families with step fathers or step mothers where they won at the end through their good manners, honesty, bravery and belief in faith. But the main distinction of Tuğcu with this subject was his success in romanticizing poverty and hunger as the effect of poverty.

This is the point where we see the double effect of Tuğcu's stories. In one way, he gave birth to emotions of mercy and pity in reader children and made them

²³⁷ The sentences are quoted from Kemalettin Tuğcu by his niece Nemika Tuğcu who wrote Tuğcu's biography, *Nemika Tuğcu, Sırça Köşkün Masalcısı, Kemalettin Tuğcu'nun Yaşam Öyküsü* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2004): 172.

²³⁸ Their names were *Hava Yarışı, İzçiler Kralı, Araba ile Dünya Turu*. Ibid: 176.

²³⁹ Nemika Tuğcu gives a list of all his published books. Ibid: 232.

understand that there was not just their world going on, there were other children and people living in very hard conditions outside and so made poverty more visible to the eyes of children. Children who were reading the entertainment pages or other pages oriented towards a middle-class life style, were also reading his pieces and were facing the world of poverty from a poor child's eyes in his stories. The words I quoted from him telling the motivation behind his novel *Poor Grandfather (Zavallı Büyükbaba)* prove his sincerity about his sensitivity to poverty in fact. Poverty was an issue in his head but the problem was that he was problematizing it as just a moral issue.

The world of poverty written by Tuğcu in such a romantic language and by a narrative defining the moral plane as the guide to be rescued from poverty was problematic in the same sense of other writers' problematic definition of poverty immune to a political socio-economic value. His hero poor children in his stories were very good-hearted, sensitive, honest children who believed in faith and solution to poverty in this sense was problematized again as an individual issue. If the child struggled enough without sacrificing his good manners and belief in faith, at the end he would gain and again like most of the other writers, the measure of success in his stories was generally defined by the hero's getting rich. In this sense, although he has a different place in children's literature because of his much effort in depicting poverty to children in his many pieces for years, his depiction carried the same problem of defining poverty just on the moral plane.

His most significant narratives about poor children in the 1930s and 1940s were the ones published in *Çocuk Haftası*. In fact, he had started writing in *Yavrutürk* but apart from a story named *The Golden Bracelet*²⁴⁰ about a poor little

²⁴⁰ Kemalettin Tuğcu, "Altın Bilezik, Bir Küçük Sanatkarın Romanı.", *Yavrutürk*, no. 207 (13 April 1940): 296.

boy entering into a job near an ironworker, learning the delicacies of ironworking by working hard with honour through years like his master and setting up his own business at the end, he had written national stories in Yavrutürk. The real pieces about poor children and their life struggle were published in the 1940s in *Çocuk Haftası* and the most popular of them were, *The Poor Grandfather*(Zavallı Büyükbaba-1943), *The Little Newspaperseller*(Küçük Gazeteci-1944), *Homeless Children*(Kimsesiz Çocuklar-1945), *The Bazaar of Children*(Çocuk Pazarı-1945) and *The Mother's Darling*(Anasının Kuzusu-1946).

In *The Poor Grandfather* published between 2 January 1943 and 17 July 1943, Tuğcu tells the story of the life struggle of a little child named Necdet and his grandfather. "They had neither materials for heating, nor food, clothes and money."²⁴¹ They had no one to help them apart from the coffee seller İsmail. One day, their house burns and the grandfather who had gone out to look for bread, gets lost, and while was freezing to death, was found and put in the hospital. But when he gets well and departs from the hospital, his house and Necdet was not there yet any more. He starts to look for Necdet and throughout that time, while he was starving and freezing to death, another poor man finds him and takes him to his home. Although this family was very poor, too, they share their bread with the old man and one day they win a great deal of money from the lottery. Their praiseworthy behaviour of helping the old man despite their own poverty was rewarded by this lottery in the story.

The old man too was a very good and morally outstanding person and the poor family had believed that he was an *Hızır*. At that time, Necdet was trying to find his grandfather and trying to earn his bread by carrying the luggages of people in the

²⁴¹ *Onların ne yakacakları, ne giyecekleri, ne yemekleri, ne de paraları vardı*, Kemalettin Tuğcu, "Zavallı Büyükbaba," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 1 (2 January 1943): 13.

bazaar. He knew his responsibilities very well. Once, he was raised by very good morals by his grandfather and this is why he finds a wallet full of money when he was so much in need but had given it to its owner. He knew his responsibilities very well and once when a boy had asked him why he did not go to school, Necdet answers him as such: “Who will look after my grandfather when I go to school? Who will earn the money? I do not have a mother, a father and a home like you. I have to work”²⁴²

One day Necdet and his grandfather meet again by chance in the street and continue their life struggle together. But they never give up from their good morals and belief in faith. At the end of the story they get the reward of their good and honest behaviours. One of their neighbours builds them a home, another one gives them his cow and the Grandfather finds a job, starts to go to his work everyday and seems younger than. Necdet starts the middle school and the story ends with these last words of the Grandfather: “Yes my son, the pains suffered at the end are forgotten; but the good behaviours are never.”²⁴³

Another story named *The Homeless Children* published between 26 May 1945 and 10 November 1945 , tells the story of poor abandoned children living together in the streets and trying to earn their bread by carrying the luggages of people. The basic point of this story is again the belief that “God gives the fortune of everyone.”²⁴⁴ In this story too, the children never sacrifice from good morality and honesty, they later pay the money of the peach they had stolen because of hunger, they give back a ring they find to its owner and they live by sharing their even little

²⁴² Kemalettin Tuğcu, "Zavallı Büyükbaba," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 29 (17 July 1943). 13, 27 March 1943: 13.

²⁴³ Ibid: 14.

²⁴⁴ Kemalettin Tuğcu, "Kimsesiz Çocuklar," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 135 (28 July 1945): 14.

food with each other and others in need. They gain the love of many people and especially one of them called *Çakır* , the oldest and strongest of the boys helps the police in a case and the police headquarters offers him first to be their secret agent and then wants him to join the police because of his success in helping the police.²⁴⁵ At the end of the story, one of the boys *Mehmet* finds his family who was in fact rich and starts to live with them and he takes one of the boys near him and *Çakır* goes to Police College and they all get rid of the life in the streets. “The homeless children were wanted by everyone now. Each of them started to work hard to become the good adults of the future”²⁴⁶

In *The Little Newspaperseller* published between 19 June 1944 and 23 September 1944, we read the story of a little child named Ali selling newspapers by getting up very early at 4 a.m. and selling newspapers to those “houses having smiling faced, cleanly dressed maids”²⁴⁷ till 8 a.m. when he goes to school. After school he continues selling newspapers and by the money he earns, he looks after his dismissed father and mother and sister. They live in a miserable house in Unkapanı. One day, Ali’s father was accused by murder and the rest of the story continues with Ali’s success in finding the real murderer. Ali had said to his father that, “Do not think about us dad, you have a son who is like a lion”²⁴⁸ and he had proved in the

²⁴⁵ As it is seen, here Tuğcu reproduces the belief in the power of the state through the appraisal of obedience and help to the police. The police are perceived as brave people and heroes fighting to find the real guilty and so helping to the police becomes a sign of bravery and good behavior. For example, in *The Little Newspaperseller*, the father says to his son that “*They say you have had a great deal of help to the police, the police wants to give you a qualified education. They will get you educated and make you a civil police. I said to them that, “He is my son but it he belongs to the nation, do what you think suitable is”*”, Kemalettin Tuğcu, “Küçük Gazeteci,” *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 77 (17 June 1944).

