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THE POETRY OF TURKISH VILLAGE INSTITUTE-EDUCATED POETS: SOCIAL COMMENTARY ON A DEVELOPING NATION

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to reach a close understanding of villagers' experience of change in the changing context of the Turkish Republic. The poetry books of two renowned literary figures Mehmet Basaran and Talip Apaydin were studied to investigate villagers' reactions and responses to various national changes. The literary work of these poets provided a glimpse into the experiences of both the poets and the villagers, and their communities' reactions, with respect to continuing national changes. These poets not only came from the same cultural village background as the villagers, but had also been educated through the Turkish Village Institutes (TVI) literacy campaign. They experienced the changes first-hand and moved into new roles as a result of their TVI education. Their poetry was analyzed using the theoretical/methodological frameworks of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The analysis was complemented by a systematic coding process to elicit emerging themes and patterns from the data; this process entailed deciphering the linguistic properties of the text/discourse, as well as the various author/speaker choices employed in the production of the poetic discourse.

The analysis placed the poetic discourse in its various social, educational and political contexts to better understand its meaning. Four final themes emerged from my analysis of the poetry data: (a) indifference of others to the problems of villagers; (b) a strong call to bring about a better and more just world; (c) feelings of homesickness; and (d) the power of art, especially poetry, as a means of critical analysis. These findings indicated that social changes only partially touched the lives of those in the countryside and barely influenced the social relationships or the living standards in the countryside. The poems called for the taking of individual responsibility and working collectively to create a more equitable nation for future

generations. Several poems also described instances of emotional turmoil due to feelings of homesickness. These feelings referred to the TVI-educated poets' homesickness due to seeking careers in cities away from their family and village cultures, in addition to the homesickness of some members of the village communities who had to work far away for the survival of their families. The fourth theme indicated poetry's power in effectively voicing village realities to a larger audience and envisioning a better future through its creative expression. In conclusion, poetry discourse is a living testament to the experiences, hopes and goals of the TVI-educated poets and the village communities they came from.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to

Jale Zabitgil (my mother) & *Servet Akifoglu* (my grandmother)

Who have been my inspiration and strength in life

Who taught me to never give up

Without their love, I wouldn't be me.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This chapter has five sections: statement of the research problem; research questions; importance of the research inquiry; research methods and assumptions; and limitations. The chapter begins with an introduction to the background of the problem being researched, including a brief description of the changing context in Turkey and its orientation to modernization at the beginning of the 20th century. The research questions addressed in the study follow. They are succeeded by an explanation of the importance of this research inquiry. The research methods and assumptions for the study are then briefly described, highlighting the appropriateness of Critical Discourse Analysis for this research undertaking. Finally the limitations of the study are discussed.

Statement of the Research Problem

The proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 began a new era for Turkey, initiating a series of large-scale changes. Most of these changes to modernize the Turkish nation primarily affected the urban centers. However, this era also coincided with the realization that villagers were a significant part of the modernization task and the national development agenda. The government realized the impossibility of achieving modernization without developing the

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countryside where 80 % of the population lived. This awareness initiated a number of village specific endeavors (Key, 1957; Stone, 1973; Aktas, 1985; Dino, 1986; Karaomerlioglu, 1998a; Arayici, 1999). Turkish Village Institutes (TVI) came to life as a result of this realization.

The TVI campaign came to life at the crossroads of national modernization and the economic development ambitions of the nation. The initiator of TVI, Ismail Hakki Tonguc, and his supporters aimed to bring education to the countryside and make literacy a widespread reality in the villages; the State, on the other hand, aimed to achieve economic development by modernizing agricultural production and maintaining political power in the countryside. The government was also interested in spreading secular values in the countryside. These various aspirations came to life through the TVI campaign upsurge. In this study I was interested in understanding the reactions and responses of the countryside to these multi-faceted changes. To this end, the aim of the following research questions was to explore the experiences of the villagers in the changing context of Turkey. Two research questions provided the focus for the study:

Research Questions

1. What does the poetry of TVI graduates suggest about the social changes following the establishment of the Republic?

2. What does the poetry of TVI graduates suggest about the reactions of the villages/villagers to the various social changes following the establishment of the Republic?

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The research questions imply that there are a multiplicity of village voices in the changing village context. The village poets that graduated from TVI, in particular, are legitimate voices to speak about the experience of change in the villages. Not only did they come from a village background, but they also experienced the changing context of the villages and in this new context they transitioned into new roles. Their participation in the TVI literacy campaign provided them with new avenues, such as literary discourse, to reflect on their experiences and the experiences of their communities. I studied the literary works of two popular village poets, Mehmet Basaran and Talip Apaydin, in order to investigate these research questions. These two village poets came from a village culture and experienced the changing village conditions. Also, their participation in the transformational literacy campaign TVI was a reason for selecting their literary work. Their education through TVI brought two different worlds together, the world of the village and the world of literacy and education. As village educated literary figures, they combined these two identities into one. Thus, their poetic discourse provides rich data about the changing realities of the villagers and their responses to these changes.

It is useful to provide a brief description of the Turkish Village Institutes (TVI) literacy campaign. TVI was a national literacy undertaking which officially started in 1940 and ended in 1954, coming into existence in the aftermath of major social, political and cultural changes in Turkey. Some of these changes included the transformation of Turkey from an empire into a republic, the adoption of secularism, alphabet reform, and dress code reform, to name just a few (Lewis, 1951; Key, 1957; Hale, 1981; Karaomerlioglu, 1998b; Aktas, 1999; Karaomerlioglu, 2000; Bingol, 2007). The changing Turkish context necessitated directing attention to villages and villagers. The TVI literacy campaign was unique because of its focus on the education of

villagers and its aspiration to relate education to the daily lives of villagers. Concentrating on educating the countryside, this campaign produced a class of educated peasantry who served as village teachers, educators, writers/poets, public health officials and community leaders among others. Although no documented reports exist as to the exact number of TVI graduates who served in each of these professions, it is reasonable to assume that the TVI graduates serving in different fields in their communities had a qualitative impact.

A subset of this educated peasantry is the village poets who were educated through the TVI literacy campaign and became well-known. These literary figures used their newly gained literacy skills in their poetry to respond to social, cultural and political changes individually and as part of their community. Their literary work became an avenue for them to voice their experiences as TVI-educated villagers. These poets are only one subset of those touched by TVI and the changing national context, and are not necessarily representative of everyone in a village community; however, they represent a plausible data source for analyzing the experience of villagers in the changing context of Turkey. Not only did these poets know the village culture, but they also had access to literacy discourse. Since these literary figures left accessible records for analysis, their literary works have become ideal data sources for this study.

It is generally accepted that the TVI literacy campaign quantitatively increased the overall literacy rates in the country. By 1945, the positive impact of TVI was visible in Turkey's literacy rates, which reached 30.5 % for those 10 years and older (Altug, Filiztekin and Pamuk, 2008; Progress of literacy in various countries, 1948). Before the implementation of the TVI campaign, the national literacy level was approximately 10% in the 1920s (Dodd, 1988; Arayici, 1999; Bingol, 2007; Pamuk, Filiztekin & Altug, 2008); this percentage was even lower in the

countryside. The nation had carried out several reforms such as alphabet reform (1928) prior to the TVI campaign and had been able to improve the literacy levels to some extent. UNESCO's cross-country research indicates that Turkey's literacy levels had improved as much as 20.4 % by 1935 for those who were ten years and older. Continued efforts to improve national literacy gave birth to the TVI literacy campaign. Within approximately a decade of its existence, TVI contributed to improved literacy levels in the rural population, which, in turn, improved national literacy statistics. While the quantitative results of TVI are well-documented, the qualitative aspects have not been examined as completely. In this study I specifically examine the qualitative impact of multifaceted social change on the lives of villagers. The literary works of the TVI educated poets provide a tangible means for inquiring into the experience of the villagers.

Importance of the Research Activity

The goals and motives of literacy campaigns have changed over time, but the desire to build literate nations has persisted throughout history. As the world has become more inter-connected via international networks, it is particularly important to learn from national and international educational undertakings. Literacy campaigns have been increasingly organized around the goal of development, assuming a connection between literacy and economics (Wagner, 1989; Arnove & Graff, 1987; Cohen, 1996; Bhola, 1999). Turkey also invested in development and modernization. This included changing core traditional values and adopting new habits. In Turkey's revolutionary context, literacy education and social and cultural changes occupied an important place and literacy became a significant area of investment especially in

the countryside. The TVI literacy campaign represented a turning point in how the government and the nation at large perceived villagers. Diverse goals were prevalent in this literacy campaign, such as spreading literacy in the countryside, extending the new ideals of the nation to the rural regions and modernizing agriculture to name a few.

Although TVI was primarily a literacy campaign for the rural populations, the experiences of villagers in this changing context were not fully understood by others. Because the State embraced top-down educational planning in national and regional development – also in the development of the rural areas– it is all the more important to hear the voices of the people in the villages and study their reactions to the changes urged upon by the State. To this end, a closer look at the Turkish context in that time period can provide a better understanding of literacy and its relation to other aspects of life. The TVI literacy campaign was a key piece in the changing context of villages as were the literary works of the TVI-educated poets. These village literary figures came from the bosom of the village communities, experienced ongoing changes firsthand and participated in TVI discourse. In this regard, the TVI-educated literary figures are a subset of the TVI generation of participants who can shed light on how change was experienced in the Turkish village context.

Research Methods and Assumptions

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used as the methodological and theoretical framework in this research inquiry as it allows the researcher to purposefully examine the relationships between discourse, social structures, and power relationships (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough, 1995; Gee, 1999; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002; Wodak, 2002; Rogers, 2003). CDA

has been popular in studying historical movements by analyzing different textual documents, including in the field of adult education. Thompson (1996), for example, used CDA to investigate the role of discourse in women's invisibility in histories of adult education. Similarly, Bunker (1998) used discourse analysis to investigate the gate keeping role of professional discourse communities in distance education. Similarly, the changing social and political culture of Turkey suggests the appropriateness of a framework that acknowledges changing conditions and power dynamics and their effects on the lives of people. A close analysis of the literacy context of Turkey can deepen our understanding of the various changes in different spheres of life and their manifestations in the lives of people. According to the CDA framework, discourse both reflects and shapes the social conditions from which it emerges. From this perspective, literacy products such as poetry books can be investigated as a means of reflecting people's responses or reactions to various changes.

In this study, I analyzed the two poetry books by Mehmet Basaran and Talip Apaydin. Poetry was used by the TVI poets as a medium to reach larger audiences and share their experience of change in the village context. Their literary work provided a manifestation of the reactions of villagers to various changes urged upon on them. With lower literacy levels and poorer life opportunities, the people in the villages had been the forgotten population of Turkey for many centuries. The literary productions of the TVI-educated poets brought a voice to the villages (Karpat, 1960). Poetry discourse was both a personal response by the poets themselves, and a social commentary on the realities of the village community.

The methodology of CDA and poetry as a data source are in keeping with the exploratory nature of this research undertaking. Poetry as data, in its creative expressivity, supports the CDA's critical approach. Armstrong (2000) argues that artistic expression, such as is found in

poetry, provides critical flexibility and enables a political outlook that can inform future generations of readers. CDA as a social practice combines the individual and the other. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), CDA conceptualizes discourse, which can refer to language use in speech or writing, as a form of social practice (p.258). This description implies a dialectical relationship between a discourse event and the surrounding matrix of institutional and social structures. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) emphasize this relationship between "a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s) which frame it" (p.258).

CDA's interdisciplinary approach draws on diverse methods, theories and data sources in its investigation. This research approach capitalizes on notions of ideology, power, hierarchy and gender in describing, interpreting and explaining of texts (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Methodological and theoretical conceptualizations of CDA seek alternatives to commonly known or accepted definitions and interpretations. Common sense conceptualizations are questioned in CDA in order to decipher new ways of seeing (Wodak, 2002). With social justice inclinations, CDA invites a more just discourse participation in all social contracts. From this perspective, the voice of the villager in the Turkish context is particularly important to investigate. Poetry data reflects the experiences of poets in the changing context of Turkey as well as the experience of their village community.

Limitations

There are some limitations to this study which need to be discussed. To study a historical phenomenon is challenging due to its lack of immediacy. Past events have not always been reliably recorded and even when they have been, accessing them is not always easy. The changing technological age presents new dilemmas when studying data from another time period. The physical distance from the researched phenomenon adds to the challenge. In order to access some major data sources from the United States, I relied on the Pennsylvania State University library, interlibrary loans and online resources. The online repository was constrained due to the time frame in which TVI took place, going back as far as the late 1930s, a period with no modern computer technology. To minimize the limitations due to accessibility, I reached out to the student and academic Turkish community in State College, Pennsylvania for assistance with TVI resources. This provided a list of books to study. I used online sites such as Tulumba.com , which transported books from Turkey to the United States. My decision to choose popular village poets and writers gave me freedom in choosing accessible books. Despite the difficulties associated with studying the past, other cultural contexts and their literacy endeavors are valuable platforms of study.

Translation of the data posed legitimacy concerns for the study. Since the poetry books were written in Turkish, these data sources required translation into English. The research community expressed concern about possible meaning loss during the translation process (Dastjerdi, 2004; Shi, 2004). Translation requires more than the translation of words or phrases for satisfactory elucidation; discerning cultural details is particularly important for the translation task. Literary translation poses its own unique challenges. Poetry translation requires different levels of consideration such as translation of meaning and style as opposed to a direct or literal

translation. In his "Translation of Poetry", Dastjerdi (2004) states that the translator is obliged to remain loyal to the original meaning the author intended and produce an aesthetic presentation faithful to the original work. Similarly, Shi (2004) argues that a good translation demands the closest possible representation in meaning and style. According to Shi (2004) not only linguistic but also social and cultural details are necessary to accord with the original literary work in a translation. In order to make up for possible translation loss in this study, I analyzed the poems first in the Turkish original, underlined and noted key words/phrases, and then translated into English and repeated the same process. Also, I checked my translations with a bilingual speaker of Turkish and English in order to counteract possible language or cultural meaning loss and to have a more reliable translation outcome.

Using poetry as research data is a unique approach and not a common form of educational research. The educational research community might express concern as to how poetry data or art-based data could be validly represented as part of social science research. Similarly, experts in literature, poetry and other related artistic fields might be concerned about the integration of art-based data into their educational inquiries (Finley, 2000; Finley, 2003; Krojer & Hazelton, 2008). Similarly, Piirto (2002) raises the question of how much expertise − studying or practicing − is necessary in a specific art form before engaging in art-based educational research practice especially in "high-stakes discourses" such as thesis and dissertations (2002, p. 431). Piirto (2002) claims that the researcher should have adequate knowledge or expertise such as a minimum of an undergraduate minor or major in the art form used, or some publications in the art form they seek to implement into their research, especially if they are engaging in a *high-stakes project* such as a dissertation.

