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ARTICLE

Crafting a national identity: The role of geography textbooks in 1930s Turkey's nation-building project

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Abstract

This paper investigates geography textbooks of the 1930s in Turkey, contending that geographical knowledge played a pivotal role in shaping nationhood within a modernising state. This study's critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the early republican geography textbooks showcases how (1) Turkey's spatial formation was reimagined in 1930s; (2) defining markers of Turkishness and the Turkish nation were forged through erasures and breakups of minority groups, and (3) the new national identity was “bridged” to the geography of the newly founded Republic. This paper posits that a nation's portrayal of its geography and global positioning is not merely a factual recording, but also a reflection of ideological and political choices. Such portrayals are complete social constructs, inherently influenced by power dynamics and disputes. Beneath the ostensibly impartial depictions of space and spatial relations, invisible power dynamics and assertions underlie the assignments of specific meanings to geographic areas.

KEYWORDS

construction of citizens, critical discourse analysis, geography education, geography textbooks, nation-building, Turkey

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1 | INTRODUCTION

The post-Ottoman Turkish nation-building project exemplifies post-colonial state formation in the early 20th century, and examining this project is useful for understanding modernisation theory. This project promoted Eurocentric measures as universal standards of political, social and economic progress, thereby reshaping perceptions of time and space.¹ With the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the discipline of geography was restructured within a national context (Kartal, 2017; Özkan, 2014). Concepts of homeland and citizenry were integrated into the collective consciousness. Values appropriate for a nation-state, such as “borders” and “full independence,” emerged as crucial concerns (Durgun, 2018b: 139). The War of Independence, the local congresses and the Lausanne Treaty shaped new perceptions of geography in physical, human and political terms. As the Republic's ideology continued to influence the education system, institutions and identities were redefined.²

Geography and history textbooks typically include themes such as valorising the nation, simplifying the narrative and adopting new narratives to suit changes in the political environment. Such adaptations involve reprioritising, concealing or reinterpreting social realities, to align with new political objectives (Williams, 2014b). Consequently, textbooks often depict the nation in a positive light, omitting reference to negative events and aiming to cultivate a complacent loyal society, supportive of the state's powerholders.

In this study, we analyse the political and ideological contents of spatial representations, and do so by drawing on post-structuralist geography, postcolonial theory and theories of nationalism.³ We explore how the characteristics of the Republic influenced geography textbooks, identifying indicators of a nationalist agenda for rewriting history and representing a new collective identity.

Using critical discourse analysis (CDA), we examine early republican-era geography textbooks to uncover insights into how teaching geography contributed to the social construction of nationhood.⁴ We explore how the Republic's specific political conditions and goals influenced these textbooks, particularly focusing on secondary school geography textbooks from the 1930s. Although the 1930s are considered part of the early republican period, this decade is often described as the closing stage of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's career (Hale, 1980). Our study scrutinises how Turkey, its position, and its role in the re-mapped world of the early 20th century were depicted. We consider how *the designation of an imagined country* was propagated through the teaching of geography in the newly founded Republic.

2 | CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: NATION BUILDING AND GEOGRAPHY

Giddens (1990) posits that in pre-modern times, time and place were intrinsically linked, with “when” always tied to “where.” The rhythms of nature and of localised activities dictated perceptions of time. Space and place were intertwined, as local events shaped social life. However, the modern nation-building process significantly altered these perceptions.

Harvey (1984, 1989) emphasises that the shift from traditional to modern society brought new ways of experiencing time and space. A nationwide conception of time emerged, separating time from space, rationalising the ordering of “normalised” spaces, and replacing the local sense of time.⁵ Giddens (1990) argues that modernity's dynamism stems from the separating, and then recombining of time and space, to enable a precise time–space “zoning” of social life. The advent of the nation-state transformed perceptions of space and place by fostering relations between distant individuals, thereby disconnecting *space* from *place*. Consequently, events occurring outside people's immediate contexts increasingly influenced daily life, as the nation-state established a context independent of local time and space.

In addition, modernisation involved a decline of “sacred communities,” which altered people's perceptions of the world, making it impossible to conceive of national identity without that decline. The nation-building process required the subordination of local cultures to a uniform national culture, leading to radical changes in conceptions

of time (Anderson, 1991). That subordination involved homogenising local perceptions of time, which was crucial for transition to modernity (Giddens, 1990). The imposition of national markers of time over local ones led to standardised time perceptions, facilitating the rise of a new collective identity.

Such changes brought significant transformations of spatial relations in the broader society. Harvey (1989) illustrates these transformations through changes in mapping techniques. In medieval-era maps, the perceptual characteristics of spaces were paramount for their representation. However, modern-era maps depict space as an homogenous expanse, segmented by objective features. Similarly, the calendar has played a pivotal role in replacing discontinuous notions of time, in which local life had its rhythm. Modern calendars view time as an homogenous, continuous flow, measured by standardised units. Modern maps have been instrumental in diminishing the dominance of discrete local spaces, and establishing a context where each country is an “integral bounded unit, interconnected with its neighbours” (Sobe, 2014: 315). In this “nationalised” paradigm, space is perceived as a passive surface, where objects are positioned arbitrarily. Harvey (1989) describes this as an “annihilation of space by time.” However, Giddens (1990) argues that this new understanding of time and space serves as modernity's primary source of dynamism. Such conceptions of time and space are wielded as sources of power in society, because the reproduction of power relations involves not just economic relations but also the conceptions of time and space that sustain these economic relations.

These shifts in the perception of time are accompanied by a rewriting of history, to cultivate a new nationalist self-understanding. In that process, the past of new nations is reinterpreted. A series of myths or legends are invoked to facilitate state formation, and the nation's occupation of space offers a wealth of material for creating national legends or social metaphors. Hence, the reorganisation of time must be accompanied by a re-evaluation and restructuring of space.

Redefining space is crucial in the nation-building process because it involves establishing national boundaries. That requires *defining an imagined country*⁶ for which the citizens are willing to live and die. Consequently, a nation's portrayal of its space and its global position is not merely a matter of recording facts. It also entails ideological and political decisions. The seemingly neutral depictions of space and spatial relations express invisible power relations, and assign specific meanings to geographic areas.

The construction of an *imagined country* entails mobilising myths or legends that depict space in a specific manner that aligns with the nation's rewritten history. This process goes beyond invoking legends for nation-building; it includes upholding ideologies and power relations. (Re)defining the nation's space involves establishing physical and mental boundaries that differentiate it from the rest of the world. Mobilising new representations of the world and the country is as crucial as altering the citizens' perceptions of time and history.