²⁴⁶ Tuğcu, “Kimsesiz Çocuklar.” *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 150: 14.

²⁴⁷ *Yüzü sevimli, üstü başı temiz pak hizmetçili evler.* Tuğcu, “Küçük Gazeteci.”, 6.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 22 July 1944, no. 82, 12-13.

story with his mature behaviours, bravery and success that he was a mature child and he was really like a lion.

The Mother's Darling published between 11 May 1946 and 12 October 1946 was a story about a child named Adnan and his mother falling into hard life conditions when their family living in a rich house becomes scattered. The son takes the responsibilities of his mother and sister and starts to both work and study. In later years, the spoiled rich students in the university exclude him because of his silent and morally upright behaviours. But the story has a good conclusion as the others and find a good job and marry with a girl named Nuran who does never leave him although she was very rich. Throughout the story, the mother always gives the same message of passion. Once when Adnan fights with a rich but spoiled friend in the school, his mother says to him that “ Poor people like us must be more patient and able to endure offenses.”²⁴⁹ In this story we also meet with the depiction of richness in a double way: The rich but spoiled students in the university and the rich but morally high-qualified Nurdan to whom Adnan gets married. Tuğcu depicts richness as a condition to be spoiled and to behave like a dandy. But it is not an absolute depiction as we also meet with rich but morally qualified people believing in faith and always lending a helping hand to the poor as we see in *Nurdan*.

And finally, one of the most sensitive stories of Tuğcu in terms of the depiction of poverty can be mentioned: *The Bazaar of Children* published between 11 May 1946 and 12 October 1946. The depiction of poverty here becomes more visible with the details given about hunger.

The Bazaar of Children is about a poor woman and her husband who have to give their 3 children to people as they could not look after them. The mature child

²⁴⁹ *Bizim gibi fakir insanlar daha tahammüllü olmalıdır.* Kemalettin Tuğcu, "Anasının Kuzusu," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 196 (28 September 1946): 4.

who have to give a difficult life struggle in this story is the oldest of the children: Ayşe. She is excluded by her father in the family as her father sees her as an ill-omened person because of the bad events they have encountered since Ayşe's birth. The story continues with Ayşe's efforts to get her brother and sister from the rich families to whom the children were given. Throughout the story Ayşe falls into miserable conditions as she is denigrated and excluded by everyone. But hers is a success story like the other child heroes of Tuğcu. At the end everybody becomes ashamed of their behaviors towards her because this good-mannered, morally upright and good-hearted girl had given them a lesson by her goodness. She had always been honest. And one day she gets the reward of her good, hardworking and dutiful behaviours and an old woman to whom she had helped, shares her house with Ayşe's family and Ayşe's family moves to her house. After they move to that house, the life of the family changes and the family now starts to save gradually some money and get richer. Ayşe, who had been a very wise and dutiful girl, had saved some money by working outside and had opened a shop by this money: "Ayşe was now like a daughter of a middle-class family...Ayşe, who was shown as a model of badness in the other district was now the representative of goodness and hardwork. Some fathers and mothers showed her as an example to their sons and daughters and were saying to them that, "-You are not studying well, but look at Ayşe, she earns the bread of her family in this age"²⁵⁰ And in another place, Tuğcu wrote that, "That's the way it is! If the little Ayşe had not sacrificed herself to work by giving it her all in such hard conditions to earn money for her family, who would look after them?

²⁵⁰ Ayşe şimdi ortahalli bir ailenin kızı gibi gezmeye başlamıştı...öteki mahallede kötülük örneği sayılan Ayşe, bu yeni taşındıkları mahallede çalışkanlığın, iyiliğin bir örneği idi. Bazı babalar ve anneler oğullarına, kızlarına onu gösteriyor " Siz doğru düürüst okumuyorsunuz, bakınız Ayşe bu yaşta ev geçindiriyor" diyor, Kemalettin Tuğcu, "Çocuk Pazarı," *Çocuk Haftası*, no. 170 (30 March 1946): 4-5.

She worked, rescued her mother and father from begging for alms and eventually set up a good business by her intelligence and honesty.”²⁵¹ Again here, the conception of a “working child” is reflected as a natural phenomena by Tuğcu. The child is appraised by her working; “a working child” is not problematized. And also, we hear a similar voice about poor people from the mouth of poor people themselves. The mother Zehra says that “Poor people must be devoid of arrogance...They are rich people, they do not even be aware about the amount of money they give us.”²⁵²

This story among the others is also very significant in terms of the depiction of hunger. The dramatic sentences about food written from the perception of hungry people and children increase the emotional effect of the stories. For example, the rich house that Ayşe saw when she had gone to take her brother Ahmet is described as such: “...The upstairs was covered with blankets. The household was having breakfast. The toast and the tea were smelling so delicious. Ayşe saw a big table. There were breads covered with butter and different kinds of jam on the table. Although there was daylight, the light was on and the samovar was rattling lightly with steam and the people all dressed well were gathering there to have breakfast.”²⁵³

Hunger was really told in detailed sentences in a high proportion in Tuğcu’s stories. In this story, Ayşe’s family remains hungry for days and Tuğcu writes a lot

²⁵¹ *Öyle ya Ayşecik çalışmasaydı, Ayşecik canını dişine takarak karda kışta para kazanmak için canını ortaya atmasaydı, onlara kim bakacaktı? O çalışmış, anasını, babasını el açmaktan kurtarmış, nihayet akıllılığı, dürüstlüğü yüzünden bir iş sahibi olmuştu*, Ibid., no.173, (20 April 1946): 5.

²⁵² *Fakirler azıcık kibirsiz olmalıdır...onlar zengin insanlar. Bize verdikleri parayı duymazlar bile*, Ibid, no. 154, (8 December 1945): 4.