Even though I disagree with Piirto (2002) about the necessity of having expertise or an educational background in the artistic medium being used in one's research, I do have a background in literature, which she argues is essential for the use of an art-based (poetry in this case) research praxis. I bring an interdisciplinary educational background to this study, a Bachelor of Arts degree in English Language and Literature. I also have one publication in the art form of poetry. My recent book chapter, "The Experience of Grieving, Trauma and Violence: The Forgotten Adult Learner" (Zabitgil, 2009) studies grief stage theory through poems and prose. Also, I have a great appreciation of poetry and have been writing poems both in Turkish and English for many years, which was what prompted this research undertaking. We live in an era that calls for interdisciplinarity and innovation, and thus alternative expressions can serve to increase research creativity and quality (Furman, Lietz, & Langer, 2006). Similarly, Finley (2000) who is an art-based researcher states that using artistic media can offer eminent potential to educational research.

This research undertaking provides a deeper understanding of the experience of change for rural communities in Turkey. I sought to understand the reactions and responses of villagers to top-down changes. Poetry as research data provided insights in this inquiry because it is a form of creative expression and because it has qualities that enable critical analysis. In the next chapter a detailed background of the changing national context of Turkey is provided. The chapter starts with a description of the changing perception of villagers in the national realm, continues with the introduction of the TVI literacy campaign into the changing context, and ends with the aftereffects of these changes on village people. The last section in this chapter highlights the dynamic role of literature in shaping the changing village thought.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter has three sections: Turkish Republic; TVI literacy campaign; and the relationship between literature and villagers. In the first section the changing conditions in the early years of the Turkish Republic are described and the connection between the Republic's modernization goals and its literacy goals is highlighted. This section is divided into three sub-sections: political, social and economic changes. The second section focuses on the Turkish Village Institutes (TVI) literacy campaign that came into existence as a result of the changing conditions in Turkey. This section describes the purposes of TVI, and is followed by brief biographical information of the founder of TVI, Ismail Hakki Tonguc. The international input provided to Turkish education and its relevance to the TVI Literacy Campaign are then discussed. The outcomes of the TVI Literacy Campaign are included, as well as several criticisms directed at TVI. In the last section the role of literature in the changing role of the village and its connection to TVI are explored. The chapter ends with brief biographies of several significant literary figures from different eras who pioneered the village focused literary productions, the "peasantist thought". The last two biographies are of Talip Apaydin and Mehmet Basaran; their literary works constitute the research data set.

The Turkish Republic

In 1923 a new era began for the Turkish nation: Turkey moved from being a multi-ethnic and multi-religious empire to being a secular nation state (Stone, 1973; Canboga, 1980; Dodd, 1988; Arayici, 1999; Pamuk, Filiztekin & Altug, 2008). The defeat in WWI (1914-1918) had caused a loss of land, power and economic stability for the empire. However, a victory in the Independence War (1919-1922) provided a renewed spirit for the Turkish nation to emerge under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Major political, cultural and social changes occurred in the new nation. As a result, the core values and traditions of the people changed and a number of foreign habits were adopted. The ideals of development and modernization were embraced by the nation. In this context, the new nation saw education as a vehicle to spread these ideals. Literacy education became a top priority on the educational agenda.

Historically, literacy in Turkey was a privilege of the rich, similar to other countries. Literacy initiatives worldwide had been limited to the elite segments of society, and literacy had been seen as a sign of power and prestige. Beginning in the 1600s, however, attempts were made in several countries to expand literacy to the masses through national literacy campaigns. This brought with it the inevitable consequences; "education", "social relations", and "communications" changed remarkably from then onwards (Kaestle, 1985, p.20). The significance of national literacy campaigns is due to the specific agendas and motives which guide these literacy initiatives because literacy campaigns come to life to achieve certain ends (Bhola 1982; Arnove & Graff, 1987; Bhola, 1988; Bhola, 1999). Bhola describes a literacy campaign as "an intensity of purpose expressed in a series of mobilizations" (1982, p. 211). Some of the motives for previous literacy campaigns were to integrate the individual into larger communities or to achieve moral or political consensus by centralizing authorities (Arnove &

Graff, 1987). Since literacy campaigns inherently contained specific political or religious motives, they were rarely an altruistic act or an end in themselves (Edmonston, 2002). In the same way literacy in Turkey has been, in practice, a vehicle for achieving certain purposes: the literacy goals of Turkey have been connected to economic, political and social aspirations.

The TVI literacy campaign was a direct result of the economic, political and social aspirations of the early Turkish nation, coming into existence as a continuation of a series of social changes launched by the national government. The campaign aimed to raise the educational, cultural and economic prospects of the countryside. The government also hoped that TVI would spread and strengthen the nation's transformational changes in the countryside. In this regard, spreading the ideals of modernization and development was a significant expectation of literacy education in the countryside. Similar expectations of literacy campaigns could be observed in other nations. According to Arnove and Graff (1987), many nations saw literacy as a tool to transform their society according to the changing demands of globalization. Industrialization and urbanization, as well as enlightenment and revolution, have also been an important part of literacy initiatives (Arnove & Graff, 1987; Kaestle, 1985; Bhola, 1999). In the 20th century, illiteracy increasingly began to be labeled as a social problem, and literacy campaigns were offered as a cure. A literate society was perceived to be the key to competing in the global economy. In the Turkish cultural context similar views were advanced. Accordingly, Turkey's national literacy goals were closely tied to development goals. The aim of the TVI literacy campaign, in particular, was to achieve a more modern and prosperous countryside and nation. Because of the many changing and complex aspects of the Turkish context in the 1920s

and onwards, it is necessary to examine political, educational and economic changes begun in the early years of the Turkish nation to provide a more complete picture of Turkey at the time.

Political Changes

Political changes dominated the national agenda in the early Turkish state. The foremost preoccupation of the new nation was breaking ties with the previous Ottoman era in order to establish a new strong nation. New laws were created to strengthen secularism and nationalism as the core foundations of the new nation (Canboga, 1980; Kushner, 1997; Aycan, 2005; Bingol, 2007). In order to break the strong influence of Islam in the nation, Islamic courts were abolished in 1923. In March 1924, the Caliphate also ended and the Sultanate was abolished. They no longer had the prestige of claiming the title Defender of the Faith (Hale, 1981; Dodd, 1988). These new laws also transferred to social life as new ways of thinking and acting in public. For instance, the dress style of men and women changed: women had to remove their veil while men had to remove their fez. Other changes included the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code and the prohibition of polygamy, which altered the position of women in society. These many changes highlight the political nature of the structural changes in the nation as well as a keen interest in modeling the Turkish systems after the cultural and legal systems of the West (Basgoz, 1972, p. 167).

The Republican People's Party (RPP) was the only party at the time and represented the government. Therefore, these national changes represented the government's strong desire for change. The government used a top-down approach to spread these new cultural and social rules

and norms to the people (Kirby-Berkes, 1960; Arayici, 1999; Turan, 2000; Bingol, 2007).

Education was the main mechanism used to spread the political values of the new nation.

Internalizing the secular values of the nation was of prime importance for all members of the

society. Slowly the image of Turkey began to change in the outside world, as it transformed its

government, lifestyle and identity (Stone, 1973; Brickman, 1984/5). Even though education was

successful in carrying forth the political goals of the new secular nation, prioritizing of political

goals meant inadequate attention was paid to economic planning. This realization caused a

change of focus and economic planning became a national priority.

Economic Changes

Economic changes in the Turkish nation came slowly because political planning

superseded all other considerations. In addition, the economy of the nation was not stable

due to large foreign and internal debts left behind by the Ottoman Empire; dependency on

foreign industry had also had a negative impact on the economy (Ozelli, 1974; Hale, 1981).

Slowly the nation recognized the importance of economic planning especially in the second

decade of the Turkish Republic. The 1930s saw the emergence of economic planning due to

the national crisis created by the 1929 World Depression. The national economy, which

relied on agricultural production, suffered greatly when the World Depression hit. Lack of

modern agricultural production was an additional structural deficiency that influenced the

national economy adversely at that critical time.

The State realized it was necessary to take initiatives to ameliorate the fragile economy. The nation's political orientation was changed in favor of economic planning. The State strived to undertake some infrastructure projects and carry out rural construction, but achieved only limited results because of the adverse financial limitations (Hale, 1981). Another significant measure undertaken was educational planning, organized in order to support the economic infrastructure. The priority for educational investment was on increasing the number of vocational and technical schools, and students were encouraged to attend these schools instead of mainstream high schools. The goal was to create adequately skilled manpower for the economy. The purpose of the middle schools (secondary schools) was twofold: to prepare students for regular high schools (lise) and professional or vocational schools (Ozelli, 1974). Many young people attended these vocational schools upon graduation from middle school. However, it was not enough to provide all the skilled manpower necessary for the economy. As the government tried to find creative solutions to economic difficulties, educational attention was directed at the countryside. Many of the villages were very poor; their living standards were among the worst in the nation and the majority of villages had no schools or teachers. To bring education and literacy to the countryside was seen as a significant national consideration "to foster and engineer economic development" (Ozelli, 1974, p. 88). The Turkish Village Institutes (TVI) literacy campaign came to life within the framework of economic planning in order to support the economy (Karaomerlioglu, 1998a; Arayici, 1999; Korur, 2002)

Educational Changes

Educational changes were a significant aspect of the Turkish national agenda because the changing priorities of the nation resulted in necessary changes in education. The initial political orientation of education slowly gave way to concentration on the economy. The economic crisis heightened by the World Depression generated this change. Previously, financial investment in education had been primarily used for the training of teachers who were conscientious about teaching the new ideals of the nation. Thus, they would safeguard the secular values of the nation and reach the hearts of people in the early Turkish nation (Aktas, 1985; Bingol, 2007). At about the same time as the focus of the State shifted to the economy, the State's interest in the countryside was also heightened. This was an interesting development because the Turkish Republic did not bring wealth and comfort to the lives of small landowners and landless peasants (Karaomerlioglu, 2000). The decline of the previous popular Kemalist ideology as a result of the emerging economic difficulties made the integration of the countryside into the political, educational and economic agenda a priority for the State. (Note: The term "Kemalist" derives from the name of the leader of the Turkish national movement, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk).

Several initiatives were undertaken by the government to spread education as well as the ideals of the new nation to all groups in the society, both urban and rural populations. One of the earliest adult education campaigns undertaken by the nation was Nation Schools and People's Houses which aimed to introduce the Latinized Turkish alphabet to the masses (Basgoz & Wilson, 1968). People between 15 and 45 were required to attend these schools and learn how to read and write in the new Latin alphabet. Approximately two million people attended these schools. The Army and some social clubs also effectively provided adult education and literacy

education. Since these educational and social endeavors mostly took place in the urban areas, this caused a deepening of the educational and cultural gap between the urban and rural regions. A village specific educational step was taken in 1926 and Village Teacher Schools were created to supply teachers for villages (Bingol, 2007). This succeeded only to a limited extent because very few teachers were willing to teach in the countryside. Teachers who ended up teaching in the rural areas had difficulty in adapting to village life and thus their stays in the villages were short-lived. Consequently, villages continued to lack schools, social services and medical centers among other needs. With these educational initiatives in mind, the Village Institutes Campaign (TVI) was the first effective large-scale development project designed for the countryside at the time.

TVI Literacy Campaign

Turkish Village Institutes (TVI) were a multi-dimensional and multi-purpose project. First and foremost, TVI promised to educate village youth in the secular values of the Turkish nation (Ozelli, 1974; Canboga, 1980; Korur. 2002). In essence, TVI aimed to educate the people in the countryside, improve the literacy rates and train village youth to meet the economic and social needs of the villages: a social call demanded by the conditions of the day. TVI also represented the growing interest of the governing elite in the villages, not only economically but also politically and educationally. A campaign such as TVI is material evidence of the increasing peasantist ideology of the 1930s; therefore, it is useful to describe the founder of TVI, Ismail Hakki Tonguc and this ideology:

Ismail Hakki Tonguc

Ismail Hakki Tonguc (1876-1960), who created TVI, was one of the most significant Turkish educational pioneers. He was a passionate teacher, educator and administrator and was very skillful in educational planning. He implemented the Village Institutes campaign during his position as the Director of Elementary Education. In the same period, he wrote four pieces of educational legislation, all of which gained support and recognition from the granting authorities. In his lifetime he wrote fifteen books, including "Vocational and Professional Education" (1933), "Education in the Village" (1938), "Village Revitalization" (1938), and "The Concept of Elementary Education" (1946). His entire works totalled 4000 pages "making him one of the most productive writers in the history of Turkish education" (Stone, 1973, p. 154). Tonguc's research focused on educational development and equitable opportunities for everyone.

A city born intellectual, Tonguc had studied in Germany and was influenced by the German educator Georg Kerschensteiner and his educational philosophy. Tonguc had a genuine concern for the village populations who had previously received inadequate attention from the governing authorities. He gained first-hand experience about the villages by visiting different ones and witnessing their daily challenges. He wanted to educate village youth and train able citizens who would serve their communities and become agents of change. His educational planning included providing practical education that was relevant to the lives of rural populations (Stone, 1973 & Stone, 1974). At about the same time the nationalist leaders also realized the importance of villagers to the development goals of the nation and fully supported Tonguc's TVI literacy campaign. The following details of TVI literacy initiative present a clearer picture of the educational focus of the campaign:

- Attendance by farmers' children between ages 11 and 18 was required.

- Agricultural instruction included cultivation, gardening, livestock and poultry farming, bee-keeping and attending to the fish hatchery.

- Technical instruction included smithing, carpentry, masonry, dressmaking as well as first-aid instruction.

- Literacy skills were taught on diverse academic topics.

- Every Village Institute had around 100-300 hectares of land at their disposal.

- The Ministry of Education provided only a small financial contribution for the operation of the Village Institutes.

- The Institutes utilized local resources and were self-supporting.

- Students had to work 20 years in their village or in a nearby village upon graduation. Those who did not abide by this obligation had to repay all the TVI education expenses to the government with interest.

(Aktas, 1985; Arayici 1999; Karaomerlioglu, 1998a; Bingol, 2007).

Village Institutes were initially fourteen in number and operated as centrally controlled boarding schools. Later their number rose to twenty-one. Each of these centers had common educational goals but each region's characteristics and realities determined the specific pedagogical practices.

Prior to the implementation of the TVI campaign, this educational plan had been experimented in the army from 1937 till 1940 through the praxis of year-long literacy courses. In this context literacy skills were taught to young men in the service who, upon return to their communities, taught literacy skills. This produced thousands of instructors that contributed to

village development and literacy teaching. The success of this initial three-year experiment resulted in the official start of TVI with the Village Institutes Law 3803 in April 1940 (Aktas, 1985; Karaomerlioglu, 1998a; Bingol, 2007). Koy Enstituleri (Village Institutes) were created in order to supply villages with teachers and leaders to serve their communities. Not only would village youth be educated but they would also help educate and guide their communities and contribute to the economic development of the countryside. Village children who completed primary school were accepted into Village Institutes (Aktas, 1985; Arayici, 1999, Karaomerlioglu, 1998a). However, if they had some literacy proficiency, village youth were still accepted into the TVI even if they had had no previous schooling.