Short (1991) describes this active construction of national time–space boundaries as *the constitution of an imagined country*. Local times are unified into a broader conception of time. Differences between places diminish, as complex region-wide relations replace direct local ones, and nation-building establishes a nationwide understanding of time. Through rewriting history, the nation integrates itself into world history, positioning itself within the power dynamics of international relations.

This process involves a dynamic interplay between *homogenisation* and *differentiation*. *Homogenisation* consolidates a common language, culture and identity, while *differentiation* establishes distinctions between “us” and the “others” in all aspects of public life. Together, these processes shape a new identity, grounded in territory, language and cultural tradition. These defining traits are reinvented as a collective identity. This intricate process creates an *imagined community*, based on fraternity rather than ancestral bonds, where the members share commonalities that set them apart from other nations. The process is enabled by various invented claims that validate the nation's unique identity and history (Anderson, 1991). The emerging nation-state also retroactively attributes agency to itself through re-imagination.⁷ Such re-imagination can occur through the abstract quantifications of people in census-taking, the symbolic representations of space on maps, or the genealogizing of populations in museums. These tools and narratives intertwine people's social contributions, facilitating the formation of imagined communities.

The teaching of geography plays a pivotal role in shaping national identity by fostering spatial metaphors that shape the citizens' perceptions of their countries. Geography delineates physical and mental boundaries between “the nation” and “the outside world.” These boundaries define the nation's “imaginary spaces” that shape its cultural and geosocial identity. Through geographical knowledge, the power relations established by nation-states are expressed and reinforced, highlighting the symbiotic relationship between geography and the reproduction of power dynamics within society.

Schooling functions within a broader framework of meaning-making. Therefore, the political discourse in school materials plays a crucial role in the shaping of citizens' perceptions (Meneses & Calderón, 2007). Textbooks serve as conduits for conveying information that defines identities, locations and trajectories (Morgan, 2003; Williams, 2014a). Consequently, approaches to teaching geography frequently align with the goals of the nation-state (Morgan, 2003).⁸

In newly formed nation-states of the post-colonial era, textbooks have played crucial roles for instructing students on how to integrate into their emerging nation. These texts often convey patriotic or nationalist messages, affirming the citizens' origins and providing them a defined identity (Meneses & Calderón, 2007). Where national populations include a diversity of cultures and linguistic or historical backgrounds, textbooks aim to foster a sense of unity by emphasising shared geographic identity.

3 | BACKGROUND

3.1 | From a multi-nation empire to an homogenous nation

The Republic of Turkey, established in 1923 from the remnants of the Ottoman Empire (the Empire), is often described as a nation caught between traditionalism and modernity, and between East and West. This understanding has influenced Turkish society since the late Ottoman period,⁹ impacting nearly every aspect of daily life.

Although Turkey lacks a colonial past, its experience mirrors that faced by many newly independent countries of the Third World, as it sought to redefine itself following the collapse of a multi-nation empire. As Said (2003 (1978)) argues, an “Orientalist” ideology, rooted in the assumption of a Christian–Muslim binary, has perpetuated colonialist views of the East as irrational and inferior. This ideology has justified colonial control by portraying Orientals as uncivil, and in need of emancipation by the rational and civilised West. The Turkish Republic, in defining itself as a modernised departure from its Ottoman past, was influenced by this Orientalist perspective. Thus, the Turkish case serves as an early model for the developmental patterns of other formerly colonial nations in the Third World. It illustrates a programme of “reformism from above,” imposed by autocratic leaders upon a subject population (Bayar, 2011).

However, the Turkish experience differed from this pattern in two ways. First, Turkey lacked an established class of large-scale landowners, as the Empire's central authorities had restricted land ownership, to prevent the emergence of local potentates (Nicolle, 2011). Second, the Empire had expelled its Christian minorities during and after the First World War, and these minorities had been the Empire's main groups that had amassed significant wealth through commerce.¹⁰ The merchant class's non-Muslim identity added ethnic and religious dimensions to the Empire's class divisions.¹¹ These minorities, despite their economic contributions, had never identified with the Ottoman state. They had viewed the Empire as a tool for their own interests (Keyder, 1987), and their economic influence had not translated into political power or influence.¹²

By preventing any hereditary Muslim aristocracy and causing an “ideological dislocation” (Keyder, 1987: 99) of the commercial classes, the Ottoman rulers sought to marginalise the agricultural and commercial populations, leaving the Ottoman bureaucracy unchallenged. But then, during the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, four prominent classes emerged within the Empire: a ruling bureaucratic class, the independent peasants, a commercial class and a military class, many of whom were Young Turk leaders. This social landscape shifted again during the First World War, as the expulsion of non-Muslim bourgeoisie minorities left a ruling republican class, tasked with creating a Muslim bourgeoisie.

The Young Turks' reforms signified the genesis of a *revolution from above* which still influences political thought in Turkey. Faced with the challenge of governing a declining empire, they aimed to establish a nation-state from out of a multi-nation empire. After initially exploring pan-Islamism, they ultimately designated the Turkish majority as the ethnic foundation of the new state, and claimed Anatolia as its homeland. Having emerged from the bureaucratic ranks, the Young Turks envisioned constitutional reforms to curb the sultan's absolute rule, and they introduced superstructural reforms linked to Western capitalism. However, they never considered a structural overhaul. Instead, the Young Turks treated the state as the sole agent of change, and introduced nationalist ideology without promoting popular participation. Despite this, they sought to cultivate an indigenous merchant class. Such a class began to emerge during WWI, as war-induced inflation and rationing facilitated profiteering, leading to rapid wealth accumulation among Muslim groups favoured by the Young Turks (Keyder, 1981).

The Empire entered the First World War as an ally of the Central powers. Its aim was to regain territories lost in previous conflicts, but the result was defeat and further losses of territory. The treaties that followed gave the Allies a mandate to invade Anatolia. Then, the invasions of French, British and later Greek forces, sparked a popular resistance movement. Between 1919 and 1923, the military-bureaucratic elite led the independence movement against the Allied powers, and transformed the Turkish majority into a new nation-state. However, by this time the composition of the Anatolian population had undergone significant changes, as the mainly-Christian minorities fled or were expelled. As Keyder explains, "Before the war, one out of every five persons living in present-day Turkey was non-Moslem, after the war, only one out of forty persons was non-Moslem" (1987: 79).