²⁵³ *...Yukarısı halılarla döşeliydi. Ev halkı kahvaltı ediyordu. Kızarmış ekmekle çay misk gibi kokuyordu. Ayşe büyük bir masa gördü. Üstünde tereyağı sürülmüş ekmekler, reçeller vardı. Gündüz olduğu halde kocaman elektrik yanıyor, semaver tıkırdıyor, bacasından buğu çıkıyor,hepsi çok iyi giyinmiş olan insanlar kahvaltı etmek için orada toplanıyorlardı*,Ibid, no. 154, (8 December 1945): 4.

of details about how they wanded bones from the butcher by claiming that they were for the dogs but were boiling the bones and eating them themselves.²⁵⁴

In fact, hunger is not just a condition increasing the dramatic moment of poverty in the stories. While making an analysis about the familiar figure of the child victim, its dominance, its various forms, and its importance to Victorians's ideas of self and state in nineteenth-century English writing, Laura Berry arrives at interesting conclusions about the usage of hunger in these writings:

Early and mid-Victorian concerns about changes in social rank are articulated in many ways, one of the most important of which is hunger...In many of these writings, children are crucial to mediating anxieties about hungry others because the representation of endangered children allows the transformation of powerful adult appetites into the pitiable needs of an innocent(and therefore socially pure) victim. In other instances, the representation of hunger brings social anxieties to the foreground without imaginatively resolving them.²⁵⁵

According to Berry, the child as the victim in the narrative as the hungry object, reduces the tension about the symbolic world of poverty hidden behind the metaphor of hunger. The image of the hungry adult is more open and direct to remind the social inequalities in the society whose effect is hunger in the narrative but when the correlation is between the child and hunger, those tensions turn to be more universalistic sensitivities and objects of mercy. The anger about the social inequalities turns to be more an issue of pity and mercy directed towards an innocent object. "If a besetting problem of the early Victorian period is the presence of hungry bodies, a (partial) representational solution is the endangered child. Novels and social documents sometimes transform, or try to transform, the dangerous hungers of powerful adults into the blameless and pitiable needs of infant victims. Thus, factory

²⁵⁴ Ibid, no. 157, (29 December 1945): 4.

²⁵⁵ Laura C. Berry, "Introduction: The Rise of the Child Victim and the State of the Novel.", 5.

reform finds success in advertising the labors of children rather than the hardships endured by adult workers, and doctors turn away from discussing the fear of the lower-class wet nurse's bodily fluids to focus for the starving infant's life. In substituting innocent children for potentially dangerous adults, these texts might be said to manage the threat by displacing it."²⁵⁶

Looking at Kemalettin Tuğcu, we can not say that there is an open attitude of him to use hunger to transform the societal tensions to soft emotions of pity and mercy. But, remembering Zizek that what makes something ideological, is not the desire behind it but the implication of that desire²⁵⁷, although Tuğcu seems sincere about the real existence of his hero victim children whom he finds innocent from the beginning, his writings at the end imply poverty and hunger and social conflicts to be defined on the soft plane of pity and mercy devoid of any political value. Poverty and hunger are rather moral problems for him than social ones.

As Tuğcu has written for long years and has been one of the most significant writers in children's literature since the end of the 1930s, he has been the subject of many debates. Some saw him as a writer advertising richness by showing just the direction of wealth to get rid of poverty and unhappiness²⁵⁸, some saw him a very worthwhile writer who was the source of interest and mercy towards the poor people's lives²⁵⁹ and so was making child readers meet with other worlds other than their narrow middle-class homes. As Tuğcu rejected to be remembered by any political

²⁵⁶ Ibid: 10.

²⁵⁷ Slavoj Žižek, "Multiculturalism, or, the Cultural Logic of Multinational Capitalism," *New Left Review*, no. 225 (1997): 30.

²⁵⁸ Efe Bahçecibaşı, "Kemalettin Tuğcu'dan İnciler," *Selam Ümit Nesline* (March 1987): 23.

²⁵⁹ Quoted from an interview with Orhan Pamuk, "Kemalettin Tuğcu'nun Romanlarıyla Nasıl Karşılaştınız?," *Aydınlık* 5 May 1993 by Nemika Tuğcu, Tuğcu, *Sırça Köşkün Masalcısı, Kemalettin Tuğcu'nun Yaşam Öyküsü*, 204.

issue, he was a writer to whom everyone reacted according to their political tendencies because Tuğcu did not mention his political standing understood in the popular sense. But when we look at his desire to instill the ideas of a modern dutiful and morally upright citizenship to children and remember his respect towards the state and the notion of discipline²⁶⁰, we can see that despite his much focus on poverty in such socio-economically hard years of the Second World War Turkey, his political character was in harmony with his state. His focus on the belief in destiny and faith and his depiction of a traditional İstanbul family life in streets with old houses and mosques also illuminate our mind about his conservatism. As Necdet Neydim quotes, Tuğcu said “I am a person committed to his beliefs and past. I do not like changes and surprises.”²⁶¹ Maybe, this is why his child heroes were ordinary children talking mature words about life but devoid of any interesting features and imaginative power²⁶² in fact.

But although Tuğcu was reproducing the perception of poverty to be defined on the moral plane and so paving the way for emotions of mercy rather than thoughts about socio-economic inequalities to arise in children’s minds in his narratives and was showing only the morally upright behaviours to get rid of poverty and get rich at

²⁶⁰ Aslı Yakın, "Çeşme Sokağının Kayıp Çocukları: Kemalettin Tuğcu Romanları Ve Disiplin," *Kebikeç*, no. 19 (2005): 189-209. See also Tuğcu’s distinction between the urban and the countryside.

²⁶¹ Necdet Neydim, "Çocuk Edebiyatında Kemalettin Tuğcu Gerçeği," in *Çocuk Edebiyatı* (İstanbul: Bu Yayınevi, 2003): 150.

²⁶² *Bu metinlerin çocukları, ne Küçük Prens gibi fil yutmuş bir yılan resmi çizerler, ne de Keloğlan gibi çalılara ve kuğulara şarkı söylemeyi öğretirler. Çocuk bu romanlarda, Çocuklar Gemisi’nde adadn kurtulmak için bir gemi yapmayı öneren kızlar gibi istisnalar dışında hayal gücünden yoksun bir varlık olarak durur. Anasının kulağından doğar doğmaz şarap diye tutturup, günde on yedi bin dokuz yüz on üç ineğin sütünü içen ve on altı bin adet cinin derisi ile üç gulyabaninin postundan yapılma eldivenlere sahip olan Gargantua ile hiçbir benzerliği yoktur. Gargantua gibi, osurtmaca, bilmece, düştü düştü, kaydırak, kudurtmaca, ağızdan yellenmece ve merdiven oyunu oynamazlar. Gargantua, çocukluğu boyunca pabuçlarına işer, gülmek için kendini gıdıklar, köpeklerin çanağından yemek yer, oyuncak atına biner, kışını bol tüylü kaz palazı ile siler, Notre Damme kilisesinin kulelerinden aşağıdakilerin üzerine işer.* Yakın, "Çeşme Sokağının Kayıp Çocukları: Kemalettin Tuğcu Romanları Ve Disiplin.", 195-196. But as Yakın continues, Tuğcu’s children even did not have any time to listen to tales. Ibid: 197. They had much ordinary work to do to earn their lives.

the end, he at least showed to all those middle-class child eyes that there were not just children going to summer camps with their families, living in warm middle-class apartment flats and posing as victorious Republican children in the photographs of the 1930s and learning foreign languages in schools or swimming happily in the shores of Bebek and Florya. But there could be others who seemed weaker, thinner, had to work and give a hard life struggle to look after their families. If this positive effect of his stories was rubbed out or not with his conclusion of many of the stories that the dutiful, good-hearted children always got rich so that he was reproducing the hegemony of wealth as the measure of success closing the doors to social problematization of poverty, is still a debatable issue.