TVI operated in twenty-one locations throughout the country in centrally controlled boarding schools. The duration of the TVI education program was five years. The goal of the TVI literacy campaign was to educate many young adults as professionals to serve their communities as agricultural specialists, health officers and teachers (Stone, 1973; Aktas, 1985; Arayici, 1999). TVI were primarily created in response to the problem of teacher and school shortages in villages. Teachers who were educated in cities were reluctant to teach in the villages; thus, villages were in great need of educational facilities. Ismail H. Tonguc believed that an educational program should be developed solely for rural populations. He acknowledged the differences of students in urban and rural regions and highlighted their differing educational needs. It is for this reason that TVI literacy campaign focused on creating a different educational model for the countryside as opposed to teaching the "traditional pedagogy" used in urban regions (Canboga, 1980). Tonguc wanted to raise rural educators for the rural population.

The TVI campaign purposefully aimed to offer an education in line with the daily realities and lifestyle of rural people. For this reason, TVI had an interdisciplinary curriculum

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and incorporated work and education in its praxis. TVI classes consisted of three parts, Cultural Studies, Agricultural Studies and Technical Studies. The curriculum included twenty hours of Cultural Studies, eleven hours of Agricultural Studies and eleven hours of Technical Studies weekly (Aktas, 1985; Arayici, 1999; Karaomerlioglu, 1998a; Bingol, 2007). Cultural studies included a wide range of courses such as History, Geography, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Language, Teaching Pedagogy, Physical Education, Music, Arts and Crafts, Home Economics, Theatre and Drama among others. The practical aspects of education were highly regarded and were an integral part of Agricultural and Technical Studies. Agricultural Studies included Fieldwork and Garden Studies which included cultivation, gardening, livestock and poultry farming, bee-keeping and maintaining a fish hatchery. Every institute had a farm and all students were expected to take part in farm work. Technical Studies included construction, smithing, carpentry, masonry, dressmaking, child care, and midwifery. In addition to these study programs, community events and field trips were organized in order to bring community and school together. Combining theoretical and practical knowledge made work and school come together. This educational model was very different from the theoretical knowledge and rote-memorization prevalent in the Turkish educational system.

TVI's unique educational design took the needs of the countryside into consideration. Rural youth was considered to be the future of the countryside, and they were educated to serve their villages upon their graduation (Stone, 1973; Canboga, 1980; Karaomerlioglu, 1998a). They would serve their communities as teachers, community leaders, health personnel, technicians and in other capacities. Because villages had a very poor lifestyle, TVI aimed to educate the personnel needed to improve living standards, which Stone phrases as "attacking village backwardness" (Stone, 1973, p. 154). If TVI educated youth refused to serve their communities

and contribute to the social and economic development of their villages, they were expected to pay back the cost of their education to the government with interest. The TVI literacy campaign was successful in receiving both national and international recognition. The following section presents the international response from well-known educational experts about Turkish education.

International Response to TVI

Turkish Village Institutes (TVI) received a positive response internationally, especially in the United States. John Dewey, for example, stated that TVI were the institutions he had dreamed of. International experts were consulted and had some influence in the educational planning of the early Turkish Republic (Brickman, 1984-5; Buyukduvenci, 1994-5; Bingol, 2007; Ata, 2000-2), planning which was a significant manifestation of Turkey's efforts at modernization, development and westernization. International recommendations came from John Dewey (from the United States), Alfred Kühne (from Germany), Omar Buyse (from Belgium) and the Kemerrer Research Group (from the United States). These experts visited Turkey and provided official reports for the Turkish government. These reports influenced educational planning and provided insights for TVI literacy reform in the countryside. A summary of their educational suggestions and their relevance to the TVI literacy campaign are presented in the following section.

John Dewey

John Dewey, the father of the progressive education movement in the United States, was the first of a series of international experts whose opinions were sought on the development of Turkish education. Dewey's invitation came a few days after the Law on Consolidation of Education (Tevhid-i Tadrisat) passed in 1924 (Brickman, 1984-5, p. 6). This is crucial because this law placed all educational institutions under the governance of the Ministry of Education. The new Republic had established secular schools, but religious schools still remained under the leadership of religious leaders especially in the countryside. This law aimed to unify and secularize the educational system completely (Ata, 2002-2). Dewey applauded Turkey's attempts towards secularization and modernization. He saw it as a step "in the direction of progress and light" (Dewey, 1960a cited in Brickman, 1984-5, p. 10). Dewey prepared an initial report at the end of his three-month visit to Turkey, which was followed by a longer more detailed report upon his return to the United States.

Dewey's suggestions informed the planning of the TVI literacy campaign in several ways. Dewey highlighted the importance of educational infrastructure and identified the following areas as priorities: (1) school buildings, (2) professional instruction of teachers, (3) principals and inspectors, (4) publication of education-oriented literature, (5) the establishment of libraries, and (6) the role of the school in agricultural development (Basgoz & Wilson, 1968, p. 64, Ata, 2000-2). These aspects were taken into consideration in the creation of the TVI literacy campaign. Dewey also recommended that Turkey create different types of schools. These schools would offer specialized courses and train specialized personnel such as directors, inspectors and officers for the Ministry of Education (Uygun, 2008). These schools would allow a variety of other specialized human resources to be supplied. For instance, "teachers in

commercial and industrial schools, teachers of physical culture, sports, and hygiene, painting, music, kindergartens, designs, sewing etc." (p. 15) would be trained by such schools (Dewey, 1960a, p. 15). These suggestions indicate that vocational schools were a priority for the nation. Such schools would teach students right after primary school so as to prepare them for trade and economic activities.

The creator of TVI, Ismail Hakki Tonguc, was influenced by Dewey's ideas of pragmatism and progressivism. He was concerned about relating the life of the students to the educational experience (Brickman, 1984-5; Ata, 2000-2). He believed that offering theoretical and scholastic education throughout the country could cause social harm because it would be irrelevant to the reality of the countryside. Similarly, Dewey also proposed a special education system for rural communities which would reflect their daily experiences. He particularly emphasized the need to train rural school teachers who would be sensitive to the needs and realities of the countryside (Dewey, 1960a; Dewey, 1960b). The pragmatic approach utilized in the TVI literacy campaign, as opposed to the teaching of general abstract knowledge, brought these ideas to life.

Dewey envisioned schools to be multi-functioning centers where educational, health and community activities conjoined. His suggestion to reach out to the community was accomplished through community visits and activities in TVI education. Such activities aimed to diminish the gap between school and community (Canboga, 1980; Turan, 2000; Bingol, 2007). Mobile libraries were established to increase general readership, which resembles Dewey's bookmobile idea of libraries traveling from school to school and village to village. The idea of mobile libraries also highlights the collective learning spirit prevalent in the TVI literacy initiative.

Most of Dewey's suggestions for educational planning were implemented to the extent that they were applicable to the social realities of Turkey. The tendency towards centralization, however, persisted despite Dewey's caution. The Ministry of Education was central in educational planning and infrastructure building. Dewey warned that too much of a centralist attitude by the higher authorities would disrupt the local needs and hamper localized initiatives (Turan, 2000; Uygun, 2008). Instead he envisioned the Ministry of Education as a centralist guiding source as opposed to an absolute power in decision-making (Wilson & Basgoz, 1968). TVI also had strong ties with the Ministry of Education and was regulated by the decisions of the Ministry of Education. The centralist tendency is a cultural trait in the Turkish nation, going all the way back to the Ottoman era. Nevertheless, the praxis of Village Institutes in the countryside is strong evidence of Deweyean thought in the Turkish context.

Alfred Kühne

In addition to Dewey, other international educational experts also influenced Turkish educational planning. One of these was Alfred Kühne, a German educator who was invited to Turkey in 1925. Although Georg Kerschensteiner was invited to Turkey, he was unable to visit Turkey at the time so he sent his assistant Alfred Kühne to represent him. Alfred Kühne was a well-known educator in Germany. Similar to Dewey, he highlighted vocational and technical schools as an important consideration for Turkey (Bingol, 2007). Not unlike Dewey, he advocated developing new teacher training programs (Turan, 2000). TVI, in some respects, was a teacher training school because its foremost aim was to supply teachers for villages: "…Students in Village Institutes were being educated to become teachers who would go to

villages and help them progress with modern techniques and Kemalist ideologies" (Baran &

Sahin, 2008, p. 9). Kemalist ideologies referred to the ideals of the new Turkish nation and its

secular principles. Education was always used in Turkey as a vehicle to spread nationalist values.

It was also the case with the TVI literacy campaign because the countryside was far removed

from a centralist life style.

TVI provided vocational and technical education, in addition to training teaching

personnel for the countryside. This was in line with Kühne's suggestion of training essential

skilled labor and technicians such as machinists, architects, and engineers for the development of

Turkey (Boynak & Meral, 2007). Kühne also suggested using contributions from local people in

addition to local resources to meet some of the school expenses. TVI made use of each region's

resources in setting up their boarding schools, finding land to cultivate, and using villagers'

physical labor and contributions. Thus, the government made only a minimum contribution to

each TVI locale for its educational needs.

Both theoretical knowledge and hands-on experience were combined in TVI literacy

praxis. In addition to literacy courses, technical and agricultural courses were taught to students.

This was in line with Kühne's suggestion of creating an experimental garden according to the

specific characteristics of each region. This kind of field experience allowed some agricultural

land to be worked on, as well as providing the opportunity for practical training of students

(Basgoz & Wilson, 1968, p.68). Other suggestions by Kühne included addressing the low

salaries of teachers, a condition which made it hard for them to produce competent work (Basgoz

& Wilson, p.68; Bingol, 2007). He suggested improving the salaries of teachers and their

working conditions. In a TVI teaching position, teachers were given a house and some land and

animals in addition to their salaries. An attempt was made to provide satisfactory living

conditions for teachers. Similar to Dewey, Kühne also cautioned against assigning teachers to positions of short duration; instead long tenures in single posts were advocated (Boynak & Meral, 2007; Bingol, 2007). TVI graduates had to serve their communities upon graduation; the enforcement of twenty years of service was a long-term commitment in line with Kühne's suggestion. In addition to Dewey and Kühne, other international experts such as Omar Buyse made recommendations for Turkey.

Omar Buyse

Omar Buyse, a distinguished educator from Belgium, was invited to Turkey for advice on educational planning in 1926, a year after Kühne's visit. Omar Buyse emphasized the importance of technical and agricultural education as a priority for Turkey's national economy. According to him, it was necessary to increase the number of technical and vocational schools and improve the quality of already existing schools (Boynak and Meral, 2007). However, he also realized there was a lack of technical personnel who could teach in such agricultural and technical schools. Therefore, he advised the creation of a technical university that would train teachers to serve in these schools. He believed that successful technical and vocational schools would be able to train the necessary technical experts and teachers for the nation (Basgoz & Wilson, 1968). Specifically, Buyse suggested establishing a labor university that would lead the way in industrial development (Boynak & Meral, 2007). The TVI literacy initiative can be seen as an undertaking to train technical and agricultural personnel and experts as suggested by Omar Buyse. TVI in some ways can also be considered a labor education initiative since it brought theory and praxis together, an institution where work and education co-existed. After the initial

success of the TVI literacy campaign, Higher Village Institutes were created. In this higher level institution only a handful of high performing graduates of TVI were chosen to be further educated for administrative positions such as headmasters and coordinators for TVI centers (Turan, 2000; Uygun, 2008). This could be considered a creative way to prepare personnel and experts to serve TVI, which was in line with the suggestion of Omar Buyse.

Buyse's other recommendations included arts and crafts schools for each province. He suggested that the agricultural, industrial or commercial choices for the schools in each region should be determined according to the natural resources of that region. Regional statistics would provide planning of relevant educational models for each region. These recommendations were visible in the TVI literacy campaign which provided a key place for the technical and agricultural courses in its curriculum. Practical course work with hands-on experience formed the core of the curriculum. Buyse's notion of agricultural schools also included a farm to work on. The TVI campaign, in all its localities, provided a garden to plant and animals to raise; each region's characteristics determined the type of agricultural and technical practices taught. In addition to these suggestions, Buyse highlighted different fund raising strategies to be carried out for creating new agricultural and technical schools (Basgoz & Wilson, 1968). This suggestion was also actualized in the TVI literacy campaign because the government only provided minimum assistance for the creation of TVI; local resources met the rest of the manpower and resource needs of TVI.

Buyse's ideas may also have influenced vocational training program in the army, another resource to support the national economy. This was an experimental vocational training program set up prior to the official implementation of TVI. This three-year experiment in the army was a creative strategy to train the necessary manpower to teach literacy. The success of this initiative

meant a good number of literacy workers were trained, and thus, it was decided to officially start the TVI campaign in the countryside.

Kemerrer Research Group

The Kemerrer group was the last of these international educational experts to provide advice to Turkey in 1933. The Kemerrer group consisted of a group of educational experts from the United States. It is important to acknowledge that the first international consultation to the Turkish Republic came from the American educator, John Dewey (1924). The final educational recommendation again came from an educational panel from the United States, indicating the United States' impact on Turkish educational planning.

The Kemerrer group, similar to other educational experts, suggested prioritizing education in Turkey. They argued that there is a connection between education and the economy, implying that effective education would also have a positive impact on the economy (Basgoz & Wilson, 1968; Bingol, 2007). Turkey's literacy initiatives throughout the country especially in the countryside indicate Turkey's commitment to education. All of the international experts, and the Kemerrer group in particular, advised prioritizing education for the rural population. All educational experts indicated the necessity of increasing educational possibilities for the countryside. TVI as a large scale literacy campaign took on the primary task of providing education to the countryside, targeting this very need. The practice of TVI in the countryside strived to minimize the gap between rural and urban educational opportunities.

The Kemerrer research group also recommended elementary education as an investment for further education. They argued that ensuring the attendance of children in primary school was

an investment for ensuring secondary and high school attendance. They also suggested that elementary school be increased to five years; at the time it was only three years. This suggestion was considered and compulsory primary education was extended to five years (Basgoz & Wilson, 1968). However, enforcing attendance in primary schools was possible only in regions where there were an adequate number of schools and teachers. Enforcing primary education in some isolated parts of the countryside was impossible in practice. Not only educationally but also socially and economically the countryside was lagging behind the urban areas. Limitations at that time made it impossible to build schools and bring in teachers to each village. Thus, TVI became the emergency plan to educate as many village youth as possible; they, in turn, would serve and lead their communities. The hope was that TVI education would create a snowball effect, enlarging its educational base and affecting social and economic life positively in the countryside. Thus, the TVI literacy campaign came into existence in response to the needs of the 1930s changing cultural context.