This demographic shift had implications for the development of capitalist relations in the subsequent years. At the inception of the Republic, over 90% of the old non-Muslim bourgeoisie had vanished, causing a depletion of Turkey's commercial classes. The remaining bourgeoisie lacked the capacity to form a class with independent interests. Combined with the absence of large-scale landowners, this shift left the military-bureaucratic elites unchallenged in founding the Republic. With ample room for manoeuvre, these elites established a state apparatus resembling the traditional structure long familiar to the Turkish population.

Rulers in Turkey have historically maintained a clear distance from their subjects. However, this distance was never so pronounced as it was in the early Republic era. The republican leaders failed to establish a strong popular base, which highlighted a fundamental paradox: *they lacked a social base while attempting to promote a nationalist ideology to mobilise the masses*. With the departure of Christian minorities, the remaining class structure was not conducive to mass mobilisation. Unlike in Latin American nations during the 1930s, where a *mobilisation scenario* was largely successful, Turkey's rulers lacked a potentially mobilisable class. They propagated an ideology of mobilisation without identifying a client group for themselves. The political agenda aimed to cultivate national consciousness for mass mobilisation, while ensuring state control over individuals and groups (Gür, 2020; Kadioğlu, 1996; Sayarı, 1978). *From its inception, the Republic was destined to be authoritarian*. Throughout the 1930s, the regime grew increasingly focused on maintaining control. Thus, early Republic nationalism served as a means of control rather than a platform for mobilisation.¹³

The new ruling elite, characterised by a more secular, Westernised worldview than the Young Turks, swiftly implemented reforms. These included the abolition of the sultanate and caliphate, the adoption of Latin scripts and the implementation of *hat laws* prohibiting traditional headdresses.¹⁴ The policymakers often equated Westernisation with modernisation (Berkes, 2003). Their modernisation effort aimed to incorporate both Westernised institutions and culture (Giritli, 1988; Gür, 2020).

Despite the numerous reforms and the propaganda surrounding them, the state itself retained its Ottoman character in terms of the country's position in the world economy. This lack of economic change was largely due to a clause in the 1923 Lausanne Treaty, which required Turkey to maintain the Ottoman trade regime until 1929 (Hershlag, 1968). Therefore, the economic structure remained unchanged, except for the replacement of Christian minorities. Vacant positions and properties were now appropriated by a budding Muslim bourgeoisie. Economically, the 1920s were a period of enrichment, especially for the commercial bourgeoisie.

In the political arena, the 1930s saw the ascent of single-party rule and an official ideology more nationalistic than was necessary for social cohesion or state formation.¹⁵ Birtek (1985) evaluates the “*etatism*” of Turkey’s response to the Great Depression, with its heavy state control over investment and distribution. This response, Birtek argues, was fundamentally political, reflecting an historical pattern. Keyder (1981) explains that the ruling party’s official ideology denied the existence of classes, in the interest of promoting social uniformity. The single-party regime maintained control throughout the 1930s and the Second World War, imposing permanent martial law and increasing levels of repression. Therefore, the early republican period was characterised by pursuit of a capitalist transition under strict tutelage by the ruling elite. The elite aimed to create a new Turkish bourgeoisie and transform the social structure, while preserving the state’s autocratic form. The emerging bourgeoisie collaborated in an economic policy that oppressed the working class and exploited agriculture, enabling rapid accumulations of wealth.

3.2 | Geography education in Turkey

Coşman defines geography as a science for investigating spatial characteristics and the relations between habitats and human life (1999). During the transition from the late Empire to the Republic, the state emphasised geography in both propaganda and education. As the Empire faced territorial losses and shifts in borders, the rulers displayed heightened spatial awareness and sensitivity toward geography (Durgun, 2018b). Starting in the late Ottoman period, specific institutions and intellectuals began closely supervising school curriculums. They sought to promote imperial patriotism by linking geography, identity and belonging, especially through producing maps (Durgun, 2011).

The concept of Ottoman patriotism is significant for conceptualising this transitional period, as the Empire emphasised a principle of loyalty, primarily to the sultan, instead of belonging to a territorial country (Durgun, 2011). In the newly founded Turkey, the rulers urged their subjects to take a more subjective relationship with the land. They placed increasing emphasis on borders and the link between geography and political identity, which led to a significant transformation in geographical imagination (Durgun, 2018a). The task of preserving authority while instilling a sense of belonging and shared identity required the services of both intellectuals and educators (Durgun, 2018b).

A number of recent scholars have provided fresh understanding on the evolution of education in Turkey, and its influence on identity formation across historical periods. Akpınar (2010) shows how the introduction of geography education served to legitimise Abdulhamid II’s authority between 1876 and 1908. Tokcan and Oruç (2009) analyse scientific progress and student-centred education in Ottoman-era teaching of geography. Kartal (2017) examines the reconstruction of space as Turkey was founded, showing how geography textbooks helped to shape a national identity.

Such books promoted Turkishness as a “superior identity” relative to Ottoman or non-Muslim identity. This focus in geographical education addressed central themes such as the new political borders and new concepts regarding “religious unity” and “national homeland.” Schilling (2016) explores the historical narratives of 1930s Turkish history textbooks, demonstrating their alignment with the state’s nation-building secularist agenda. Similarly, Yinilmez (2020) examines how civics textbooks helped to transform notions of citizenship and shape “moral values.” Aslan (2010) considers how the *Law of Unification of Education* caused a restructuring of the geography curriculum during the early Republic. Özkan (2014) explores the transition from an imperial to a national identity in Turkey, as enabled by the concept of “homeland.” Last, Çayır’s (2015) study examines the representation of Turkish national identity and minority groups in textbooks of the post-2005 curriculum, revealing persistent tendencies.

These studies highlight the complex interplay between education, territoriality, national identity and ideological shifts throughout Turkey’s history. We contribute to this literature by focusing on geography education in the 1930s, and analysing how geography textbooks reimagined spaces and places to establish the features of Turkish national identity. Our focus highlights the concepts that characterised the 1930s, a period when policymakers’ power and visions for the nation were more settled, as Atatürk’s career in founding the Republic was coming to an end.