Doğan Kardeş's Shining Children and Their "Poor Friends"

Just in those years while Kemalettin Tuğcu was writing about poor, homeless and abandoned children in *Çocuk Haftası*, Turkey was witnessing significant political transformations due to the political context after the Second World War. The victory of "Western Liberal Democracies" against German, Italian and Japan totalitarian regimes and the rising power of the United States accelerated the political and economic liberalization in Turkey. The speech of İsmet İnönü in 1 November 1945 is an important example showing the transformation of political discourse in Turkey. As Feroz Ahmad reminds us, he accepted to make important political changes in the one-party regime due to the changing conditions of the era and he announced that the impelling needs of the country was paving the way for the

possibility of the establishment of an another political party by the guidance of the atmosphere of liberty and democracy.²⁶³

The relations between the Republican alliance of military, bureaucracy, urban intellectuals composed of journalists, teachers, doctors and merchants, businessmen supported by the regime and the local landowners in the countryside in the establishment of the Turkish nation-state had started to be broken because of the merchants', businessmen's and local landowners' discomfort with the rising political and economic interference of the state especially in the War Years.²⁶⁴ The society was already dissatisfied with the economic policies of the Republican People's Party in War Years because of the high inflation, general scarcity, the high burden of taxes especially on the peasants to compensate for not being integrated to the Second World War and rising socio-economic inequalities accelerated by the War years both in the cities and the countryside. The context of the end of the War announcing the victory of "Western Democracies" paved the way for an increasing discourse about liberal democracy and the dissatisfaction of the group from the previous Republican alliance caused the establishment of the Democrat Party in 7 January 1947 under the leadership of Celal Bayar, Refik Koraltan, Fuat Köprülü and Adnan Menderes.

Doğan Kardeş was born into such a context of an increasing discourse about democracy and Turkey had already revealed her side to be on the Western alliance²⁶⁵. Doğan Kardeş which was established in the name of Doğan Taşkent,

²⁶³ Feroz Ahmad, *Demokrasi Sürecinde Türkiye (1945-1980)* (İstanbul: Hil Yayınları, 1996): 22.

²⁶⁴ Ibid: 21.

²⁶⁵ Not just Doğan Kardeş, but the previous nationalist, even Turkist publishers of the periodicals such as Faruk Gürtunca reflected very well the choice of Turkey after the end of the Second World War. A poem of Gürtunca about NATO named *4th of April, the NATO Day* (source could not be found) shows this very well: *Dünyanın kuzeyinde/Avrupa devletleri/Barış için elele/Konuştular her biri./Genel düşmana karşı,/Birlik ordu kurdular,/Böyle düşman önünde,/Kale gibi durdular./Kuzey Atlantik Paktı,/Denildi bu birliğe./Dünya kavuşur elbet,/Bu birlikte dirliğe./Kısaca (NATO) ya/Bu el ele*

Kazım Taşkent's son in April 1945 by Vedat Nedim Tör²⁶⁶, seemed to represent Turkey's modern face that had turned her face completely to the West after the isolation years of the Second World War. Doğan Kardeş was published for long years between 1945 and 1978 and again between 1988 and 1993.²⁶⁷ Turkey's increasing relationship with Western countries, especially the United States was well reflected and praised in Doğan Kardeş and Doğan Kardeş seemed to undertake the responsibilities of importing the Western liberal, secular and democratic codes to Turkey through educating children with them in the second half of the 1940s.

The political attitudes that were tried to be instilled on children in Doğan Kardeş since its birth were defined by the ideals of democracy and one of the best examples of it could be seen in a play written by Vedat Nedim Tör in 15 April 1946. The name of the play was "We Are Choosing Our Mayor!". It was about a group of boys and girls in a classroom trying to choose the student who would be the mayor in their 23 April Play by arranging an election. They make the elections due to the principles of secret voting and open counting and they try to handle the process very seriously. Both girls and boys could be candidates and they all made speeches in

vermeye/Dünya barışı için,/Saadete ermeye./Türkiye'de Nato'ya/Girmiş olan devlettir./NATO'nun düşündüğü./Evrensel saadettir.

²⁶⁶ Kazım Taşkent was the founder of Construction and Credit Bank(Yapı ve Kredi Bankası) and he was a significant initiator of the private sector. His son Doğan had died in a landslide in the Alps in Switzerland and Vedat Nedim Tör had established *Doğan Kardeş* and tried to reflect it as a brother to children in the name of Doğan Taşkent. Mine söğüt has written a significant book about the history of Doğan Kardeş and she has told all the process behind the establishment of Doğan Kardeş. Söğüt says that, Doğan Kardeş was just that perfect Turkish child in the imagination of Kazım Taşkent. Vedat Nedim Tör had revived that perfect character of the Turkish child with pen and paper and had managed to insert it in the untouched worlds of children" (*Doğan Kardeş, Kazım Taşkent'in hayalindeki kusursuz Türk Çocuğunun ta kendisiydi. Vedat Nedim Tör, bu mükemmel çocuk karakterini Doğan Kardeş'le birlikte neredeyse ete kemiğe büründürür gibi kağıda kaleme büründürmüş ve çocukların el değmemiş dünyasına sokmayı başarmıştı*), Mine Söğüt, *Sevgili Doğan Kardeş* (İstanbul: YKY: 2003): 38. But in fact, Söğüt forgets something here: the world of children was already touched since their birth by the adult ideologies. We have seen how their maps of meaning were shaped by the narratives of children's periodicals since the establishment of the Republic. Their worlds have always been touched by the eras to which they were born. Their worlds have never been untouched.