The Kemerrer group also drew attention to the connection between education and the economy. The group suggested that four areas needed attention for promoting that connection: the training of farmers and agricultural experts; the training of engineers and technicians; the training of industrial workers; and the training of businessmen (Basgoz & Wilson, 1968). These suggestions highlighted the need for educating engineers, architects, technicians, and scientists for the nation (Bingol, 2007). As indicated earlier, the TVI campaign tried to educate some of the needed personnel for the countryside such as teachers, technicians, and health professionals among others. An educational campaign focusing on work, therefore, became an important objective, and the village institutes were set up to achieve this goal. While the principle of education for work, or education for production, became the main motivation in the TVI literacy

campaign, the method of learning by doing supported the learning experience (Karaomerlioglu, 1998a, p. 57; Baran & Sahin, 2008). The occupational aspects of education aimed to prepare students for future roles. The Kemerrer group also hinted that it would take time before positive change could take place because of the need for developed social and economic infrastructure to support this initiative.

Quantitative Outcomes of TVI

The TVI literacy campaign successfully combined education and the economy for local and national development. It influenced Turkish education and the cultural context to a considerable degree. Thus, at this point it is useful to mention the various consequences of TVI literacy campaign, beginning with a discussion of quantitative outcomes. The TVI literacy campaign helped increase the literacy rates in the countryside and in the nation in general. Literacy still needed further improvement but it was much better than 1920s when the literacy rate was 10 %. Spreading education to the masses was considered a significant task of the nation, and yet it was not accomplished even in the 1930s. Prior to the creation of the TVI, 30,000 villages out of 35,000 had no schools (Arayici, 1999, p. 268; Bingol, 2007). Although the literacy rates of the nation were slightly improved, there was a persisting literacy problem especially in the countryside. The praxis of the TVI literacy campaign improved the literacy rates of the countryside. The national statistics indicated that literacy rates were 30 % for a population of twenty million (Altug, Filiztekin & Pamuk, 2008; "*Progress of Literacy in Various Countries*", 1948). Apart from the increasing literacy rates

in the countryside, which was a significant accomplishment in and of itself, the TVI literacy campaign also trained teachers, technicians, health professionals, and leaders. Even though there were no statistical records on the number of TVI graduates who served in different professions, still it is widely recognized that this generation of educated villagers served their communities in different capacities. A subset of these educated villagers was the renowned village poets. These literary figures expressed their own experiences of village life as well as those of their communities. These TVI-educated writers used the creative medium of the literary world to convey their experiences of TVI and reflect the experiences of their communities in relation to continuing national changes.

Qualitative Outcomes of TVI

When TVI came into existence, it was supported by many people, especially idealistic educators and those who cared about providing equitable possibilities for the countryside. However, there was also opposition to TVI from the beginning. TVI was a complex literacy campaign with multifaceted goals, some of which were more practical than others. These different expectations from the TVI literacy campaign caused some opposition to and conflicts within the TVI praxis (Stone, 1974; Aktas, 1985; Arayici, 1999).

The founder Tonguc aimed to bring practical education that was relevant to the lives of the people to the countryside (Stone, 1973; Aktas, 1985; Arayici, 1999). He aspired to provide educational possibilities for rural populations similar to those of urban populations. Some other expectations from the TVI literacy campaign included solving countryside poverty through

educational intervention and bringing social development and career opportunities. The expectations of the government included educating the rural population about the values of the new Turkish Republic, and spreading national ideology and secularist principles in the minds of people (Karaomerlioglu, 1998a; Karaomerlioglu, 2002). In addition to these, there were also economic expectations from the TVI literacy campaign. These included a desire for improved production techniques in the countryside and development in agriculture (Ozelli, 1974). TVI was also conceptualized as a social and economic intervention that would ameliorate the living conditions of the villages and improve the economic outcomes of the nation in the long run. Yet other expectations involved a desire to create a strong rural population that would be self-sufficient and independent and thus would not desire to migrate to urban centers. Since 80% of the population resided in the countryside, a possible migration to the cities frightened the urbanites. Some elite supporters of TVI saw the TVI literacy campaign as a precaution against the formation of a proletariat in the cities. As the above views indicate different groups had different expectations from the TVI literacy campaign (Stone, 1974).

The villagers expressed some resistance to the Village Institutes campaign. One reason may be that villagers were required to assist in the construction of the Institutes. This demand prompted different responses from the villagers. The educational catalysis desired by Tonguc was only possible through the use of the village resources due to economic limitations. The government and the Ministry of Education provided only limited support. This meant villagers along with students had to construct the TVI school buildings (Karaomerlioglu, 1998a). It is possible that villagers might have desired full government aid in this literacy campaigning (Stone, 1973) because the urban population was not asked to contribute to their educational

services. Also, the villagers may have desired an educational model different from TVI that would prepare students for positions of urban bureaucracy instead of difficult life conditions in the countryside (Stone, 1973, p. 155). Another reason for their lack of enthusiasm for TVI could be a reaction to the co-education of students. The traditional and religious backgrounds of the villagers might have had an impact on their reactions to TVI; most villagers were not enthusiastic about sending their children to boarding schools where both sexes would be educated side by side in TVI's boarding school system. Another possible source of resistance might be the villagers' need to have their children contribute to family earnings to survive. The immediate need for survival would be more important for some villagers. The above reasons collectively indicate different considerations on the part of the villagers.

In addition to the villagers, some criticisms of TVI came from urban dwellers. They presented different political positions both traditional and liberal. The obligatory terms of TVI that required graduates to return to their villages and work for twenty years received harsh criticism especially from liberal groups. Traditionally-oriented people objected to co-education of the sexes, and the liberal content of the curriculum (Stone, 1973; Karaomerlioglu, 1998a). In addition to these objections, the idea of a different education for the countryside was criticized by some who argued that it would widen the gap between rural and urban education. These people claimed it was unjust not to provide an urban style education for villagers. A specialized education like TVI would leave village students behind, and create some sort of segregation between rural and urban dwellers. In addition to these objections, some privileged groups opposed TVI because they perceived it as a threat to the *status quo*. The rich in the villages, *aghas*, who owned the land the villagers worked on, did not always like the idea of villagers

becoming educated. They feared losing power over the villagers if they were to gain literacy (Stone, 1973, p. 155). Some sources argue that *aghas* supported TVI, whereas other sources argue that they objected to TVI (Kirby-Berkes, 1960; Stone, 1974; Karaomerlioglu, 1998a). One interpretation could be that *aghas* showed changing reactions to the Village Institutes campaign depending on whether they perceived the TVI movement as a benefit or threat to their power.

One other source of opposition to TVI came about because of party politics. The transition from a single-party to a multi-party regime had been tumultuous for TVI. The newly-founded Democratic Party (DP) opposed TVI strongly because of their rivalry with the Republican People's Party (RPP) – the governing party at the time. TVI was formed during the RPP era and was fully supported by the RPP government, which was why the DP took such a strong position against it. They used TVI as a scapegoat to attack the RPP. The strong traditional and religious values of the villagers were an easy target for the DP to manipulate. Among the many criticisms the DP used against TVI was the co-education of girls and boys in boarding schools, an already difficult topic for villagers. The Village Institutes were attacked by the DP as being rotten institutes that were causing degeneration of the moral heritage of the villagers. Villagers slowly started to feel less passionate about the TVI literacy campaign. In this uneasy and competitive race, the RPP closed the Village Institutes hoping to gain the support of the public and stop the rising unrest (Stone, 1973; Karaomerlioglu, 1998a; Karaomerlioglu, 1998b). However, the RPP still lost their place to the DP in the elections (1950). After 1946, various political attacks directed at TVI, weakened the TVI campaign and brought it to an end (Stone, 1973, pg, 155).

The closing down of TVI was a result of a complex array of relationships that developed in the 1950s during the transition to a multi-party regime. When the DP won the

elections, there was no hope of TVI being resurrected. The new government turned Village

Institutes into regular village schools. Even though TVI was closed down in an untimely

fashion and its existence was short-lived, its influence was long-lived in the countryside and

in the nation at large.

Literature and Villagers

Literature, an important feature of the Turkish cultural context, had strong links to the

TVI literacy campaign. This section describes the impact of literature in preparing the way for

TVI, and literature's impact on the aftermath of the TVI literacy campaign. TVI represents a

turning point in the Turkish nation for the political recognition of the countryside and its people.

The roots of this recognition can be seen in various literary products. Oftentimes, literary

changes have foreshadowed changing political themes in the Turkish context as "Turkish literary

movements have often been part of broader political movements" (Key, 1957, p. 318). Many

young novelists and poets who produced village focused literary works, known as the peasant

genre, were the graduates of Village Institutes (Karpat, 1960). After TVI ended, these literary

works focused on the life of the Anatolian people and captured a wide audience from lay readers

to the politically oriented readers. This was in itself evidence of the changing role of rural

populations. For instance, Mahmut Makal, a TVI graduate, reached a large audience with his

novel, "Bizim Koy", published in 1950 when TVI started to be controlled and restricted by the

authorities. Translations of this novel into English as "Our Village" and into other languages

indicate the international attention the work received.

Village themes are not new concepts to appear in the TVI period. These themes appeared much earlier than the Village Institutes period. The first appearance of the village theme occurred even earlier than the Turkish nation state in the literary works of Nabizade Kara Bibik in 1890 and Ebubekir Hazim Tepeyran in 1910 (Karaomerlioglu, 2002). These Ottoman writers had focused on social problems such as village poverty, ignorance and backwardness among peasants, exploitation of villagers by landowners and heavy tax payments imposed on villagers. Apart from these few literary works, very little attention was given to villagers during the Ottoman period (Key, 1957; Karaomerlioglu, 2002). Not only were peasants not a popular topic to write about, but a large cultural gap also existed between the peasants and the educated elite. The villagers spoke a simpler Turkish and were mostly illiterate. Namik Kemal and Ziya Pasa purposefully used a simpler and purer Turkish to reach wider audiences in their readership. These upper-middle class intellectuals encouraged leaving the classical style and maintaining a simple and pure Turkish (Key, 1957, p. 138). Slowly the elitist separation in literature and the law decreased to include the ordinary people.

After these initial appearances of village themes in the late Ottoman era, the Turkish village later gained more currency with novelists, especially during the War of Independence under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Dino, 1986). The 20th century witnessed the National Literature Movement, which gave rise to patriotism and identification of Turkishness in the upper middle classes (Key, 1957, 319-320). Later, the Young Turk Movement reacted against the tyranny of the sultan Abdul Hamid II; this was followed by the blooming of strong Turkish nationalism and the production of nationalist literature (Key, 1957, 321). Thus, the deteriorating state of the Ottoman Empire intersected with the renaissance in Turkish intellectual

thought. The victory of the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1922) was followed by the birth of Turkish nation in 1923. Hence, the ideals of Turkism represent a national reincarnation under the leadership of Atatürk. The Turkish nation underwent a series of transformations, establishing a new Turkish alphabet, introducing universal education, forming the Turkish Linguistic Society, and the Turkish Historical Society (Key, 1957, p. 325), all of which suggested a new sense of national identity.

The seeds of the peasantist outlook began slowly in the 1920s, and gained some strength only in the 1930s, eventually becoming established at around the same time as the TVI literacy campaign. After WWII, a dynamic era of renaissance emerged in Turkish literature, and the social and cultural aspects of village life were the focus. The peasantist outlook reached its high point in the 1940s and 1950s with the efforts of the graduates of TVI (Karpat, 1960; Dino, 1986; Karaomerlioglu, 1998a; Karaomerlioglu, 2002). The emergence of the peasantist genre in the early Turkish Republic was initiated by the literary works of a few very popular literary figures, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoglu, Sabahattin Ali, and Memduh Sevket Esendal. All three of these novelists were influential in introducing village themes from very different political standpoints. Each writer's viewpoint is explained in the following section to establish the literary flow of the village focus from those days to the Village Institute context. This will be followed by the brief biographical information of Talip Apaydin and Mehmet Basaran, popular peasantist literary figures.

Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoglu

Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoglu (1889-1974) wrote village themes from a Kemalist outlook. His writings depicted poverty, ignorance and the primitiveness of the peasants. Because he was a devoted etatist and Kemalist ideologue, he did not perceive villagers' difficulties as systemically or structurally related (Karaomerlioglu, 2002, p. 130). Instead, he saw the villagers' inability to tame the forces of nature and leave the Stone Age existence behind as the problem. He blamed himself and other writers, educators and intellectuals for ignoring peasants for a long time. His writings exemplified a historical, moral and intellectual anguish for ignoring the rural population (Dino, 1986, p. 268). His short stories and novels envisioned state control and bureaucracy as the means to solve the hardships of the villagers. According to him, the solution must come from the top because the State can emancipate the villagers by changing their way of thinking and living, a process which Yakup Kadri defines as being civilized (Karaomerlioglu, 2002). A deficit model of thinking is manifested in his conceptualization of village backwardness and poverty as the problem.

Yakup Kadri's literary characters become the spokespeople for the attitude of the governing elite towards the villagers, those who were not ready to scrutinize the villagers' daily struggles critically (Karaomerlioglu, 2002). His characters successfully represented the large gap between the rural and urban cultures. This gap illustrated a lack of trust by the peasant folk towards the higher classes, elites or bureaucracy of the government in general. According to Dino (1986), the villagers' lack of trust is understandable considering the centuries of hardship and misuse of villagers by the powerful: "The mistrust which the author senses stems from

centuries of virtual slavery" (Dino, 1986, p. 268). Yakup Kadri successfully drew attention to the neglected villager and his conditions and by so doing opened the way for peasant rhetoric to emerge in the later decades.

Sabahattin Ali

Sabahattin Ali (1907-1948) was the second literary figure who contributed to the construction of peasantist thought. Unlike Yakup Kadri's utopian desire to transform the countryside through the paternalistic control of the State, Sabahattin Ali aimed to provide realistic descriptions of villages and peasantry and prevalent social relations in the countryside and nation (Karaomerlioglu, 2002, p. 135). He depicted rural people with dignity and honesty in his literary works and emphasized the importance of villagers as a class in the development of the nation (Karamerlioglu, 2002, p. 135). His writings were pessimistic and included details of oppression. Thus, the hardship of people in the countryside and their social realities were presented without offering any solutions. His writings expressed contempt for the system, the court, the justice system, gendarmes and other governing bodies who supported the powerful but failed and exploited the poor (Dino, 1986). For him the State constituted a large part of the peasants' problem. His lower-class family background, and his coming from a moderate socialist school of thought, resonated with his critical look at the problems and poverty of villages. He pinpointed the cultural gap between urban and rural populations and the general indifference towards villagers. He also criticized other groups such as intellectuals, writers and educators who looked down upon villagers instead of trying to understand them. Sabahattin Ali was closely

followed and controlled as a "distrusted intellectual" (Karaomerlioglu, 2002, p. 136) by the governing bodies because as a German teacher he wrote a poem that criticized the political leaders. He was put in prison for his action. He spent various terms in prison because of his political writings. His social protest eventually brought about his tragic end. He was murdered while trying to escape from the country by crossing the Bulgarian border.