3.3 | Geography textbooks in the early republic

According to Koçman, the period between 1915 and 1933 saw the first pioneers of modern geography in Turkey (1999). Faik Sabri Duran (1881–1943) was a leading pioneer during the transition from the Empire to the Republic. After graduating from the Lycée Louis Le Grand in Paris in 1912, he returned to Turkey and joined the geography department faculty at Istanbul University (Dinç 2016, cited in Durgun, 2018b), which was the nation's sole centre of geographic research and education until 1935 (Koçman, 1999).

Duran developed the first educational materials that aligned with the state's ideology of national geography (Durgun, 2018b). In this task, he applied a modernised “descriptive” approach to geography (Tokcan & Oruç, 2009: 1013). His work helped to popularise and modernise geography as he created pocketbooks, atlases, almanacs and encyclopaedias (Durgun, 2018b). He explained his approach as follows:

Geography has undergone significant change in recent decades, moving beyond its previous form and embracing its true purpose and significance. It has now earned a prominent position among the sciences. The outdated and redundant practices of old geography, based on obscure principles, are no longer adequate. Teachers are now tasked with creating memorable experiences for students, fostering their understanding of continents and countries, and encouraging them to explore and explain natural phenomena and environmental influences. Today's geography extends beyond mere memorisation of names and numbers; it encompasses ideas, critical thinking, and thoughtful analysis. (Duran, 1930: 4, cited in Tokcan & Oruç, 2009: 1015)

Duran introduced a significant discourse that shaped the narrative of national geography. Published in multiple editions, in 1930, 1932 and 1938, his book's modifications reflected changes in the political landscape.

The spatial representations in these textbooks portrayed the geographical position of modern Turkey and its geopolitical importance. Turkey was depicted as rooted in Anatolia, emerging from the Empire's legacy, withdrawing from the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Middle East, and consolidating ethnically and politically under the concept of “Turkishness.” This process of achieving homogeneity was described as the nation-state's culmination, following a teleological and evolutionary purification process.

In Duran's, 1930 edition, the theme of human geography focused on “Foreigners and Population in Turkey.” By the 1938 edition, the theme had changed to “Turkey and the Turks.” Also, the term “Kurd” was replaced with “Nomads in the East belonging to various tribes.” These shifts in discourse illustrate a growing emphasis on human geography within an homogenising Turkish narrative, and a framing of heterogeneous elements as “outside the homeland.” Immigrating heterogeneous peoples were described as “migrants,” to emphasise the gradual assimilation of non-Turkish Muslim groups into Turkishness. Conversely, non-Muslim groups were referred to as “minorities,” which aligned with the nation-state logic. As both domestic and international landscapes evolved with changing borders, the human geography within the domestic space was redefined, and political dynamics concerning the external world were reshaped. These changes were intended to bring a new perception of the West (Durgun, 2018b: 140–1).

The geography textbooks introduced during the 1930s demonstrated Turkey's state-building efforts, delineating its national identity with physical and imagined boundaries. We focus on how these textbooks aided spatial and historical self-identification, fostering a distinct “us and them” perspective (Morgan, 2003). We examine how the state's strategies for social cohesion influenced geography education, and we do so by analysing Duran's secondary school textbooks from 1930, 1932 and 1939.

We also reference a geography textbook from 1948 (by Sırrı Erinç and Osman Sami Öngör) to help track the evolution of nationalist themes in the 1930s textbooks. Sırrı Erinç (1918–2022) was a leading professor of physical geography in Turkey (Kurter, 1985: 4–5). Osman Sami Öngör (1915–1996) worked as a geography teacher from 1939 to 1946 before joining Gazi University in 1946 (Yalçınlar, 1997). They were both important figures in the rise of modern geography between 1941 and 1981 (Koçman, 1999). By examining their book, we aim to assess changes

introduced in other geography textbooks, and determine if Duran's strategy remained effective in later periods. This book from 1948 shows developments up to the transition to a multi-party system in 1946.

4 | METHODOLOGY: CDA

Using CDA, we examine early republican-era geography textbooks to gain insights into how the teaching of this subject contributed to a social construction of nationhood. We also explore how the Republic of Turkey's specific political conditions and goals influenced these textbooks. We show how these texts depicted Turkey, its position and its role in the re-mapped world of the early 20th century. We examine how the features of an imagined country were propagated through teaching geography.

Traditional methods of discourse analysis, as described by Mills (1997), have overlooked the impact of social relations on language production, and therefore neglected social context. To overcome this deficiency, Fairclough (1989, 1995, 2007) introduced CDA as a means to examine how power dynamics shape discourse. CDA examines how discourse influences social identities, relationships and knowledge systems (van Dijk, 2003). More recently, Smith and Sheyholislami (2022) investigated the application of critical discourse studies (CDS) for analysing textbook content. They explored the prevalent CDS methodologies, contextual themes and academic disciplines involved. They also identified research gaps and called for further research to expand CDS-based investigations on textbooks.

CDA offers a potent means for examining the ideological underpinnings, power structures and socio-cultural representations embedded within educational materials. By scrutinising the linguistic and semiotic features of these texts, CDA unveils the hidden agendas, biases and social constructs perpetuated through language and visuals. This approach reveals how language shapes identities, normalises certain beliefs or behaviours, and reinforces societal hierarchies or inequalities within the educational context. Through this analytic method, we uncover implicit messages, hidden assumptions and power dynamics inherent in the choices of words, images or narratives presented in textbooks. Examining these elements critically enhances our understanding of how textbooks shape students' perceptions, ideologies and social realities. This approach highlights education's potential to either reinforce or challenge prevailing norms, values and power relations.

5 | ANALYSIS: NEW FORMATION, NEW IDENTITY AND “BRIDGING” THE TWO

Our analysis of early republican geography textbooks focuses on three main topics: reimagining Turkey's spatial formation, forging the Turkish nation through erasures and divisions and “bridging” a new identity to the geography of the early Republic.

5.1 | Reimagining Turkey's spatial formation

The foundation of the Republic did not signify a drastic departure from the Ottoman era's state–society relations. However, republican propaganda portrayed the nation's formation as a complete reversal of history. The Republic's founders claimed that Turkey had moved beyond its Ottoman past, aiming for greater prosperity and welfare. The new state symbolised progress and reason, as opposed to the perceived evils of the old regime. The notion of discontinuity with the past served as a key platform for mobilising the nation.