²⁶⁷ It was being published in *Yeni Han* in *Beyoğlu* and was being sent only to the subscribers. The price of 12 issues were 5 liras per 1 year and 3 liras per 6 months, Ibid: 37.

front of their friends before the process of the voting began. At the end a boy won the elections and all the children were very happy that they did everything to democratic rules.²⁶⁸

Doğan Kardeş attributed itself significant roles for the political socialization of Turkish children and this political socialization subjects of it were due to the socio-economic and political context of the aftermath of the Second World War. Apart from trying to instill the ideals of democracy to children, Doğan Kardeş cared a lot about teaching children saving money and consuming national products in those hard socio-economic conditions:

Turkey is a country which has spread from underdeveloped technique to developed technique. All our efforts are now for the speeding this process up. We are establishing factories, banks, operating mines, we are building railways, airports, ports, we are buying new ships, in short we are working without stopping to raise more products, to speed up our lives and to live a more developed life...All this work can only be done with money. Money is saved by working and making a surplus. The lazy nations have very few money just like lazy people. But saving is not enough in itself. One must use the gained money efficiently without squandering it and must deposit it in the banks and run it there.²⁶⁹

Doğan Kardeş represented the opening face of Turkey completely towards the West and especially the United States after the end of the Second World War.²⁷⁰ But

²⁶⁸ Vedat Nedim Tör, "Belediye Başkanımızı Seçiyoruz!," 23 Nisan Piyesi," *Doğan Kardeş*, no. 18 (15 April 1946): 15-18.

²⁶⁹ *Türkiye, her alanda geri teknikten ileri tekniğe geçen bir memleketidir. Bütün çalışıp çabalamalarımız, bu geçişi çabuklaştırmak içindir. Fabrikalar kuruyoruz, madenler işletiyoruz, bankalar açıyoruz, demir yollar döşüyoruz, uçak meydanları, limanlar yapıyoruz, yeni yeni vapurlar satın alıyoruz, kısaca daha çok mal yetiştirmek ve yaşayışımızı daha çabuklaştırmak, daha ileri bir hayat sürmek için durmadan çalışıyoruz...Bütün bu işler para ile yapılır. Para, çalışmakla çoğalır ve arttırmakla birikir. Tenbel milletlerin, az çalışan milletlerin, tıpkı tenbel insanlar gibi, paraları azdır. Çok para, çok çalışmakla kazanılır. Bu da yetmez, kazanılan paraları iyi kullanmak, yerinde kullanmak, çarçur etmemek, sonra da artanı bankalara yatırıp işletmek lazımdır,* Cemal Nadir, "Arttırma Ve Yerli Mallar Haftası-Amcamız Konuşuyor," *Doğan Kardeş*, no. 9 (1 December 1945):3.

²⁷⁰ See "Türkiye Küçük Bir Amerika Olma Yolundadır," *Doğan Kardeş*, no. 31 (1 November 1946): 13; "Amerika'da Çalışıp Hayatını Kazananları Herkes Sever Sayar," *Doğan Kardeş*, no. 128 (24 March 1949): 3; "Türk Çocuklarının Yüksek Kabiliyetlerini Amerika'da Tanıtmaya Vesile Olduğumuz İçin Bahtiyarız," *Doğan Kardeş*, no. 165 (24 November 1949): 3. As Mine Söğüt says, Turkey was looking at the world by American glasses and this was also reflected in the discourse that

the nationalist sensitivity had not been sacrificed as seen in the above sentences about national development. The same sensitivity was also seen in Doğan Kardeş's effort to remind children the richness of national culture. For example, in 1945, Cemal Nadir had written and pictured a fiction where the modernly dressed fictive character; Uncle of Doğan Kardeş was waiting for his guest Tarzan. "Fortunately the war in Europe had ended and the airplanes had started to fly between the Old and New Worlds" and so Tarzan could come as soon as possible²⁷¹. When Tarzan came, the modern Uncle complained to his guest Tarzan that, Turkish children knew Lorel-Hardi, all the cowboys, Arşak Palabıyıkyan; but not Karagöz, Köroğlu and Nasreddin Hodja. Tarzan was saying to this modern man reflecting the modern bureaucrat intellectuals of Turkey that, "It is the responsibility of you to illuminate your children". The modern Uncle decided to start the work from teaching children Karagöz.²⁷²

But in fact the high proportion of most of the literary pieces translated from Western sources showed that, Doğan Kardeş wanted to teach children the Western sources very much and wanted to educate them as shining beautiful minds donated with the knowledge about Western civilization. This was a prerequisite to get integrated to the West and Turkey in the context of the aftermath of the Second World War, had already determined her route to be with the West. Certainly there was an effort to educate and advocate worldwide famous bright scientists, historians, composers, artists, musicians, painters, poets and the great focus on arts in the pages of Doğan Kardeş was related to the belief that enlightenment and development would

otherized the negroes in Doğan Kardeş in the 1950s when the white-black conflict was on the scene. See Mine Söğüt, "Afrika'daki Zenci Kardeşler," in *Sevgili Doğan Kardeş* (İstanbul: YKY Yayınları, 2003): 135-139.

²⁷¹ *Bereket versin, Avrupa Savaşı bittikten sonra, Eski Dünya ile Yeni Dünya arasında uçaklar vızır vızır işlemeğe başladı*, Cemal Nadir, "Tarzan Türkiye'de," *Doğan Kardeş*, no. 5 (1945): 16.

²⁷² Ibid: 16-17.

first stem from science and arts. This is why the Western cultural resources had to be well known by the tomorrow's great artists.²⁷³ The achievements of İdil Biret, Suna Kan and Ayşegül Sarıca abroad were always announced in the pages of Doğan Kardeş²⁷⁴ and there were a lot of art competitions arranged to support children oriented towards arts.

In short, Doğan Kardeş was speaking to those children who had the luxury and time to follow these competitions by buying Doğan Kardeş every week. They were children whose parents wanted them to be bright and shine in their classrooms as tidy, talented, hardworking, intelligent, active children in schools and supported them to join to those competitions. It is at this point that *Doğan Kardeş* continues the hidden discourse of the 1930s in terms of the distinction between middle-class and poor children despite many other transformations and changes contrary to the single-party aura of the 1930s. Although *Doğan Kardeş* was the child of a changing political climax, its audience was similar to the reader audience of the 1930s. The mass to which Doğan Kardeş was speaking to were the children of “urban, healthy, cultured families having a specific life style and showing the features of nuclear families”²⁷⁵. They were the children of middle-class and upper-middle class families

²⁷³ There were stories, tales from Western writers and writings that introduced the life story of famous Western artists to children. See Münevver Alpar, "O Da Bir Çocuktı!," *Doğan Kardeş*, no. 4 (1945): 31. There were also pieces about the most important Western cultural monuments like the Acropolis in Athens, "Ah!Ne Güzel!," *Doğan Kardeş*, no. 3 (1945): 26-27.

²⁷⁴ Mine Söğüt, "Bu Çocuklar Harika," in *Sevgili Doğan Kardeş* (İstanbul: YKY Yayınları, 2003): 74-84.