Memduh Sevket Esendal

Memduh Sevket Esendal (1883-1952) was the third influential literary figure in the early Republican era who highlighted village themes in his writings. He represents a Populist outlook. He was also keen on presenting the life of ordinary people and giving realistic depictions of life in the countryside. He depicted the hierarchal relations between cities and villages, as well as illustrating the oppressive social relations that existed in villages (Dino, 1986). He visited different parts of the country and became knowledgeable about the life of people in the countryside, and provided realistic depictions of villages and villagers. He was a well-known figure in politics, but no one knew of his literary identity until much later because he used a pseudonym. He was an advocate of the agrarian civilization – horizontal civilization – and opposed the industrial civilization – vertical civilization – for his nation (Karaomerlioglu, 2002, p. 145). He believed that an industrial civilization would not work in the Turkish context. His writing style of simple and elegant language use also reflected populism and was able to reach a large audience from all groups of society. In his literary depictions, village men created their own justice system in villages because the justice system failed them. Mistrust of the state, judicial courts and the law were prevalent in his peasant characters. He presented a

compromising attitude in his writing, and hoped to offer optimism and inspiration, which he saw as the duty of the artist. He believed that people were inherently good, and harmony of the social classes was possible if misuse of power and corruption of officials stopped.

These literary figures left footprints in Turkish literary circles and beyond. They lit the way for peasantist concerns through their writings. Interestingly, none of these three figures were village born even though they knew about the social realities of villages. Only very few village-born novelists wrote about village issues prior to 1940s. Yet, the TVI graduates caused the peasant genre to blossom by writing about their experiences and village realities. The works of these previous literary figures could be considered to be the larval stage of the peasantist literature, which was fully fledged through the literary work of the TVI-educated literary figures. The TVI graduates constructed the building blocks of the village-oriented literature by sharing their experiences and the experiences of their communities in the changing context of the countryside (Karaomerlioglu, 2002, p. 149). The following section includes the biographies of Talip Apaydin and Mehmet Basaran, popular TVI poets/writers whose poetry books constitute the data set for this study.

Talip Apaydin

Talip Apaydin (1926 -) is one of the leading literary figures in peasantist literature. He is one of the productive writers of the Turkish Village Institutes. He has written about forty books, and several children's stories. He started his literary career by writing poetry and later turned to prose and now writes in both media. He also worked as a teacher and educator most of his life. He attended Village Institutes and Higher Village Institutes and started his literary productions during his student years. His first poems and short stories appeared in the Village Institute Journal. After that he continuously published in other popular journals such as *Fikirler*, *Yeditepe*, *Beraber*, *Yeni Ufuklar*, *Varlık*, *İmece* ve *Türk D*ili. He is one of the most frequently published TVI poets and writers and won two literary awards: one TRT (Turkish Radio and Television) Institution award, and an award for one of his short stories.

Talip Apaydin's poetry has a clear style that is easy to understand, as opposed to the more abstract and impressionistic style of many who exclusively wrote in the poetry genre. His direct and translucent writing style popularized him. He strived to spread the village reality to the rest of the country through teaching, leadership and writing. Similar to other Village Institute novelists, Apaydin used the literary venue to express village reality and changing context of the countryside, even after the close of the TVI campaign. His literary works describe life in the village, the problems of the villages and the experiences of villagers in the transforming context of Turkey. One of the reasons for choosing his poetry book to study as research data for this study comes from his extensive literary publication record.

Mehmet Basaran

Mehmet Basaran (1926 -) is a TVI graduate who also is one of the leading figures of peasantist literature. He also attended Village Institutes and Higher Village Institutes. He has worked as an elementary school teacher, Turkish Teacher, visiting instructor, and Turkish Village Institutes educator, writer and poet, and participated actively in the creation of the teachers' trade union. His first poem was published in the *Village Institutes Journal*. Later he published in various other popular journals such as *Sanat, Gösteri, Kıyı, Varlık, Yansıma, Yazko Edebiyat, Yeditepe, Yeni Biçem, Yeni Ufuklar* and *Yücel.*

Similar to Apaydin, Mehmet Basaran has also been one of the most productive TVI literary figures. Mehmet Basaran's literary work has focused on describing his life experiences in the changing context of the countryside as well as sharing village reality. He has written in both media, poetry and prose. He has been able to reach large audiences through his literary work and was one of the leaders of the emerging peasantist literature in the 1950s. He has won two literary awards: a TRT (Turkish Radio Television) Art Award and a prestigious Orhan Kemal novel award.

The above short biographies of a few of the popular literary figures indicate that peasantist thought was initiated much earlier than the TVI literacy campaign, and even before the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Village Institutes graduates, however, fertilized village thought successfully by sharing their life experiences and the experiences of their village communities in the Turkish context. Their literary work brought the village voice to the forefront in the nation, a substantial accomplishment. According to Dino (1986), their literary expression had "the undeniable merit of revealing the emotional world, the social conflicts, the language, and the images of the rural majority" (p. 266). Mehmet Basaran and Talip Apaydin are two of

the leading literary figures of peasantist literature in the 1950s. Their poetry was analyzed in this study to better understand the changing world of the villager in the Turkish context. The next chapter presents a description of the theoretical framework that guided this study. It is necessary to include the basic premises of the CDA theoretical framework as well as the concepts most relevant to the study in order to elucidate my approach in studying this phenomenon.

<center>**Chapter 3**</center>

<center>**Theoretical Framework**</center>

In this chapter I provide the rationale for the conceptualization of the study, thereby

presenting the lens through which the study is viewed. I first introduce Fairclough's Critical

Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the theoretical framework (1989). After the background to CDA is

given, the basic premises and key concepts of the CDA framework are presented. The

interdisciplinary position of CDA is then discussed, followed by criticisms directed at CDA. The

CDA concepts most relevant to this study are then introduced and the relevance of each to the

study is explained.

<center>**Critical Discourse Analysis**</center>

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a theoretical framework gained popularity,

especially after the 1980s, through the work of researchers such as Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995

& 2003), Fairclough and Wodak (1997), Wodak (2002) and Van Dijk (2001), and it continues to

be a popular theoretical framework in educational research. Foucault was one of the first to

popularize the discourse concept in the 1960s (Locke, 2004; Rogers, 2003). For him, discourse

is a shared knowledge in which individuals participate in the making of history. From this

perspective discourse is a continuing process as opposed to a finished product. Fairclough

(1989, 1992 & 2003) similarly highlights discourse as an enactment either for continuation or

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contestation of the relations of power. He also highlights discourse as a discursive practice that unfolds the layering of relationships from the immediate context to the larger social structures. According to Fairclough, the intention of CDA is as follows:

> To systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and
>
> determination between a) discursive practices, events and texts, and b)
>
> wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate
>
> how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically
>
> shaped by relations of power and struggles over power (Fairclough, 1995, p. 132).

Fairclough further suggests that the purpose of CDA is to reveal the less visible power negotiations in everyday social exchanges that we normally take for granted. The main tenets and assumptions of CDA, and those that guided this study, are listed below:

- Power relations are discursive.

- Discourse constitutes society and culture.

- Discourse does ideological work.

- Discourse is historical.

- The link between text and society is mediated.

- Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory.

- Discourse is a form of social action.

<div align="center">(Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 271-80)</div>

The above tenets imply covert and overt power relations in discourse participation. CDA is politically aware and rejects neutral positioning in studying social interactions. Thus, CDA stresses a relationship between text/discourse, participants, and the social constructions around these interactions. Discourse and other social practices have a dialectical relationship. CDA also conceives of discourse participation as dialogic, implying a degree of individual creativity in the face of social constraints. Such an integrated social and historical analysis allows a dialectical unraveling of layers of cognizance. Locke (2004, p. 1-2) provides further detail about the premises of CDA as outlined above. These details flesh out the fundamental components of CDA for the study:

1) It views a prevailing social order as historically situated and therefore relative, socially constructed and changeable.

2) It views a prevailing social order and social processes as constituted and sustained less by the will of individuals than by the pervasiveness of particular constructions or versions of reality -often referred to as discourses.

3) It views discourse as colored by and productive of ideology (however 'ideology' is conceptualized).

4) It views power in society not so much as imposed on individual subjects as an inevitable *effect* of a way particular discursive configurations or arrangements privilege the status and positions of some people over others.

5) It views human subjectivity as, at least in part, constructed or inscribed by discourse, and discourse as manifested in the various ways people *are* and *enact* the sorts of people they are.

6) It views reality as textually and inter-textually mediated via verbal and non-verbal language systems, and texts as sites for both the inculcation and the contestation of discourses.

7) It views the systematic analysis and interpretation of texts as potentially revelatory of the ways in which discourses consolidate power and colonize human subjects through often covert position calls (Locke, 2004, p. 1-2).

The fundamental components of CDA highlighted above illustrate the appropriateness of this theoretical framework for the study. I used Critical Discourse Analysis to examine the influence of large scale changes on villages and villagers' reactions to these changes. CDA's sociolinguistic and sociopolitical bases (Rogers, 2003; Fairclough, 1989; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002) make this approach well suited for doing this. The sociolinguistic dimension of CDA highlights the relationships between discourse and society (Fairclough, 1989 & Fairclough, 1995) and their dynamic effect on each other. The sociopolitical framework of CDA calls into ethical consideration the righteousness of power distribution in discourse relations and provides alternative accounts of discourse.

Studying the poetry of the TVI poets provides an alternative medium for exploring the changing position of villages and villagers, in addition to suggesting the villagers' perception of the state's national regulations. In this way, CDA allows for alternative voices to be added to the mainstream knowledge base through this study. CDA discards objectivity in discourse

engagement and analysis and argues that any discourse engagement is a construction at work with direct and less than direct repercussions. This research undertaking also has social consequences because it allows the voice of villagers to be heard.

CDA aims to denaturalize and destabilize political, social and economic influence in a discourse by revealing linguistic and non-linguistic influences. As Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) reiterate, CDA is forthright about its political position. CDA does not claim a neutral or objectivist position; instead it overtly recapitulates its political position for social change. This engagement invites a temporary suspension of the norm/normalcy in order to decipher commonsense anew (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough, 1995). CDA also builds on the argument of Foucault that we are always participating in the making of history. All members of society partake in the dialogue through their participation in discourse. As Locke (2004) asserts, social order is not set in stone; it is "historically situated and therefore relative, socially constructed and changeable" (p.1). This supports the view that CDA provides a hopeful optimism to affect, contribute and provide alternatives to mainstream discourses.

CDA encourages tying a text to its contextual and historical surroundings. Contextualization of a text allows for discourse to come alive by situating it within wider social, economic and political circumstances. Both linguistic and non-linguistic elements influence a discourse. This conceptualization acknowledges that the relationship between language and power is an intricate and complex one. Discourse in this sense represents a social event semiotically. Language use − language in social context − enables power relations to be enacted. Only through language is "production", "maintenance" or "change" in social relations

consummated (Fairclough, 1989, p.1). CDA's critical lens provides consciousness about discourse's potential in producing, reproducing and resisting equal or unequal social relations. This critical scrutiny enables the questioning of seemingly natural looking social engagements, which can reveal artificial conventions. The interdisciplinary conceptualization of CDA, in addition to its critical lens, was an important consideration in choosing this theoretical framework for the study. The interdisciplinary background of CDA is explained in the following section.

Amalgam of Different Theories in CDA

Critical Discourse Analysis is an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary conceptual framework which borrows from various other approaches (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough, 1995; Wodak, 2002). Some of the disciplines and theoretical approaches which CDA draws on in its framework are Sociolinguistics, Linguistics, Pragmatics, Cognitive Psychology, Social Theory and Conversation Analysis among others (Locke, 2004). Fairclough (1989) argues that these different theoretical frameworks enrich CDA, but on their own they provide only a partial social analysis of a discourse. For example, Linguistics primarily focuses language analysis solely on abstract competence instead of actual language practice. Sociolinguistics, on the other hand, focuses on the socially constructed nature of language, but without delving into the social conditions which create these different uses. Sociolinguistics also does not delve into what different usages mean in terms of power sharing. CDA effectively brings social and linguistic theories together in its praxis and conceptualization (Wodak, 2002). This multidisciplinary

approach of CDA encourages linkage between social processes and structures via semiotic bridging. A critical approach to language in CDA analysis requires careful study of the linguistic elements contributing to the enactment of relationships of power, language and ideology socially (Fairclough, 1989; Wodak, 2002).

Despite the popularity of CDA, it also has received some criticism; this is addressed in the following section.

Criticism of CDA

There has been some criticism of the overt political agenda of CDA (Rogers, 2003). One concern is that a researcher's political position can precede or be imposed on the data or the analysis. This raises the possibility that a predisposed political position can color the research analysis or the findings. Yet, the overt critical positioning of CDA allows exploration as opposed to confirmation (Fairclough, 1995; Rogers, 2003). No study is without presuppositions. The important point is being aware of these assumptions and frankly sharing them. As with other theoretical conceptualizations maintaining an open mind is the key to CDA analysis. In all research endeavors, multiple influences play out which shape the research theory and praxis. This is why critical reflection is an essential part of not only CDA but of any research praxis. Researchers, like other actors, influence and shape the discourse/ research process and should be aware of their position and assumptions regarding their research. In this research, for example, I interrogated my own values and personal tendencies as I proceeded with the research process. I questioned why I chose this particular theoretical framework over others and why I carried out the study the way I did. This inner dialoguing gave me insights into my own choices and

decisions. Being aware of one's sociopolitical position is not a weakness, but a strengthening factor for the research.

Throughout the research process, my conceptualization evolved and developed. I negotiated my own position in several ways. I was aware that I firmly believed in the various national changes instituted by the government. I acknowledged my support for the nation's transformational undertakings in terms of the goals of development and modernization. Yet, I tried to keep an open mind to get closer to the experiences of rural people. I acknowledged that historical documents and government reports dominated descriptions of the cultural transformation of Turkey, representing the nation's point of view. I was curious to hear the voices of people who were affected by these changes, voices that might not always have been readily available in the knowledge base. Specifically, my researcher persona was curious about the qualitative aspects of the experiences of villagers in the face of a series of continuing changes directed from above. To this end, I strived to look at alternative data sources that would bring me closer to the voices of the village. With this in mind, I chose to analyze an alternative discourse medium such as poetry to better understand people's responses and the qualitative aspects of their experiences.

Throughout the research process, I discussed my position as a researcher with another bilingual researcher to better understand and clarify my position. This interactive dialogue allowed me to interrogate my point of view in the interpretation and translation of the poetry data. This was particularly helpful in identifying the literary and cultural details of translation and interpretation that would impact the analysis. My critical discussion with another researcher made me more aware of my own worldview and assumptions. I attempted to keep an open mind

as I conceptualized the analysis and let the poetry data evolve and guide me. In addition to these measures, I analyzed the poetry both in Turkish and English. I also analyzed the data at different times during the study to check the consistency of my observations and allow for the development of themes. In this study I applied specific CDA concepts that were most relevant to the study. These key concepts are discussed in the following section.