This effort to redefine the nation influenced geography textbooks, which presented a complex critique of the Empire. On the one hand, the Empire was portrayed as Turkey's era of greatest power and glory, as a global empire

and cultural cradle for many civilisations. On the other hand, the Empire was strongly criticised, as the sultans' mismanagement had caused decline and weakness relative to European civilisation. As Duran explained,

Turkey was once one of the largest empires globally Our navy once held sway over the entire Mediterranean Over time, the countries we once governed broke away and established their own states. During the First World War, our defeat led Europeans to partition Turkey among themselves. The sultans' weaknesses and mismanagement nearly facilitated this policy ... Then, the Republican Government was established, giving rise to a new Turkey. (Duran, 1930: 9–10)

This conflicted attitude toward the Empire, reflected in the use of “Turk” and “Turkey” instead of “Ottoman,” illustrates the Republicans' attempt to differentiate themselves from past rulers. However, the use of “Turkey” and “Turks” in reference to the Ottomans also suggests desire to identify with certain aspects of the Empire's legacy. Implicitly, the Ottoman Empire is praised for its historical significance and cultural achievements. This contradictory attitude highlights a blind spot in Turkish nationalism, and reveals its distinct nature. As discussed earlier, nationalism in the early republican period served as a tool for control rather than mass mobilisation. This form of nationalism differed from movements like Peronism in the 1930s, which mobilised the masses against the landed aristocracy, or from Third World anti-colonial nationalism, which aimed to mobilise people against the colonial powers.

As Sobe (2014) contends, the construction of historical narratives involves both remembering and forgetting, selectively choosing what to emphasise, and what to disregard. This strategy of active forgetting is evident in Duran's geography textbooks, where negative aspects of the nation's history are obscured. The process of selective forgetting involves hiding certain “unknown knowns” within the school curriculum, to effectively shape linguistic communities and foster national unity (Sobe, 2014). Building on Kezer's analysis, we suggest that the references to Ottoman greatness reflected a desire to address the challenges that Turkey faced in gaining recognition as an equal in the international system of states. This dual view of the past represented an attempt to navigate between “the formation of regional spheres of influence in the unstable geopolitical climate of the interwar years” (Kezer, 2015: 10).

The Republic's contradictory stance toward the Empire is evident in its selection of Ankara as the new capital. The development of Ankara exemplified the republicans' vision for constructing a modern, Westernised nation atop the remnants of the Empire. As Çinar (2014) writes, Ankara's geographical position, distanced from the Istanbul-centric Ottoman state, and lacking in historical, cultural, economic or military significance, symbolised a departure from the imperial and Islamic framework of the Empire. This symbolic and physical distance rendered Ankara a representation of the Republic's novelty. The establishment of Ankara demonstrated how the principles of modernity, nationalism and secularism were materialised through urban planning, monument construction, adherence to national architectural styles and regulation of public places (Çinar, 2014).

During the early republican era, Ankara experienced rapid urbanisation due to the government's ambitious plan for establishing a modern Westernised capital from scratch. This development symbolised the Republic's aspiration to surpass the achievements of the Empire. Duran described it in glowing terms:

After being designated as the seat of government, Ankara experienced a rapid population increase, mainly comprised of civil servants, soldiers and construction labourers. The city's population is predominantly young, and despite rapid construction growth, there remains a housing shortage. Additionally, the number of hotels in Ankara has increased significantly in recent years. (Duran, 1932: 198)

A caption accompanying a photograph of a modern hotel building in Ankara read “This newly constructed hotel is furnished to perfection, comparable to the best hotels in Europe” (Duran, 1930: 134). A photograph depicted “The plan prepared by Professor Jansen, selected from entries by European experts for the planning and extension of Ankara” (Duran, 1932: 194).

Through the erection of statues, monuments and the designs of squares, parks or public buildings, a state asserts its dominance over urban space and shapes the norms of public life. These symbolic features help to transform ordinary city dwellers into citizens, and contribute to the construction of a national identity. Çinar (2014) explains that making Ankara the capital allowed the new Republic to redefine the land as national territory, solidifying its status as an autonomous nation-state. By choosing the government's location, the rulers actively crafted the nation's physical and symbolic landscape.

Simultaneously, literal demarcation of national borders defined Anatolia as the heartland of the emerging nation-state (Kartal, 2017). Although the Turkish colonisation of Anatolia had begun in the late 11th century, Anatolia was now portrayed as the Turks' ancestral homeland since ancient times. This historical reinterpretation served to reinforce ethnic nationalism in a socially constructed geopolitical identity (Youkhana, 2015).

The lands comprising Turkey have been inhabited by Turks since ancient times. The earliest settlers of Anatolia were the Hittites, a Turkish branch migrating from Central Asia. (Duran, 1932: 155)

The Republic of Turkey was established on the core territory of the Empire. Hence, our present borders reflect centuries of political evolution. (Erinç & Öngör, 1948: 9–10)¹⁶

This portrayal of Anatolia as the historical homeland of the Turks since ancient times represents a social construct in its truest form. That construct is most evident in a passage discussing the annexation of the Hatay province to the Anatolian mainland which occurred in 1939, two decades after the Republic's establishment:

In the southern part of our country, [some areas] including settlements such as Iskenderun, Bilan, and nearby districts, remained within the boundaries of Syria despite their primarily Turkish inhabitants. The French government, administering Syria on behalf of the United Nations, promised autonomy for this region. (Duran, 1930: 121)

A map caption highlighted that the border with Syria outlined in the Ankara Treaty “did not entirely cover the Turkish majority in the Iskenderun and Hatay region, but the principle of administrative autonomy had been accepted for the Turks in the region. In 1939, these lands known as Hatay were returned to Turkey” (Duran, 1939: 58).

Over the course of history, the definitions of geographic boundaries and the attributes associated with the Asian world have undergone significant changes, especially those concerning East–West relations (Lewis & Wigen, 1997; Said, 2003 [1978]). Therefore, cartography can be viewed as a form of “geographical discourse.” It is important to recognise that borders and nations are socially and culturally constructed, so that maps carry a certain authority in naturalising perceptions regarding geography and identity (Morgan, 2003: 450).

5.2 | Forging the Turkish nation

Textbooks typically aim to cultivate “emotionally attached, but potentially passive citizens with strong trust in their political system” (Bellino 2013, cited in Williams, 2014b: 327). In the process of (re)constructing nation-states, notable emphasis is commonly placed on delineating the nation's ancient roots, and the deep connections between the people and the land (Williams, 2014b). Textbooks play a pivotal role in this task, as states use them to shape collective consciousness.