²⁷⁵ *Kentli, sağlıklı, kültürlü, belirli bir eğitim ve yaşam seviyesine sahip, genel olarak çekirdek aile özellikleri gösteren ailelerin çocukları*, Ayça (Demir) Gürdal, "Doğan Kardeş, Vedat Nedim Tör Ve "Kaka Bebekler"," *Kebikeç*, no. 19 (2005): 157. Gürdal summarizes the ideal Turkish child envisioned by Doğan Kardeş as such: “1-Every Turkish child must have a fit and healthy body, 2-Every Turkish child must be interested in a branch of arts, 3-Every Turkish child must be healthy and clean, 4-Every Turkish child must be hardworking and successful, 5-Every Turkish child must be in solidarity and cooperation with his friends, 6-Every Turkish child must be good-hearted and intelligent”(1-*Her Türk Çocuğu güzel vücutlu ve sağlam olmalıdır*, 2-*Her Türk Çocuğu sanatın bir dalı ile uğraşmalıdır*, 3-*Her Türk çocuğu sağlıklı ve temiz olmalıdır*, 4-*Her Türk çocuğu çalışkan ve başarılı olmalıdır*, 5-*Her*

who were from then on children of the rising private initiative; merchants, businessmen, bankers and free traders in addition to bureaucrats, living scheduled lives in apartment flats having living and dining rooms, behaving due to good manners and etiquette as their parents wanted them, having fixed playing and studying times, studying hard, learning foreign languages, making jokes and gaining the love of their parents by their sympathy and intelligence. This story was not new.

Doğan Kardeş was born into a different political context of the end of the Second World War when the previous Republican Alliance in the establishment of the Turkish Republic had started to be broken and a new liberal atmosphere had started to spread in the country. The single-party system had ended with the establishment of the Democrat Party and the Democrat Party had caughty great popularity among the masses.

But nothing was new in terms of poverty. The burden of the War years on especially the lower classes and the peasants had been great. The high cost of living during the war years had effected a high proportion of population badly and the most encountered daily issue of the newspapers during the war was the high cost of living.²⁷⁶

This condition had caused the unemployment of many people and the impoverishment of many families. The poor child in Kemalettin Tuğcu's stories was not just a fiction; the children having to work to look after their families was a reality which had been more visible with the hard price of the Second World War for many families in the city and in the countryside.

Türk çocuğu dayanışmacı ve işbirliği içinde olmalıdır, 6-Her Türk Çocuğu iyi ve akıllı olmalıdır, Ibid: 163-173.

²⁷⁶ See "Hayat Pahalılığıle Mücadele İçin Ana Kararlar Lazım; Bilhassa Değişmez Gelirli Yurddaşları Istraba Sürükliyen Bu Buhran Ancak İyi Düşünölmüş, Çabuk Tatbik Edilen Açık Ve Etraflı Devlet Kararlarile Önlenebilir.," *Cumhuriyet*, 1 October 1942: 1; "Hayat Pahalılığı Karşısında Çareler," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 October 1942: 1.

Doğan Kardeş, which wanted to educate bright, good-hearted, hardworking children, attributed itself the responsibility of reminding the virtues of “lending a helping hand to poor” to those middle-class children. In fact, Doğan Kardeş was so oriented towards middle-class children as its readers that, there were not so many pieces about poor children in its issues like *Çocuk Haftası*.. But just like the other periodicals of the period, Doğan Kardeş internalized the notion of charity and defined poverty and charity on the same plane. In one of the issues in 1949, Doğan Kardeş published a letter from a poor child. The child was offering his thanks to a rich man who did not want to declare his name. This rich man had subscribed 10 poor children to Doğan Kardeş and the boy writing the letter was saying that he was one of them. He was saying that, previously he could not buy Doğan Kardeş and was always longing for reading it when he saw his friends with Doğan kardeş in their hands. From then on, he could read all those pieces of entertainment, games, science pages and look at the interesting photographs and he felt himself so indebted to this rich man.²⁷⁷

As we see, Doğan Kardeş wanted from its readers to “think of their poor friends”. Those “poor friends” were certainly not among those mass of reader children, they were somewhere outside. They could only read the issues of Doğan Kardeş if a rich man subscribed them to the periodical. Otherwise, they would just be jealous of their friends whose parents could buy them the periodical every time. Doğan Kardeş wanted from its readers to be ideal Turkish children in modern Turkey and behave due to the parameters that they would be the future citizens of this modern Turkey. They had to lend a helping hand to the poor as a good and ideal Turkish child had to do.

²⁷⁷ "Fakir Arkadaşlarınızı Düşünün!," *Doğan Kardeş*, no. 122 (27 January 1949): 3.

The 1940s were the years when poverty and the boundary between middle-class Republican families and poor families became more visible. The political discourse after 1945 was shaped around “the transition of Turkey to multi-party and democracy period”. Doğan Kardeş reflected the political transformation of Turkey turning her face to parameters of “Western Liberal Democracies and the United States”. But although the political discourse was new, the social life continued without much change in terms of poverty. There were more “poor friends” after the war. And in the pages of Doğan Kardeş, those “poor friends” were only objects of charity for the middle-class eyes of reader children who were educated to be bright children at home and at school for the sake of the country. The ideal Turkish child who had to be healthy, clean, hardworking, cooperative, intelligent, scheduled, obedient, active and social had to be aware that, there were “poor friends” outside.

But those “poor friends” did not take much place in the pages of Doğan Kardeş. The support of the education of bright middle-class children like Doğan Taşkent was the real focus of it.

The years from the end of the 1930s towards the 1940s show us how poverty and poor children became the subject-issue of many children’s periodicals due to the hard socio-economic conditions accelerated with the Second World War. The increasing proportion of those writings about the stories of poverty and poor, homeless children of especially Kemalettin Tuğcu’s were taking place together with pieces equating the child with the nationalist project and Republican ideals of progress in the pages of the periodicals.

The writings in the periodicals targeted a particular sterile middle-class child of the Republican nuclear family going to summer camps and living with schedules and due to a particular etiquette as we have seen in the first part of this chapter. But the poor child figures that were more visible since the end of the 1930s were certainly the objects of those middle-class children reading them. To put it more precise, those children of middle-class Republican families were reading the stories of poor, homeless children in their homes and were being warned about either keeping away from those street children whose poverty was a result of their laziness or bad morals or vice versa they were being warned about lending a helping hand to that “poor” and getting a lesson from those poor but morally upright and hardworking children as seen in Kemalettin Tuğcu’s stories. In both ways, the poor children were the objects of the subject middle-class child readers. The writers and the publishers knew with whom they were establishing a dialogue and they could only be children whose parents bought them those periodicals every week and did not find it a luxury.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

In 1989, a story about a father and his son was published in *Doğan Kardeş*. The story was written from the mouth of the son. His father had taken him to the meeting of the Generation of 68's. The son gets really bored there. But the main interesting point comes with the comments of the son: "Inevitably I got there with my dad. What a boring day it was! All of them think that they are still living the 20 years ago."

These words of the son in 1989 reflect very well the transformations in the world and the society through the image of the child. The image of the child used here gives the message that it was a new era. The dialogues of the men in the Generation of 68's were perceived just as old mutters and murmurs belonging to a

completely different time and aura which can just sound as so “old” and “boring” to a child born in the beginning of the 1980s. The world had already started to change, communism had scattered, the culture of liberal economy had started to expand in great density. The soul and the images of 1968 were left behind.