CDA Concepts Relevant to This Study

This section provides a list of terminology that is the key to CDA conceptualization. The list includes only the most relevant and fundamental terminology; a complete list would require a much larger space than this chapter allows. Each term is followed by an explanation of how each concept relates and contributes to the present study.

Discourse

Discourse, according to its simplest definition, refers to any social transaction: a piece of speech, a conversational exchange, media content, text, news, online communication, and so on. Any of these can embody cultural, social and power relationships (Luke, 2004). According to Locke (2004), we make use of "sense-making stories" as we participate in discourse (p. 5). Interestingly, this sense-making mechanism cannot be directly associated with a person as a creator *per se*; rather, it is a system at work. This mechanism is a system used collectively by members of a group or society. From this perspective, discourse has a basic communicative

function. Ability to participate in a discourse provides collective understanding which is central to communication among people (Gee, 1990; Gee, 1999).

Discourse can be both a product, a piece of communication, or a process of communicative transaction. Fairclough (1989, 1992 & 1995) perceives this dual function of discourse as liberating rather than limiting. Similarly, Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) see the dual function of discourse in a positive light. As a social practice, discourse both constitutes the social world and is also constituted by it. CDA conceptualization aims to reveal power relations in order to encourage a more just participation in the constituting process. I strategically chose poetry as an alternative data source. This expressionistic and creative medium provided qualitative insights when inquiring into the responses of villagers to transformational changes. These insights allowed the expansion of the knowledge base by including the experience of the villages in addition to the mainstream discourse of the nation.

Language

Since language is a "form of social practice", any form of discourse analysis also presupposes language analysis (Ainsworth & Hardy, p. 236). Language use is an active social process of making meaning. Through language we make, remake and reshape worlds within the boundaries of discourse. In light of this, an analysis of discourse requires a careful study of language and its functions in discourse. The language of poetry was of prime importance in this study because the linguistic and cultural details of poetry enabled valuable research findings to come to life.

The discourse view of language, as opposed to a linguistics view of language, supports a sociolinguistic perspective, a perspective which sees language as socially constructed. CDA conceives of the linguistics properties of language as part of social conventions. Each utterance is a performance where language and society meet. Thus, according to Locke (2004), language is at the center of critical discourse analysis. Rogers highlights the dual power of language in social life as "constructing" and "constructed" (2003, p.7). As Fairclough asserts (1989 & 1995), it is this constructive property of language that also carries with it the possibility of change.

Power

Power is inherent in daily discourse transactions. The relation between social change and critical analysis comes from the implications of power relations in a society. The dynamic transformation of Turkey in the aftermath of the proclamation of the Turkish Republic was influenced by such relations. Locke (2004) indicates that power relations are either maintained or challenged through discourse praxis. Thus, the capacity of language to be used for different ends makes power a significant consideration in any discourse analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis is interested in understanding how power relations are produced and disseminated through certain discourse practices.

Orders of Discourse

Language is shaped by various forms of ideological discourses. The social conditions of a discourse create conventions which are naturalized through ideological practices (Fairclough, 1989). These conventions are called "orders of discourse" and they control who can participate in a particular discourse. For instance, an unkempt person in ragged clothes who wants to dine in a luxurious hotel might be denied access to the lobby of the hotel. The "order of discourse",

which is a certain dress code and manners in this case, signifies that a wealthy person has the right to dine - they have membership. However, this same order of discourse is drawn upon to deny the right of service to the unkempt customer – lack of membership. These social norms become commonsense rules and serve as means of either access or denial of access to the social world. "Orders of discourse" is a term first coined by Michel Foucault, and is a key term in identifying the social rules of order in a discourse (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough, 1995). These social norms receive consent through various institutional ideologies, thus becoming commonsense. According to Ainsworth and Hardy (2004), institutional rules turn into commonsense "knowledge" through "language and representations" (p. 236); this "knowledge" in turn acts as a gatekeeper in excluding and including individuals.

Discourse Communities

Ability to participate in a discourse means there is collective or common understanding which is shared among its members. A common discourse in a society enables people with shared understanding and values to make sense of the world. Thus, a person outside of this particular group is unable to participate in this discourse (Locke, 2004; Gee, 1990; Fairclough, 1992). In this study, villagers are considered to be a discourse community. Literary figures are another discourse community. The TVI-educated poets are part of the discourse community of the village because of their village background and shared daily realities. Thus, the poetry discourse of TVI-educated poets brings two different discourse communities – village and literary worlds – into a relationship. Having membership in a new discourse community allows these poets certain privileges that are not shared by other villagers or poets on their own.

Different types of discourse have different rules of operation. Each discourse community operates under unique rules of its own which are common only to its members. The symbolic power of discourse acts as a gatekeeper to prevent the participation of non-members. Participation in discourses is not always a voluntary choice. "Orders of discourse" control access and preserve the social system. The disproportionate access of certain privileged groups to certain discourses and some groups' lack of access to certain discourses create an unequal division of resources. CDA aims to reveal where seemingly natural knowledge is constructed ideologically for certain ends. This research aims to provide alternative voices about the changes in the early Turkish Republic based on the experiences of villagers in an attempt to expand the available knowledge and voices.

Member Resources (MR) and Critical Consciousness

Even though discourse is the path for a social structure to maintain itself, it can at the same time be a path of resistance. There is always social struggle in the system, whether it is about receiving entrance into a discourse, or continuation of the power holding, or limiting the membership of outsiders. Discourse participation carries with it the potential to sustain or resist the present order. This dynamic nature of a social structure holds the possibility of change. To be able to see the possibility of change necessitates the incapacitation of one's member resources (MR). Member resources (MR) constitute the grounds for one's perception of meaning-making as well as production of meaning.

Member Resources (MR) and Critical Consciousness are important concepts to consider in CDA. People draw upon their MR when they produce a text as well as when they interpret a text. MR have both cognitive and social properties (Fairclough, 1989). MR generally refer to

one's life experiences, how one envisions the world, and his/her political stance on social realities, all of which directly shape one's participation style in different discourses. Gee (1999) states that one's MR allow him/her to participate in different discourse communities as one wears identity kits. One's MR determine how critically aware s/he is and affect their possibility of realizing different codes of inequalities and ideologies in the social world.

Individual vs. Social Construction

Individual and social constructions go hand in hand in discourse participation. Whenever individuals participate in a discourse, there is an "individual construction" that goes on along with "social construction" (Locke, 2004, p.12). When people read different types of written materials, they use different meaning-making and interpretation strategies. A person reads a magazine differently from a dissertation. Cognitive strategies are employed in all types of reading, yet we read each of these materials differently depending on the value we allot each of them. The value assigned to each discourse type is socially produced.

There are multiple meaning possibilities as we critically engage in texts. The multiplicity of a text involves different readings which "generate different meanings" (Locke, 2004, p. 13). Not only do different texts call for different readings, but one text might imply different readings all of which are not equally visible. Hence, literacy is plural and meaning extraction will result in one reading out of other possible readings. This selection implies a process of competitive extraction. CDA aims to alert the reader about the selection process in discourse participation. What this selection means is another important consideration. In addition to these processes, CDA aims to make the reader aware of the multiplicity of voices in discourses.

The key aspects of CDA discussed above illustrate the relevance of Critical Discourse Analysis to this study. CDA highlights the social nature of discourse practice influenced by various factors – both social and individual – in a dynamic continuum of power relations. The changing social context of Turkey in the early Turkish Republic was also the home to power struggles, different voices, and different manifestations of struggle. Top-down transformation indicates a degree of imposition, national will power and a multiplicity of experiences. It is critical to explore these experiences from different perspectives.

CDA is an appropriate conceptual and theoretical framework for the analysis of the changing Turkish context because of its focus on voicing alternative views on the experience of national change, as well as on the goals of justice and equity in its analysis of social practices. Providing alternative voices to the knowledge base is another goal of CDA. It is a politically conscious theoretical framework which allows deeper understanding of social practices. The next chapter includes a description of CDA as the methodological framework that guided the study and an explanation of the methodological decisions that informed this research inquiry.

<p style="text-align:center;">**Chapter 4**</p>

<p style="text-align:center;">**Methodological Framework**</p>

In this chapter I introduce Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a methodological framework. Methodological decisions such as data selection criteria and processes are explained. Then the stages of data analysis are discussed, including the three levels of analytical procedures and the coding processes. Finally, I include an example of data analysis to illustrate the analytic procedures used in this study.

<p style="text-align:center;">**Critical Discourse Analysis as Research Method**</p>

CDA as a methodological framework calls for studying both the content and context of the discourse. Texts are systematically studied as part of their social contexts (Van Dijk, 2001). This means combining linguistic analysis with intertextual analysis (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough 1995, Van Dijk, 2001). The initial step in CDA analysis is the textual analysis which can be carried out in several ways. Some researchers choose only content analysis while others prefer using coding strategies, and focus on both content and form. In this study, I examined both the content and the form of the data sources using systematic coding processes. Fairclough's CDA model suggests a close relationship between content and form, which is why I chose a

content-form analysis. As Fairclough asserts "contents are always necessarily realized in forms and *vice versa*" (1995, p.188).

I chose poetry as the data source because it brings content and form together in its artistic expression. Poetry always combines form and content − in the presentation of different stanzas, in the word choices and the way the verses of the poem are organized, all of which provide insights for the analysis. CDA's intertextuality not only suggests a link between form and content, but also highlights the interactive property of texts where a piece of text is part of a larger genre of texts. The intertextuality of discourse acts as mediator between a text, its context and social influences. Two research questions guided the study:

1. What does the poetry of TVI graduates suggest about the social changes following the establishment of the Republic?

2. What does the poetry of TVI graduates suggest about the reactions of the villages/villagers to the various social changes following the establishment of the Republic?

The research questions focus on the qualitative properties of the TVI graduates' poetry. CDA perceives discourse as being at the centre of one's participation and interaction in a society. The literary work of the TVI participants is a product and process of their experience individually and as part of their village communities. This dual property of discourse allows for a bridge between analysis of affect and effect, both of which are explored through the above

research questions. Further, Fairclough (1989, 1992 & 1995) argues that discourse can be tailored rhetorically for different ends depending on the goal of the producer. The content of the discourse – what is communicated; the form of the discourse – how the discourse communicates this content; and the motive of the discourse –to what end the discourse is engaged – are some of the key considerations layered in a discourse. In the following section, the data selection procedures, a significant methodological consideration, are described.

Criteria for Choosing Data Sources

Many researchers highlight the significance of a purposeful data source selection (Fielding & Fielding, 1986; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996), seeing it as a preferred element of a strong research endeavor. Selecting the data sources for this study was a purposeful and systematic process. The text choice was based on the specific research questions that guided the study. The research goals were focused on investigating the qualitative aspects of the villagers' experiences of national changes. Therefore, I chose two popular TVI-educated village poets who have produced extensively, Talip Apaydin and Mehmet Basaran. They have been published frequently in popular journals, especially in the *Imece Journal* after the close of the TVI. They have used their literary work to reach larger audiences to share their experiences and the experiences of their fellow villagers. These poets have also won prestigious literary awards for their works, which affirms their literary reputation and indicates that they were a good choice for the study.

I chose poetry as a data source because of the qualitative focus of the research inquiry. I wanted to capture the experience of TVI participants and their village communities with respect to the various changes directed at them from above. The top-down application of transformational changes meant the voice of the state mostly prevailed. The research goal was to capture the lived experience of the villagers. Poetry books, as literary texts, are the ideal data sources for this study since literature represents different aspects of an experience. The focus on poetry as opposed to prose came from poetry's artistic and expressive power. This quality allows poetry a certain degree of liberty in expression and indirect criticism (Sadoff, 2009; Finley 2003). Moran (1999), for example, has argued that poetry makes un-say-able things possible to say by working "to create reality against the backdrop of imagined possibilities" (p. 112). Prose might be too straightforward or direct in expressing politically loaded phenomena whereas poetry expresses such phenomena in a less threatening space. This quality also makes poetry an art form that engages the mind to think beyond usual limits (Furman, Lietz & Langer, 2006; Krojer & Hazelton, 2008).

The discussions around the relevance of poetry in the political realm are further acknowledged by Moran (1999) who asserts the relationship of American poetry to social movements. American poetry at different times has had connections to social movements and this is why "content" and "purpose" of poetry can initiate sociological discussions (p.114). Other people also recognize art's potential in expressing political views or movements, which popularized the creating of "politically active art" (Moran, 1999, p. 114). Thus poetry can provide a unique data set, making it a suitable choice for this research inquiry.

Poetry is an effective medium for studying history or historical phenomena (Watkins, 1981; Bitar, 2004). Bitar (2004) contends that the useful role of poetry for historical analysis comes from the mysterious expressiveness of poetry, a quality that does not translate well into prose. The impact of poetry comes from its social inquiry in personal expression; it is a creative space where "I" and the "other" come together. This combination of self and the other opens a personal window into public space. Personal experience and social histories influence each other simultaneously and this interrelationship can be manifested in the production of literary works such as poetry (Finley, 2003). Another reason for the choice of poetry is the expressive power of poetry to describe transformative life changes such as those experienced in the Turkish context after the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Understanding the politically laden TVI context and changing village experience would benefit from using a more creative and liberating medium such as poetry data as opposed to more traditional data sources.

The use of poetry as a data source also came from the ability of poetry to decrease the unit of analysis significantly. Since detailed translation is required prior to the task of analysis, poetry's lesser content in comparison to prose was an advantage. The conscious choice of poetry as a data source meant manageable units of analysis and decreased units of analysis for the study, thus reducing the enormity of the translation task. However poetry, despite its lesser content, can be a challenging task for translating (Dastjerdi, 2004; Shi 2004). The translation of a poem is a rigorous task not only in translating the language and cultural details, but also in striving to maintain the aesthetic expression intended by the original author.

Online Search

An online search of data sources helped to narrow the pool of possible literary figures since several renowned writers and poets graduated from the TVI and produced a number of literary publications. The search process started with reviewing a variety of databases from different research sites. Some of the online sites used were ERIC, ProQuest Psychology Journals, World Cat, JSTOR, PsycINFO and Dissertation Abstracts, and ILL (interlibrary loan). In order to find relevant texts, "keywords" such as "Turkish Village Institutes" and other similar combinations were tried; these are listed below:

Keyword search 1: (Turkish) village institutes

Keyword search 2: (Turkish) village institutes, student; village institutes, graduate

Keyword search 3: (Turkish) village institutes, poet: village institutes, writer.

Keyword search 4: (Turkish) village inst. poem; village inst. poetry; village Inst., story

*Keyword search 5: "*village", "education", "educator" "literacy" "poem" "poet" "writer"

Each of these key phrases was typed into the search engine. Then different combinations of keyword 1, keyword 2, keyword 3, and keyword 4 were typed in. These key statements were combined in the search engine by AND/OR, and placed in different field tags such as Topic, Subject, Title, Anywhere among others. The results of these searches did not produce a rich source outcome, so keyword search 5 was tried by including single word searches instead of phrases. When only a handful of resources were found, the exact steps were repeated in Turkish using the search engines. The Turkish equivalents of these key words, in addition to the English equivalents, were typed into the *Google search engine* and the *Google scholar search engine*:

Anahtar kelime arama 1: (Turkiye) koy enstituleri

Anahtar kelime arama 2: (Turkiye) koy enstituleri,ogrenci; koy enstituleri, mezun.