To redefine their nation, the republican leaders portrayed Anatolia as the Turkish heartland. They aimed to establish a unified and homogenous culture, with the *Türk* as a central historical figure. This concept of a *Turkish nation* implied a homogenous population, aligning with the rhetoric of national unity. By asserting that “Turkey

belongs to Turks,” the leaders introduced a new ethnic foundation for the nation's identity, which remained a central narrative in later years.

The Turkish nation, led by Atatürk, waged a distinctive war of independence, demonstrating its political freedom and territorial integrity to the world. An examination of our current borders yields significant conclusions:

- a. Our borders are primarily national in nature.
- b. More than half of our borders are surrounded by seas, enhancing our national security and strategic flexibility. (Erinç & Öngör, 1948: 9–10)

The Republic emphasised its ethno-national character and territorial integrity by presenting Turkey as an indivisible entity, thus promoting the discourse of a homogenous Turkish nation.

Today, Turkey is composed of territories inhabited solely by Turks. Those not Turkish have either left the country or been expelled, achieving national unity. However, minorities still exist in Turkey, including Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. The Greeks occupying parts of Turkey have been relocated to Greece and replaced by Turks. Greeks in Istanbul have remained, as have Jews. The 1935 census reports 78,700 Jews and 226,000 Greeks residing in Turkey. (Duran, 1939: 53–4)

This quote highlights the advanced stage of homogenisation achieved by marking a clear difference between the “us” and “others,” which resulted in the expulsion of the latter, as seen in the resettlement of Turks from Greece back to their homeland. Those minorities which the Republicans perceived as “others” were precisely those acknowledged in the Lausanne Treaty: Armenians, Jews and Greeks.

This relocation of Greek Turks to the Turkish mainland illustrates how the categories of *nation* and *mainland* were socially constructed. To homogenise and unify Turkey, both the Turkish minority in Greece and the Greek minority in Turkey were expelled from their respective lands. The Republicans' initiative to resettle these immigrants “under the same natural and living conditions as they are accustomed to” facilitated this population exchange. The immigrants had no say in defining their new *mainland*, which further widened the gap between the rulers and ruled in the Republic. The exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey marked a significant step toward homogenising the Anatolian mainland, and it represented the successful completion of Turkification for social cohesion.

An analysis of Turkey's population composition reveals that Turks constitute the vast majority, emphasising the strength of national unity within our country. (Erinç & Öngör, 1948: 109)

This discourse implied that achieving ethno-national homogenisation was essential for nation-building. The nation-state could assert its power and authority only by establishing an ethnically homogenous nation, excluding those who represented the “other.” This emphasis on national unity was particularly significant, because Turkish nationalism served as a tool for control rather than a platform for mobilisation. Mobilising commercial classes was challenging, mainly due to the limited development of class differentiation along capitalist lines. This absence of class difference was also reflected in the content of geography textbooks:

The majority of Turkey's population are farmers, and agricultural land is fragmented into small pieces, with at least 75%% owned by small-scale landowners. The government supports farmers by providing machinery and equipment, leading to increased use of modern agricultural technology. (Duran, 1930: 139–41)

The Turkish population is predominantly made up of peasants who are hardworking and contented. (Duran, 1932: 188)

The economic structure inherited by the Republic did not facilitate class differentiation along capitalist lines. The peasantry lacked experience with capitalist logic. Therefore, the state took responsibility for introducing mechanised agriculture by planning and establishing modernised state farms and villages.

Overall, the Republic of Turkey's complex relationship with its past can be attributed to the rupture in its class structure caused by the departure of non-Muslim minorities. This dynamic mirrors the anti-colonial discourse in the post-war period, in which Turkey aimed to distinguish itself from its imperial past, while constructing Turkey as a nation with a rich history and traditions. This perspective on the Empire recurs throughout the geography textbooks of the 1930s. As a nation established on the remnants of a former world empire, the new Republic grappled with the reality of greatly reduced power and territory. It had to reconcile with countries it had once governed, and acknowledge its diminished role on the global stage. Consequently, the Republic endeavoured to redefine its position in the world economy and international politics:

While our country's role in the world economy cannot rival that of developed nations, our foreign trade balance is stable. As Turkey systematically taps into its abundant mineral resources and accelerates agricultural and industrial production, its significance in the global economy is poised to grow. Currently, Turkey is primarily known in the world economy for agricultural production, lacking a fully established industrial base to meet domestic needs. However, recent rapid advancements in industry are expected to reduce dependence on industrialised nations. Turkey, the strongest nation in Near Asia, commands respect globally for its impressive economic progress since its inception. (Eriñç & Öngör, 1948: 157–9)

Thus, the Republic focused on leveraging its natural resources to enhance its economic significance. This agenda was evident in the textbooks' detailed descriptions of Turkey's abundant natural and mineral resources, located in each region of the country.

The Republicans' quest for Westernisation and homogenisation in Turkish society involved seeking a shared past and common roots, which led to defining people's origins in racial terms. This racial definition of "Turks" represented the apex of Turkish nationalism. With the newly defined Turkish majority forming its ethnic foundation, and Anatolia serving as its designated mainland, a multi-nation Empire was transformed into a nation-state. The textbooks were instrumental in promoting the state's ideology, emphasising the primacy of a singular Turkish identity over Turkey's diverse population.

The Turks originated from Central Asia, and part of them settled in Anatolia, establishing the Hittite civilisation. Subsequent Turkish migrations to Anatolia occurred in later periods. The Seljukian Turks, also originated from Central Asia, migrated to Anatolia, where they mixed with the existing Turkish population. The Seljuks played a key role in establishing political unity in Anatolia. (Duran, 1939: 54–5)

The Turks, originating from Central Asia, shared their civilisation with the primitive tribes they encountered. They taught stone-age tribes in Europe various skills, including vegetable cultivation, fabric weaving, and animal husbandry. (Duran, 1932: 155)

Ultimately, Turkey achieved political and racial unity under Turkish rule. (Duran, 1939: 5)

As Özgen (2016) argues, Turkishness was defined primarily on an ethno-cultural basis, occasionally supported by biological justifications or "metaphysical" race concepts. This ethnic identity was closely linked to the geographical

boundaries of the state, reinforcing an historical memory of the land. These assertions fostered a staunch belief in a non-pluralistic Turkish society, disregarding cultural identities that diverge from the Turkish ideal (Özgen, 2016).