The political polarization in Turkey in 1960s and 1970s and the dramatic experience of a generation were left behind in memories after the 1980 coup. Turkey had started to change due to the main route of the world in the aura of globalization which would get a much sharper pace and breaking in the 1990s. A little fictive boy was announcing it in *Doğan Kardeş* in 1989 with a great confidence: “All of them think that they are still living the 20 years ago.”

The perception of the son in the above narrative regarding the recent past of his country is an evidence of the close relationship between the memory and the common-sense of the society and its children in a particular context. This once more reminds us that, childhood is not just a biological existence. It is not just a biological or social category ;it is a flexible space of identity which is both shaped by and in turn shapes the political images existing in a specific socio-historical context. It is an area of memory where competing political projections in the experienced socio-historical context are portrayed, visualized and internalized in the simplest but also most detailed form. Children in this sense, stand just at the middle of politics just as everyone in the society. The intensity of the value attributed to them is sometimes higher, sometimes lower. They attribute and are attributed meanings and burdens due to the hegemonic perceptions of their times. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the children in addition to young people were the actors through whom the neo-liberal culture sent its messages and valued them as customers in the consumption culture. The son in the above narrative voices the reality of his time by a simple sentence

about his boredom because of the dialogues of his father's friends. But in fact, there is much more than the boredom the child felt in that sentence. That simple sentence shines as the mark of change in the *zeit-geist* and in the aura of the 1990s Turkey.

Looking at earlier times, in the 1930s and early 1940s Turkey, the Republican ideology was imagined at most through children attributing them great roles and burdens. Children were rendered as the most valuable metaphors of the newly born nation-state as they were the symbols of birth, progress and a new start. In this socio-historical and political context of nation-state formation, the density of the value attributed to children was much higher as they symbolized the future of the Republic whose identity had to be shaped at the present.

This study departed from the faith in the significance of children as real political actors in the society and the belief in the inevitable link between the competing political projections experienced in the specific social reality and the images in the memories of children about their society in that specific context. By this, it aimed to shed light on the ways through which the mainstream images of the Republic targeting children, constituted a particular childhood(s) intertwined with terms of gender and class in 1930s and 1940s Turkey and tried to wander in the imagination of 1930s and 1940s children. My main aim was to show at least some of the mainstream channels and images through which the Republic's children were categorized, encountered the society and were made to be socialized politically. But unfortunately because of the lack of resources, this was done more by the analysis of the discourse of Republican adults rather than the real voice of the child which is a deficit in most of the studies about childhood.

I chose a thematic approach rather than a chronological one as my main focus was on the continuities of the Republican images through 1930s and early 1940s

targeting the construction of a particular generation. But in my analysis of themes and images, I paid attention to the distinction between the years 1930-39 in terms of the context of the single-party regime and etatism, 1939-45 in terms of the Second World War and poverty as its effect portrayed more in the narratives rather than the Republican and nationalist myths of the 1930s and aftermath of 1945 in terms of the end of the Second World War and the transformations in the Turkish political arena. My main tools have been children's periodicals which are chosen at most by their feature of enclosing the brightest clues about the relationship of the Republic and its children. Because as the periodicals directly called out to children, the most complex debates of the Republic had to be voiced in the simplest form with visualization in their pages to attract the imagination of a child. It is at that point that, the need to use a simple and visual discourse for children, makes the issue a caricaturized and simplified shadow of its origin in the discourse of the adults. By this, the hidden dilemmas come out to the surface more easily as the simple language of children's periodicals does not allow to rotate words. The content in these periodicals is seen as bright as a child's mind can internalize.

Departing from these points and looking at six mainstream children's periodicals published between the years mentioned in the first chapter (*Çocuk Sesi/1928-1939* owned by Faruk Gürtunca; *Cumhuriyet Çocuğu/1938-1939*, *Yavrutürk/1936-1942* and *Çocuk Haftası/1943-1949* owned by Tahsin Demiray; *Çocuk/1939-1940* owned by Fuad Umay under the auspices of the Children's Protection Society and *Doğan Kardeş/1945-1949* owned by Vedat Nedim Tör under the auspices of the Yapı Kredi Bank), some results regarding the relationship of the Republic and its children were found. I gathered these results in two levels of analysis: The second chapter was limited to the political discourse arena of the

periodicals related to projections of nation-building, modernization, progress and secularism which attributed children great public roles and wanted to socialize them politically as future adults and citizens in the context of the single-party power in 1930s.

But the third and fourth chapters focused more on the aura of the daily lives of children at home. In this respect, I found that the qualification of the burden and duties attributed to all children as the children of the nation in political discourse changed and “the children of the nation” were divided into two flexible groups between the lines: the projection of an idealized, modern nuclear family intertwined with a flexible middle-class identity and envisioned the inclusion of a particular middle-class childhood in the heart of the Republican vision of the country. But on the other hand, compared to middle-class children, a “poor” and “homeless” childhood emphasized more due to the rising poverty in the society by the onset of the Second World War in 1939 till 1945, was otherized and defined, paradoxically either as an object of pity, mercy and appreciation by its good qualities of honour and good morals despite poverty; or as an object of exclusion by a literature of vagabondage, laziness and immorality attributed to that condition of “poor” childhood. Poverty and poor children in this sense were never perceived as issues of social conflict. The social conflicts stemming from poverty in this respect in social reality were identified on just a moral plane which excluded any political and socio-economical approach to the issue in the periodicals.

Looking at the first level of political discourses of 1930s, we see that the founders of the Republic envisioned a metaphorical relationship between the child and the nation. This was very much reflected in Gürtunca’s and Demiray’s periodicals which were the most popular ones of their time published after the

adoption of the Latin Alphabet. These were generally in circulation in big cities and so were calling out to an urban audience of children. The envisioned equation of the child and the nation paved the way for great burdens and responsibilities attributed to children who had to be educated with the hegemonic values of the Turkish nation-state based on the ideals of linear progress, secularism, disjunction from the Ottoman past as seen from many narratives and stories in the periodicals. For this, the child immediately had to reach at maturity, get rid of childish behaviours and coyness and get ready for carrying the Turkish Republic on his shoulders as a strong, hardworking, morally upright, healthy, active and social “future citizen”. The main tools of political socialization were the narratives appreciating the single-party and its achievements in terms of carrying the country to the destination of progress and development.

The children’s periodicals were claiming that they were calling out to all children of the country. But in fact, we have seen that their audience was mostly children of urban middle-class families both in İstanbul and in other cities in Anatolia. The publishers and writers belonging to the state intelligentsia by most of their professions as teachers, were establishing a dialogue only with children of those nuclear middle-class families, living in harmony in modern houses where every member of the family had definite roles. The readers of the periodicals were generally children of bureaucrats, civil servants, soldiers, teachers or bankers, working under the auspices of the state and the expectations of the Republican Regime and their parents from them were in harmony with the envisioned organic solidarity of the nation.