Anahtar kelime arama 3: (Turkiye) koy enstituleri, sair; koy enstituleri, yazar.

Anahtar kelime arama 4: (Turkiye) koy enstituleri, siir; koy enstituleri, siir.

Anahtar kelime arama 5: koy, egitim, egitimci, okur-yazarlik, siir, sair, yazar

The results of these searches provided some useful texts and sometimes provided titles of books and names of authors; these were requested from the ILL (interlibrary loan) service at the Pennsylvania State University (PSU) libraries. I continued to search for resources on the Internet using these key phrases and was able to obtain more resource ideas by using the reference lists from books and articles. References and citations included in these books provided a working list of sources for further exploration. In addition to these search strategies, the student listservs, such as the Turkish Student Association (TSA), were contacted to request assistance in finding relevant materials for this study. A Turkish professor from Pennsylvania State University and another professor from New York shared useful books on the topic. The reference lists of these books provided information for further searches, significantly increasing the number of data sources.

Since poetry is a general category of analysis, narrowing the data source was required. In order to narrow the options for the data source, I decided to focus only on literary figures who had written both poetry and prose. I also focused on literary figures who had written extensively throughout their literary careers, and were recognized as renowned literary figures. Some of the TVI participants who became literary figures were Talip Apaydin, Mehmet Basaran, Fakir Baykurt, Mustafa Ekmekci, Pakize Turkoglu, and Dursun Akcam among others. Talip Apaydin and Mehmet Basaran were chosen because they produced literary works in both prose and

poetry. They also wrote extensively while the TVI were in operation and after the TVI closed, and were awarded prestigious literary awards for their productions. In addition, I was able to obtain their literary work in the United States, which was a significant consideration.

Once the art form of poetry as well as the specific poets were decided on as data sources, I chose specific poetry books for the study. I chose Mehmet Basaran's poetry book, *Pitrakli Memleket* / *Cocklebur/Burr Motherland* as the first data source. This book includes 22 poems by Basaran. Talip Apaydin's poetry book, *Kirsal Sanci* / *Rural Pain* was chosen as the second data source; it has 84 poems in total. Mehmet Basaran's poetry and prose works were available through Interlibrary loan, as well as from Turkish online sites such as Tulumba.com, which provided a purchasing option. The poetry book *Kirsal Sanci* / *Rural Pain* is a collection of Apaydin's poetry, poems originally published in several journals over the years. This book collection was published in 1999; however, the poems in the collection are from different years, indicating the progress of his themes over the years. The diversity of the poems provides a rich set of examples for portraying his poetic development over the years. Mehmet Basaran's poetry was published in 1969, which is a closer date to the close of the Turkish Village Institutes (TVI) than Apaydin's poems. I was not able to obtain publication dates for each poem in his poetry book, but his frequent articles, poems and prose productions represent his devotion to and quality of his work. I chose to study two poets instead of one poet in order that a variety of topics and themes could emerge from the data analysis. With the explanation of data source choices complete, the next step is to explain the data analysis procedures.

Stages of Data Analysis

Data analysis constitutes a significant part of the research process (Silverman, 1993; Feldman, 1995); however, there is no ultimate or conclusive method for carrying out such an analysis. Several possible approaches can be used to analyze qualitative data, and the key consideration should be its relevance to the research questions (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 2-4; Riessman, 1993). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the theoretical and methodological framework for this study. The political agenda of Turkey in a period of change and the dynamic nature of literacy practice in the Turkish nation made CDA a principled choice for this study. Data analysis is not the last phase of qualitative research as some might like to conceptualize it. Data analysis needs to be conceptualized as "part of the research design" from the beginning to the end (Seidel & Kelle, 1995; Feldman, 1995; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Stages do not occur in a certain chronological order. In this research, I did not try to follow any prescribed stages. Instead, I conceptualized the stages of data analysis as complementary. The levels and stages of CDA are described in the next section, followed by the coding and categorization.

Levels of CDA

Fairclough's methodological framework (1989) calls for examining discourse on two levels, first in its immediate context and then in the larger context surrounding it. Both linguistic and non-linguistic properties of language influence and inform the discourse function. Different levels of social organization and social conditions also impact both the production and

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interpretation processes of a discourse. These production and interpretation processes of a discourse include three levels of social organization: (a) situational, (b) institutional, and (c) societal.

The poetry of the TVI village poets was studied at these three levels of production. This situational level of production is associated with the immediate context of the village and village realities as part of the poets' life experiences and daily realities. Hence, situational organization refers to the immediate social environment where the discourse came to life (Fairclough, 1989). The *institutional* level of the poets' production is associated with the level of the social institution (Fairclough, 1989). The context of the TVI village poets' discourse production can be related to the social institution of the TVI literacy campaign. The TVI literacy campaign as an educational institution provided the participants with literacy ammunition, critical consciousness and the poetry experience necessary for poetry creation. The *societal* organization refers to the level of society as a whole (Fairclough, 1989). The poetry discourse can be considered to be the poets' interaction with society creating a dialogue between the villagers as a group and the society as a whole. Thus, both the production and interpretation of a discourse includes some social elements and discourse participation sustains both social conditions of production and social conditions of interpretation.

These levels of social organization are not always clearly distinguishable from each other. A piece of discourse is influenced by all three levels of organization simultaneously. Therefore, a critical analysis of discourse requires looking at the immediate context and the larger institutional and societal levels of organization. For instance, analyzing a piece of oral or written discourse requires paying attention to the process of production (of the text), as well as

the interpretation (of the text) and the intertwined relationships of the different levels of organization. Fairclough highlights the importance of studying the relationship between "texts", "processes" and "social conditions" (1989, p. 26). In light of these considerations, Fairclough's model of CDA requires three fundamental steps in studying the relationship between the immediate context of the discourse and the larger social system. These three fundamental stages of CDA are "description", "interpretation" and "explanation"; they are explained in detail below.

Stages of CDA

Analyzing any text involves studying both the process of production as well as the process of interpretation. According to Fairclough, this triangular relation −between the text, its production, and its interpretation − is best encapsulated by studying the text, and the processes and social conditions surrounding the text. This analysis is possible using the three stages of CDA outlined below.

Description Stage

The description stage is the initial stage of Fairclough's CDA. This stage involves studying the textual properties of a text, in other words, noting down its formal properties (Fairclough, 1989, p.26). These formal features include the content, word choice, grammar and other textual properties. Each of these properties is decided by the writer/speaker over other possible alternatives. These choices provide hints about the social and physical experiences of the speaker/writer. In this study, the text refers to the analysis of written texts as opposed to oral

texts. For the purposes of this study, the discourse sample refers to written discourse, the poetry text. The *description* stage, therefore, involves identifying both linguistic and non-linguistic features of the text/written text. The analysis of textual choices (linguistic features) employed by the writer/producer, as well as the presentational/visual format of the text (non-linguistic features), provide a window into the discourse choices and experience of the outer world of the writer and his/her community. As Fairclough (1989) expresses it, identifying and labeling certain features of a text in the description stage has to do with what one chooses to notice. In this respect, description is also an interpretation because one chooses how s/he interprets a text (p.26). It is necessary to realize that none of the stages of CDA, including description, are mechanical, and thus include a degree of interpretation. This realization allows for an appreciation of the complex relationship between the text, writer, analyst and the larger social structures as integral parts of a thorough analysis.

The formal features of the text employed by the writer correspond to certain choices that reflect the author's values; these require the close attention of the analyst. Fairclough's model (1989) classifies these values into three categories: (a) experiential value, (b) relational value, and (c) expressive value. Experiential value, as the name suggests, refers to the writer/speaker's experience of the natural and social world. The content of the discourse provide hints as to the knowledge and beliefs of the discourse producer. Relational value refers to the social relationships that can be deduced from the discourse sample produced by the writer. Expressive value pertains to the evaluation of the world of the discourse producer and reality as s/he perceives it. According to Fairclough (1989) "expressive value" and "social identities" are related (1989, p.112). The following table adapted from Fairclough (1989, p. 112), provides a visual guide depicting the aspects of each value:

Table 3.1. Formal Features: Experiential, Relational and Expressive Values of CDA

Dimensions of meaning	Values of features	Structural Effects
Contents	Experiential	Knowledge/beliefs
Relations	Relational	Social relations
Subjects	Expressive	Social identities

The concepts in Table 3.1 indicate that linguistic choices employed by the writer/speaker affect the discourse transaction and how it is carried out. Linguistic choices employed in a text combine the *what aspects* of the discourse with the *how aspects*. Turn taking, and directness and indirectness of expression, constitute some of the non-linguistic constituents of a discourse. However, Fairclough (1989) cautions that these formal features of a text do not extrapolate directly to the structural system and its effects on discourse. These relationships are only "indirect" and "mediated" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 140). The researcher becomes the medium of manifestation for different layers of meaning in a text.

Interpretation Stage

The interpretation stage involves using one's Member Resources (MR). MR refers to the background knowledge we have about the world, knowledge that we use in processing a discourse, whether we produce or interpret it. The interpretation stage involves gazing into the relationship between the text and the writer, the text and the reader/analyst, and the interaction of these relationships with one another. In a sense the text becomes a means for seeing into both the head of the writer and that of the researcher/analyst by "seeing the text as the product of a

process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation" (Fairclough, 1989, p.26). This form of inquiry sees the text as an interactive medium. Thus the text is not only a "social product" but also a "social practice" (Rogers, 2003, p.7; Locke, 2004). The meaning of the discourse is two-sided: the world of the writer (the creator of the text), and the reader (the analyst/researcher).

The data analysis in this study noted the formal features of a text, which provided inferences about the producer's meaning-making strategies. Fairclough calls this "interplay of cues and MR" (1989, p. 141). Member Resources (MR) include cognitive as well as social and cultural aspects of interpretation, common-sense assumptions which impact and inform our discourse production and interpretation. Accordingly, any production or interpretation of a discourse is incomplete unless social determinants are also taken into consideration. CDA aspires to draw attention to the social influence in the individual choices. In this respect, the interpretation procedure consists of two layers of interpretation; (a) the *interpretation of the text* and (b) the *interpretation of the context*. These two interpretative layers are interconnected and work concomitantly in achieving meaning and its analysis.

Interpretation of the text has four aspects: Surface of Utterance; Meaning of Utterance; Local Coherence; Text Structure and Point. Surface of utterance, the first of these four aspects, is the initial stage of interpretation and requires a basic knowledge of language such as phonology, vocabulary and grammar. At this stage Member Resources (MR) help to regenerate meaning from these individual phonemes, vocabulary and grammar pieces by "converting strings of sounds or marks on paper into recognizable words, phrases and sentences" (Fairclough, 1989, p.143). The second level of interpretation of the text is known as the Meaning of Utterance. At this level, interpreters call upon semantic aspects of their MR by "assigning meanings" to parts

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of the text (p. 143). The meaning of the word is combined with grammatical knowledge in order to arrive at explicit and implicit meanings, which Fairclough calls speech acts. The third level of the interpretation procedure is Local Coherence. This level seeks to achieve meaning connection among the different utterances in a text. Local coherence is postulated in certain parts of the text, as opposed to the global coherence of the entire text. The reader calls upon his/her MR to establish cohesion and coherence in the text. The interaction of the reader/analyst is not a mechanical process. The reader tries to relate utterances to one another even in the absence of physical cues of cohesion or coherence. Thus, interpretative procedure implies ideological implications. The last level of interpretation procedure is Text Structure and Point, which is concerned with the global coherence of the text. An attempt is made to match the text as a whole to a certain "repertoire of schemata" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 144). This also implies making use of different organizational structures for different discourse types. For instance, setting up an appointment requires calling on our long term memory. There is a certain order to follow for the setting of an appointment. Table 3.2 adapted from Fairclough (1989, p. 142) provides a visual representation of the four layers of the interpretative process that I explained above.

Table 3.2. Interpretative Dimensions of CDA

Phonology, grammar, vocabulary ⇔ Surface of utterance
⇔
Semantics,   pragmatics ⇔ Meaning of utterance
⇔
Cohesion, Pragmatics ⇔ Local coherence
⇔
Schemata ⇔ Text structure and "point"

Interpretation of context includes the situational context and the intertextual context. Physical cues in the text assist in the interpretation of the situational context. Social and institutional orders enable a response to the cues in the text. This implies that there are different possible interpretations of the discourse depending on which "discourse types" are drawn upon (Fairclough, 1989, p.145). Intertextuality is a relevant term in this conceptualization, referring to a line of communication produced about a topic. The text /discourse sample being analyzed is connected to a range of previous texts and common sense assumptions.

The interpretation of a text is a complex process, which includes layers of consideration, influence and meaning making. Some of these considerations are the type of situational context the text is part of, which discourse type the text belongs to, the previous intertextual context the text stems from, the presuppositions around the topic, use of speech acts, overall schemata, "related notions of scripts and frame", topic and point (Fairclough, 1989, p.145). All of these considerations affect the meaning of the text. The final stage is the explanation stage, which is discussed in the next section.

Explanation Stage

The explanation stage of a discourse/text entails analyzing social influences. This stage focuses on multiple considerations such as interaction of production/social context(s) and interaction of interpretation/social contexts (Fairclough, 1989, p. 26). The explanation stage is significant in bringing all three stages of CDA into a union: the processes of production, interpretation and social structures, and their two-way interaction. In this study, I analyzed discourse samples − poems − both as products and processes.