From a post-colonial perspective, this construction of a white, homogenous Turkish nation reflected a desire to differentiate its people from those of post-colonial nations. Although the Empire had not been colonised, the new nation's leaders sought to align themselves with Western norms prevalent in colonial contexts. Their efforts to redefine the nation resulted in a process of othering, to distinguish Turks from non-white peoples, and align Turks with the white nations of Europe. This boundary-formation associated distinct ethnic groups with specific geographic areas, irrespective of those people's traditions.¹⁷ That demand for "unification" also appeared in the ways that early republican geography textbooks acknowledged the expulsion of non-Muslim minorities, as necessary to establish Turkey as a nation primarily for Turks. They noted that this expulsion had reduced the Greek, Armenian and Jewish populations to a small minority.

The textbooks' depictions of local identities reveal the republican agenda for social cohesion. While acknowledging the predominance of peasants and farmers, these books made distinctions between peasants and "nomads," who were commonly described as "tribes." These distinctions were framed within an ethnic context, grouping the diverse agriculturalist populations into categories determined by ethnic modes of production.

The nomadic population in Turkey includes Kurds, Yörüks, and Turkmen, who are further divided into distinct tribes, each with its own name. (Duran, 1932: 174)

In certain regions of Eastern Anatolia, tribes make up 85% of the population, with the majority speaking Turkish. However, their original character, language, and traditions have been eroded over time due to the influence of Arabs and Persians. (Duran, 1932: 177)

The Republicans' stance on tribes and nomads mirrored their ambivalence toward the Empire. While they acknowledged the presence of diverse local identities, these were portrayed as minor deviations from the broader unity of the Turkish people. The Empire's linguistic and ethnic diversity necessitated consolidation to a more homogeneous nation (Bayar, 2011). Clearly, the Republic's textbooks were expressions of ideology. These texts acknowledged regional differences in dressing styles, but minimised their significance, predicting their disappearance with modernisation and consolidation of the Republic.

Before the establishment of the Republican government, regional differences and mixed dressing styles were more prevalent. However, with the adoption of Western-style hats as headgear, dressing styles, particularly in urban areas, became more uniform. Traditional costumes and veiling sometimes led to peculiar and unattractive styles, but their usage declined significantly after their prohibition. In large cities, especially among women of the noble, enlightened, middle-income classes, the use of hats and European-style clothing grew rapidly. (Duran, 1932: 183–5)

Here, we can observe the significance that the Republicans attributed to Western clothing as a symbol of the new national identity. This bias was particularly evident in the stringent bans imposed on certain types of traditional clothing, especially traditional headwear.

The last critical aspect of the nationalist discourse during the early Republic pertained to information about the population. In line with Anderson's (1991) observations regarding the role of census-taking in abstractly quantifying individuals, the textbooks extensively referenced the censuses conducted during the Republic's formative years. This portrayal highlighted the nation's population as one of the Republic's most significant assets:

According to the 1935 census, Turkey's population surpasses 16 million, exceeding most neighbouring countries' populations except Russia and Italy. (Duran, 1939: 52)

The larger population compared to neighbouring countries is seen as a political advantage for our country. (Erinç & Öngör, 1948: 107–8)

All of the examined textbooks contain a notable illustration that compares the population of Turkey with that of neighbouring countries. Each country is symbolised as a person, sized proportionally to its population. Turkey is depicted as the tallest person, as the Soviet Union is excluded from the illustration. While other countries are shown in traditional attire, Turkey is portrayed as a young man in Western clothing. This representation mirrors the Republic's self-perception as a rapidly developing nation with a Westernised lifestyle and a youthful population, striving to match the industrialised countries. It is noteworthy that the depicted citizen is male.

5.3 | A Nation's identity: the bridge

In the context of establishing Anatolia as the Turkish mainland, we also observe the emergence of a metaphor portraying Turkey as a bridge connecting two major civilisations. This metaphor, rooted in Anatolia's geographical location, has been recurrently emphasised over the years, to symbolise Turkey's claim to unique global significance.¹⁸ Particularly during the Cold War era, Turkey sought to leverage its role as a bridge between civilisations:

Where is Turkey? Turkey occupies a pivotal position in the world, situated at the crossroads where Europe converges with Asia. (Duran, 1939: 3)

The land of Turkey is divided between two peninsulas, the smaller one in Europe and the larger part in Asia. With its territory spanning both Europe and Asia, Turkey serves as a natural, cultural, and economic bridge between the two continents. (Erinç & Öngör, 1948: 8–9)

This portrayal of Turkey as a bridge reflected the Republic's attempt to establish a dual, intermediary identity, bridging two distinct cultural spheres. This identity, however, harboured elements of division, or even internal conflict. On the one hand, Republican Turkey aligned itself with Europe through emphasising its Westernised lifestyles and various cultural, economic and political ties. On the other hand, Turkey retained its Eastern character, due to traditional and historical links with the East. In essence, Turkey sought to define itself as a distinct cultural entity, positioned between two otherwise disparate cultures, its geography physically reflecting and symbolising the nation's unique role.

This construction of Turkey as a bridge between East and West expressed an aspiration to embody both Western and Eastern influences.¹⁹ However, the metaphor also facilitated a shift in nationalist discourse after the Second World War, as it laid the groundwork for framing an “external threat” from the north. In the context of the Cold War, Turkey aligned itself with the Western bloc against the Soviet Union, and justified a repressive state apparatus for the sake of containing communism. Overall, the bridge metaphor served as a versatile tool for Turkey's politicians, allowing them to emphasise either the Western or Eastern aspect of its dual identity, as needed.

As Minca and Rowan argue, political life is “grounded upon difference,” yet it requires “a qualified and spatialised difference that should exist solely *between* states, not *within* states” (2015: 274). Despite their attempts to maintain a unified national identity, Turkey's leaders have grappled with internal pluralism alongside external geopolitical dynamics. The “bridge” metaphor in geography textbooks and political discourse has continued to serve this political balancing act, as the Turkey's people claim both unity and uniqueness at the same time.

6 | CONCLUSION

This analysis of secondary school geography textbooks from the early republican era provides valuable insights into the role of revised geographical knowledge in a post-colonial nation-building endeavour. In this project, various ideas, values, laws and norms were formulated to establish and legitimise the Republic, which previously lacked a distinct identity. Consequently, the teaching of geography served as a means for disseminating a national rhetoric centred around a shared space and identity.