The father was visualized generally as a modern figure of outright discipline at home while the mother was a modern housewife “guiding her children from

behind” with great sacrifice and compassion. The children in this warm nuclear home were portrayed as innocent, hardworking and tidy figures obedient to their parents. The order of the house for the sake of the nation was emdedded in the proper functioning of each member’s roles in the house.

The daily status-quo of the idealized Republican family carried in itself also the hegemonic middle-class codes envisioning a particular life-style. One of the marks of this situation was the definition of etiquette and good manners portraying aristocratic sensitivities. But in fact these rules envisioned the child as a weak, passive and silent figure who was always expected not to talk much. But the dilemma was that, these children of middle-class families were portrayed also as so active, intelligent children good at making quick replies with their cunning in most of the narratives and caricatures published as the cover pages. On the one hand passivity was envisioned, on the other hand activity and performance were appreciated.

The life-styles of these children was also made evident in their perception of holiday where most of them went or were sent by their parents to summer camps near the sea where they lived a complete scheduled life. They swimmmed, slept, read their books, learned foreign languages; in fact had the luxury to do all these. The ones who did not go to summer camps, generally wrote about going to sea in their summer houses near the shores. This once more declared the specific class codes of the standard Republican family.

The audience of the periodicals were portrayed as these children of middle-class families going to summer camps and living with a particular life-style in apartment flats and due to a particular definition of etiquette and good manners. But the poor child figures that were more emphasized since the end of the 1930s and were intensified in the Second World War Conditions, were just portrayed as the

reading materials of those middle-class children. Those children of middle-class Republican families were reading the stories of poor, homeless children in their warm middle-class homes and were being warned about either keeping away from those street children whose poverty was a result of their laziness or bad morals or vice versa they were being warned about lending a helping hand to that “poor” and getting a lesson from those poor but morally upright and hardworking children as seen in Kemalettin Tuğcu’s stories. In both ways of the depiction of “poor” children as summarized above, the “poor children” were generally just images being read about by middle-class child readers. They were not the audience of these periodicals. The writers and the publishers were not trying to establish a dialogue with them. The writers and the publishers were just trying to tell narratives about those “poor” children or “poor” friends as in the discourse of *Doğan Kardeş* to their middle-class child audience.

But, Tuğcu’s stories in a way made poverty more visible and instilled mercy onto children in the 1940s. His value came from his distinction to show those middle-class readers intensely that there could be other lives of children outside who had to work since their childhood and earn the daily bread of their families. But on the other hand, he romanticized poverty. Poverty in this sense was portrayed as an issue emptied from its socio-economical and political meaning and just donated with moral meanings.

But there is one very significant thing that combine both the reader middle-class children and the poor, homeless children on the same plane: They are both children who are attributed a great value not as an essential artefact that they are children, but because they are the metaphors meaning a lot of significant things to the society. They generally are not pictured as having any essential value in the

periodicals. They are shown as valuable because they are the “future generations”, “future citizens”, “metaphors of progress”, “metaphors of disjunction with the past” as seen in the middle-class child readers.

Or as seen in the depiction of “poor” and “homeless” children, they are valuable because they “give a hard life-struggle by working in their childhood and earning the bread of their families.” The child is praised with that life-struggle but in fact he is just a child. A working child does not sound as something to be problematized but it sounds as so natural. For example, in Kemalettin Tuğcu’s *The Bazaar of Children*, the reader is expected to praise Ayşe because of the hard work she managed for her family throughout the story. But she did not have to do all those things in fact. But if she did not do them, she would not be praised by the readers by her being “such a dutiful child.”

There is so much burden attributed on the children of the Republic which becomes more visible especially with the depiction of poor, homeless children. Those poor children have to give such a hard struggle to gain the love and mercy of the readers. As we see in some of the cover pages of the periodicals including caricatures, there were smiling middle-class children pictured as good at making quick replies to their parents, making jokes to them by which the readers were expected to praise their intelligence and cunning. These children were in fact the opposite of silent, weak, thin poor children. The cute narrative about the jokes that middle-class faces made to their parents in the pictures, turn out to be a narrative that praises silent, thin, weak, poor children like Ayşe. Ayşe does not make any jokes to her parents because she has to earn the bread of her family and it is not natural for her to behave like that. She is the one praised with her silence and respect while the middle-class children are the ones to whose cunning jokes the adults were laughing.

But on the other hand we should again remember the other dilemma of the Republic that, while the adults were laughing at the cunning jokes of those middle-class children, they at the same time wanted to silence them and instill on them a passivity by definition of good morals and etiquette as we have seen in the previous pages.

This means, although the middle-class children and the poor, homeless children were both valued due to the societal perceptions of nationalism, modernity and charity but not due to any essential value stemming from their being just as “children”; the burden on the poor people and children in the narratives were much heavier. They had to sacrifice a lot from their childhood. They had to forget their childhood and earn the bread of their families like adults. The middle-class children in the narratives at least continued to stay as a child without having to undertake the responsibilities of earning the daily bread of the family.

Throughout this study, it was aimed to show how the Republic portrayed its children and the values attributed to them in the context of the 1930s and early 1940s. I departed from the belief in the inevitable link between the maps of meaning of children in a particular socio-historical context and the mainstream routes of that society and tried to imagine the ways through which the Republic imagined its children through children’s periodicals. I arrived at the conclusion that, the Republican intelligentsia internalized the discourse of “all children of the nation” while the portrayal of children in the narratives paved the way to differentiating two flexible groups of children: The middle-class child readers and their “poor” counterparts being read about. The real socio-economical conflicts in the social reality of Second World War conditions that had intensified poverty, were reflected in the periodicals as just moral questions.

The distinction between middle-class and poor children was defined on such a moral plane where the child was tried to be attracted to the belief that, the good would always win and get rich in the end. But in a way, success was perceived only to be gained by gaining real wealth. Wealth was perceived as the measure of success and the final destination; the only way to get rid of misery and poverty. It is this moment that brought the 1950s to the scene when urbanization and migration brought with them new success stories of little children in the context of a transforming Turkey. There were from then on real stories more about “today’s “poor” children but tomorrow’s merchants and businessmen” in the 1950s Turkey.

In this study, the analysis of the images and themes of the Republican discourse in children’s periodicals made me arrive at some points which makes it easier for me now to imagine and guess at least what was in a child’s mind regarding his/her society in the socio-historical context of the 1930s and early 1940s. But a discourse analysis is never enough in terms of highlighting that phenomena. A huge arena is waiting for researchers in terms of using the possibilities of the intertwined cross-cultural arenas of psychology, social and cultural history and shed light more on the children’s maps of meanings within their specific socio-historical and political contexts.

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