This nation-building endeavour directly shaped the production of geographical knowledge. The geography textbooks of the 1930s applied two primary strategies for nation-building: affirming the Turkish majority as the ethnic foundation of the new state, and portraying Anatolia as the timeless heartland of the Turkish people since ancient times (with Ankara as its national capital). This establishment of a homogeneous nation seemed to require the exclusion of “non-Turkish” ethnic groups, some of which had long played important economic roles in the Empire. The new nation's absence of a significant landed aristocracy and its expulsion of non-Muslim minorities enabled the Republicans to establish an authoritarian state apparatus characterised by a profound power imbalance between the ruling elite and the general populace. This regime implemented a corporatist state structure while seeking to foster social cohesion by denying the existence of social classes. In the nationalist rhetoric of the 1930s, social or class distinctions were either marginalised or viewed as temporary deviations from state-defined cultural norms. This approach shaped a distinct geographical understanding that reinforced the policy of ethnic exclusivity.

The goals of Turkish nationalists in the 1930s must be understood within the framework of republican endeavours to reshape both history and geography. This effort involved a deliberate rejection of the Ottoman legacy and recrafting a new historical foundation for the Turkish nation-state. It required the creation of a fresh historical narrative that diverged from the conventional Western view of historical progress. In this narrative, the nascent nation carved out a distinctive place for itself in world history. Its spokesmen ascribed retrospective agency to a Turkish national identity, turning to the pre-Ottoman era for symbols and metaphors to demonstrate the enduring significance of the Turkish nation. They endeavoured to reconstruct the Turkish nation as a historical entity, and sought to integrate this construct into the broader universal conception of history.

The bridge metaphor was instrumental for positioning the new Republic within a space that straddled both Asia and Europe. This metaphor offered a nuanced framework for characterising the state as an intersection of trade routes and civilisations. It purportedly reconciled the dichotomy of Turkish national identity by blending elements of the West and East, as well as modern and traditional values. Particularly in the post-Second World War era, this discourse merged with a more assertive form of nationalism, which justified authoritarian governance as essential for defence against external threats. Turkey claimed a pivotal geopolitical role, at the forefront of a global ideological struggle. However, this metaphor is now losing its ability to foster social cohesion, as Turkey's leaders increasingly claim a position outside the realms of both the West and the East.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ In 2022, the country officially changed its name from “Turkey” to “Türkiye” in international forums (UN, 2022). However, in line with the journal's policy on using the standard English alphabet, this article retains the conventional English name, “Turkey.”
- ² See Berger, 2003 for a case study on Southeast Asia. Also, Meneses and Calderón (2007: 705) investigate how cartographers, geographers and numerous travellers were called upon by the 19th-century post-colonial Colombian state to help define the physical boundaries of areas now known as Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela.

- ³ See Durgun (2018b) for a detailed account on Duran and his contributions to geography.
- ⁴ For helpful examples of “post-structuralist geography,” see the articles by Barnes and Duncan (1991), Duncan and Ley (1993) and Murdoch (2006).
- ⁵ Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) examine how schooling plays a vital role in constructing and maintaining national identity, and in reproducing citizens. Also, see Morgan (2003) on how teaching geography sustains a “hidden curriculum,” and fulfils a particular role in the social reproduction of citizens.
- ⁶ Thanks to Anderson (1991), the importance of changing apprehensions of time has been increasingly emphasised in the context of nationalism studies.
- ⁷ The term “imagined country,” is borrowed from Short (1991), although it is used in a slightly different context.
- ⁸ An example of the contrary is the 1947 partition of India and Pakistan, which has been viewed differently by each side. What Indian textbooks describe as “Muslim separatism,” Pakistani textbooks describe as “the two-nation theory,” which claims that Hindus and Muslims had always existed as separate nations in the subcontinent (Joshi, 2010: 361).
- ⁹ For instance, following its War of Independence, the newly formed Irish Free State changed its educational system, focusing solely on Irish history and national identity. The textbooks sought “to inculcate national pride and self-respect, to be achieved through validating the Irish nation through its positive depictions of the Irish race” (O’Connell, 2018: 130).
- ¹⁰ For an account of the conflict between forces of traditionalism and modernity in the cases of Turkey and Malaysia, see Özbay (1990).
- ¹¹ In 1914, agricultural commodities accounted for 45% of Ottoman exports, and raw materials for 38%. However, 60% of imports were manufactured commodities, and only 7% were raw materials (Margulies & Yıldızoğlu, 1987: 286).
- ¹² Sousa (1933) is a detailed study on the capitulatory regime of the Empire. See Bağcı (1983) for an account of non-Muslims in Ottoman trade.
- ¹³ We are aware that there may be varied arguments regarding non-Muslim population’s engagement in the political sphere. Also, despite their reluctance to play any significant political role, Christian minorities played important roles in the penetration of Western lifestyles and cultural values into Ottoman society. As an illustration of the lifestyles of the Levantine population in the first years of the Republic, see the memoirs of a Levantine of Italian origin (Scagnomillo, 1990).
- ¹⁴ Compare this statement with the following from Fallers (1974: 105–6): “The Kemalist state, despite its populist rhetoric, placed greater emphasis upon secularization than on popular participation, [and] gave greater attention to increasing national wealth than to its just distribution.”
- ¹⁵ For an overview of these reforms, refer to Toprak (1995). Toprak elucidates the origins of the *etatist* understanding that Republican Turkey reached its zenith in the 1930s. He underscores the connection and continuity between the Constitutional Monarchy and the Republic.
- ¹⁶ See Keyder (1981: 91–115) on *etatism* and the single-party period.
- ¹⁷ Although the term “Ottoman” was avoided in the textbooks of the 1930s, it was more freely used in the 1948 textbook. This may be regarded as evidence of the Republic’s growing efforts to come to terms with its past.
- ¹⁸ See Sagdic and Aydin for depictions of Africa in Turkish textbooks during the early years of the Republic. In general, they represented the African continent as a “single, homogenous country” (Sagdic & Aydin, 2015: 157) that was archaic and backward. We can see that those categories of meaning were also applicable to the population of the newly found Republic.
- ¹⁹ See Çalışkan (1994) for further explanation of the bridge metaphor.
- ²⁰ See Çalışkan (1994) for the argument that Turkey has managed to become neither Western nor Eastern.

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