I approached data sources − the poetry discourse − as a social process; this implied a social impact due to the consequences of a discourse act. These complex discourse relationships are presented in Figure 3.1 adapted from Fairclough (1989, p.164):

Societal

Institutional ⟶ MR ⟶ Discourse ⟶ MR ⟶ Institutional

Situational
Determinants

Societal

Situational
Effects
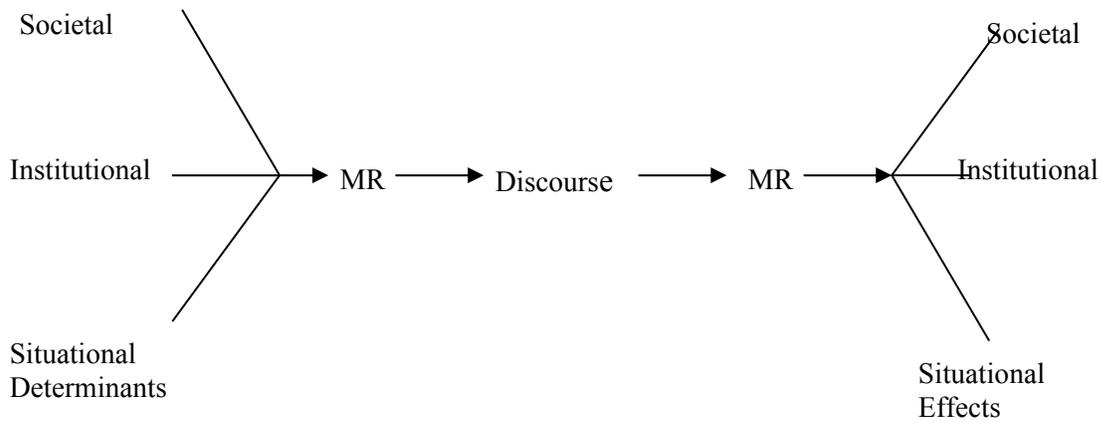
Figure 3.1: Explanatory Dimensions of CDA

The above figure gives a visual representation of the dialectic nature of discourse where the dialectic nature implies a generative reaction between societal, institutional and situational effects. The production / reproduction of the discourse and its consequent impact on social structures is an important consideration in CDA analysis. Discourse participation is versatile because of its dual possibility to exert an impact and be impacted on. The cumulative effect of discourse is creative and variable. Hence, discourse practice can spark a change in the social structures with a creative twist to the MR; it can also reproduce already prevalent social determinants, or it can generate possibilities by transforming structures. This reciprocal possibility of discourse can be brought to the surface in CDA analysis. Coding and categorizing of data is a significant part of data analysis, providing insights about both the content and form of the discourse sample.

Coding and Categorizing of Data

I used coding and categorization processes in this study to bridge content to form. The stages of coding in the data analysis of the poems corresponded to the three stages of CDA. The emergence of specific codes from general codes concurred with the content and form interaction of CDA. The coding process assisted in the management of the poetry data by breaking it down into manageable pieces, which Seidel and Kelle (1995) see as a way to get closer to the research data. Coding is an inquisitive process which allows new insights to emerge from the same data. In this research, I sought new insights and asked new questions of the data seeing it anew each time I coded. The systematic coding process in this study allowed me to generate concepts by attaching codes to poetry data.

Coding can be carried out in a variety of ways. A computer software or manual inscription can be used to carry out the coding process. Using a word processor is another strategy for coding data; copying and pasting different sections of the data using different color codes is yet another strategy. It is not important which of these strategies is used for the coding process; it is more important how the concepts and categories are manipulated in interacting with one's data (Seidel & Kelle, 1995; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 26-30). For the study, I used manual inscription and a word processor. I carried out a detailed coding process in order to get a closer understanding of my data. I used manual analysis by marking the data with a pen, as well as using Microsoft Word processing to copy, paste, underline and color different sections of the data. I read and analyzed the poems first in Turkish, then in English. I read the poems many times, which provided me with a better understanding of their content. I underlined words and phrases that stood out to me each time I read the poems. I wrote down a few key words for each poem. As I focused on each poem, I marked each line of the poem with codes. Different colors

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were used to mark different themes. I created codes to refer to chunks of data, and this helped me

to divide the poem into manageable proportions (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). However, it is

necessary to be cautious about too much mechanical clustering of data; instead a systematic

approach is necessary for effective coding practices (Seidel & Kelle, 1995). This systematic

approach is necessary for critically interacting with the research data and interrogating the data,

thus bringing new insights and a better understanding of the phenomena under study.

Codes are likely to have different levels of specificity and generality. In the initial stage

of coding, I was able to form more general sets of categories and themes. In the later phases of

coding, I produced tighter and more specific categorizations. Coffey and Atkinson (1996) call

them a "dense set of themes and categories" (p. 37). This stage also creates subcategories of the

larger categories as a result of systematic comparisons and contrasts of themes and categories.

According to Coffey and Atkinson (1996), the initial stage of coding focuses on the content

while more attention is directed at the form as coding evolves and matures. As the coding

proceeds patterns and linkages emerge among codes, data categories and concepts. Using codes

assists in the retrieval of data which are clustered under the same codes.

In this study, I used systematic coding to group poetry data into categories. Attaching

codes to poetry data generated many general codes. Sections of the poems were brought together

as they were matched to certain codes. In this way, I compared sets of data to one another as they

were coded into specific categories. Multiple readings of the poems refined the codes into larger

or more specific categories. Themes started to emerge slowly as I related ideas in the poems to

the historical and cultural context of Turkey. My readings throughout this research and my

general background knowledge of Turkey allowed me to make connections between the text and

its socio-cultural and historical surroundings. It is useful to illustrate these analytic strategies

with a sample of poetry data analysis. In the following data analysis of a section of a poem, I described the stages of coding as they corresponded to the three stages of CDA:

Example Analysis of a Discourse Sample

The poem, "Imececi" / "Collaborator" (Basaran, 1969, p. 5) was chosen for data analysis as a sample poem. "Imececi" / "Collaborator" is a selection from Mehmet Basaran's poetry book, *Pitrakli Memleket / Cocklebur/Burr Motherland*. This poem is representative of his poetry in style and theme. Analysis of this poem illustrates the analytic processes I used. I have included the translated version of the poem below, followed by the coding process as it corresponded to the three stages of CDA. Because the analysis of the entire poem would take up a very large space, I only included the first stanza of the poem − the first five lines − in this sample analysis.

"Imececi" / "Collaborator"

I am with the weak in fight
My voice is sharpened with rage
Hey, I say, from a mountainous morning
Those who carry stones for the new pyramids
Hey, my hands are hurting
(Basaran, 1969, lines 1-5)

Hey forest, unaware of its strength
I know one cannot be Koroglu in this age
But the collaboration of seven colors are bright
Stones are tired of being a graveyard
Leave Pharaoh to decay in its loneliness and isolation
(Basaran, 1969, lines 6-10)

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If we touch the walls of fear, they will break

Everyone will be set free from their bondage/prison

Unique flow of blood will begin

From me to you, from you to her/him

Life is a sacred sharedness/sharing

(Basaran, 1969, lines 11-15)

A sky berry is what I propose

Planet's harmony is at taste

Lets leave selfish happiness in the smelly room

Come where soil and insect do

Sharedness/sharing is the most-intense love

(Basaran, 1969, lines 16-20)

Description Stage

The description stage includes identifying and labeling certain features of a text. Fairclough (1989) indicates that this is a selective process on the part of the researcher. Thus, what one chooses to notice is an important consideration in CDA. This is the interpretive aspect of the description stage. The researcher's MR interacts with the poem's content as the meaning is deciphered. A reflective research practice requires me to be aware of my expectations in this undertaking. In carrying out this analysis I tried to be conscious of my worldview and values.

In the description stage the reader is preoccupied with understanding the linguistic choices the author made. In this analysis I identified the textual details of the discourse sample and pinpointed word choice, grammar syntax, phonology, semantics and cohesion. There are

both linguistic and non-linguistic features of the poem which need to be identified. Untangling the interrelationship between form and content is possible by closely studying the choices made by the author/poet of the text/poem especially through the coding process.

> I am with the weak in fight
> My voice is sharpened with rage
> Hey, I say, from a mountainous morning
> Those who carry stones for the new pyramids
> Hey, my hands are hurting
>
> (Basaran, 1969, lines 1-5)

The above excerpt is the first stanza of the poem. Several readings of the poem revealed specific vocabulary choices. Some of the key words are "weak" (line 1) "fight" (line 1) "rage" (lines 2) "carrying stones" (line 4) "new pyramids" (line 4) and "hands hurting" (line 5). I underlined these words because they stood out during my reading. Word choices such as "weak" (line 1) and "fight" (line 1) are especially significant because they imply that power is an issue in the poem. In this brief excerpt it is possible to see that it is not easy to clearly separate description from interpretation when making meaning of a discourse, i.e., poetry discourse.

Other linguistic choices are the use of the preposition "with" (line 1), which suggests the speaker's stance on a topic. "I am with the weak in fight" (line 1) includes the use of the first person pronoun "I" (line 1), which suggests the speaker's alignment with the weak. Also, the use of the possessive pronoun in "my voice" (line 2), combined with the use of the adjective choice "rage" (line 2), produces a similar response. Thus, "My voice is sharpened with rage" (line 2) suggests the speaker's anger. Sharpness (line 2) is an interesting word choice because it is the opposite of gentleness or the gradual progression of a process. The adjective choice "sharp"

made into a verb "sharpened" (line 2), which indicates the active response the speaker is taking against what s/he is witnessing.

The use of the word "pyramids" (line 4) contextualizes the condition of the "weak" (line 1): "Those who carry stones for the new pyramids" (line 4) was understood when I called upon my Member Resources (MR), and I conceptualized the context of the pyramids. Slaves had to work hard to build this wonder of the world for the king in Ancient Egypt. Certain word choices such as "carrying stone" (line 4), and "pyramids" (line 4) pinpoint the exploitation of "weak" (whoever the adjective "weak" refers to). The image of "pyramids" (line 4) combined with the implied image of the ancient Egyptian king, Pharaoh and his slaves are a metaphor representing the oppressor and the oppressed. This example also highlights the simultaneous application of the description and interpretation stages in analysis.

Line three of the poem starts with the exclamation of "Hey" (line 3), which is a neutral form of address to people which could be made negative or positive depending on the context in which it is uttered. "Hey" in *"Hey, I say, from a mountainous morning"* (line 3) implies an urgent call such as "please hear me now". *Expressive value,* as proposed by Fairclough, refers to the discourse producer's evaluation of the world and reality as s/he perceives it. This address is an expressive stance taken on behalf of an oppressed group. This poem could be envisioned as the performance of a call to fight for their rights − as the oppressed people. Personal pronouns are frequently used in this excerpt such as "My hands are hurting" (line 5). The verb "are hurting" (line 5) suggests feelings of empathy by the speaker's voice. The use of the possessive pronoun in "my hands" (line 5) illustrates the speaker's strong personal response towards the injustice s/he is observing. At this point the reader is not only aware of the speaker's position of

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defending the poet, but also his/her anger towards what s/he is witnessing, especially through the word choices "fight"(line 1), "rage" (line 2) and "sharpened" (line 2).

As I studied the linguistic choices employed by the poet, I paid attention to the implications of values in these choices. Studying the first five lines of the poem suggested feelings of empathy for the oppressed groups of society. It is reasonable to assume a similar positioning on the part of the poet who wrote the poem in this particular way. The poet's village background and familiarity with the hardships of village life suggest a similar association. This poem, as a discourse production, presents an identity that stems from certain linguistic and non-linguistic choices prevalent in the poem. As Fairclough suggests, relational value refers to the *social relationships* that can be deduced from the discourse sample of the producer. The poet's village background and life experiences as an educated villager and writer/poet are visible in his depiction and empathy with the people he brings to life in this poem. The content and form analysis carried out thus far provide a window into the poet's *experiential values*, his way of seeing the world.

Interpretation Stage

The interpretation stage includes studying the relationship of the discourse producer, the discourse and the analyst. The *interpretation* stage involves examining the relationship between the text and the writer, the text and the reader/analyst and the interaction of these relationships with one another in light of the larger context. The text becomes a means of seeing into the heads of both the writer and the researcher/analyst by "seeing the text as the product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation" (Fairclough, 1989, p.26). Accordingly, interpretation and description include each other in their application. None of the stages of CDA, including *description*, are mechanical; they all include a degree of *interpretation*

in their enactment. The interpretation stage includes explaining how the linguistic properties connect to the social world in a discourse. The formal features of a text − the ingredients of a text− provide an insight into the producer's meaning-making and way of seeing the world. Hence the formal features of text are cues for the producer's and interpreter's Member Resources (MR) (Fairclough, 1989, p.141). The *interpretation* stage of CDA focuses not only on the writer's text production but also on the reader's text interpretation and the interaction of the two.

When I studied the first section of the poem − the first five lines − I observed that the content and form of the poem are in agreement with each other. The linguistic choices of the poet come to life as the interpretation contextualized the background of the poem's content. For instance, right from the beginning I was aware of speaker's disapproval of the treatment of the "weak" − whoever the adjective "weak" referred to: "I am with the weak in fight" (line 1). Despite the fact that we do not know the exact identity of the speaker, or on whose behalf he is speaking, one thing the reader is sure of is the speaker's concern for the oppressed people. Similarly the image of *"pyramids"* (line 4) came to life as my MR provided the background knowledge for this context. CDA's analytic strategies enabled me to relate this context to the context of oppression. The speaker has an unexpressed connection to these people because his task goes beyond the description of an orator. In fact, s/he desires to stand next to the oppressed to fight for their rights. The oppression in the poem could refer to the oppression villagers experienced under the power of the *agha* − the rich landowner(s) of the village. This is a plausible interpretation considering that the majority of the villagers were very poor and worked on the lands belonging to a handful of the village rich. The background of the poet as a village born individual and his education through the Village Institutes campaign may well account for the social identity embraced in the poem. The interpretation stage also includes elements of

explanation as it provides the bridge from the discourse sample and the discourse producer to larger social worlds and forces.

Explanation Stage

The explanation stage requires the researcher to investigate the realm of the social to better understand the meaning of the discourse. The discourse sample is the bridge between the discourse producer and the discourse analyst − the researcher. From this perspective, the text and context are the two sides of the same coin. The social context of the poet and the historical time in which the discourse was created need to be interrogated to better understand the discourse sample and to get closer to the meaning of the discourse data. I observed that in this poem sample, "Imececi" / "Collaborator" (Basaran, 1969, p. 5) there are feelings of care and concern for the oppressed people. My background knowledge of Turkey for that period, as well as the life history of Mehmet Basaran, indicate that the concern expressed in the poem can be tied to the village background of the poet − the discourse producer. He has the same roots as villagers and has grown up with the same life conditions, making him a credible voice in his poems. We cannot know for sure whether the voice he represents is himself or someone else, but in either case we can trust him as a reliable source to represent the problems of the oppressed − the villagers.

I studied the social context of the discourse producer, which indicated that the poet was a villager who was educated through the TVI literacy campaign and was one of its prominent graduates. He not only taught in village schools, but also became a successful researcher, writer and poet. His first poem appeared in the *Village Institutes Journal* when he was a student, and

from then on he published critical pieces on social issues reaching a wide audience and wrote various poetry books and novels, short stories and children's books. His close connection to the rural community, and his life experiences and interactions with the villagers presumably shaped his poetry. His writing on village themes and poverty is significant because it contrasts with the delayed attention directed at villagers by the State. The Village Institutes were the beginning of the State's delayed attention to villages and villagers (Karaomerlioglu, 1998a; Karaomerlioglu, 2002). The appearance of village themes in literary discourse highlighted the changing nature of the villager's position in national politics.

Background knowledge on Mehmet Basaran reveals that he is one of the prominent figures of village literature, a movement which came about in the1950s and 1960s drawing attention to village issues. Basaran became one of the representatives of the village-focused literary movement in the poetry genre, drawing attention to the problems of villagers such as social issues, poverty and lack of resources in the villages. The neglect of villages over the centuries had caused a decline in the life standards of the villagers. The large-scale changes that took place in Turkey slowly brought about a changing attitude towards the villages/villagers. This poem, similar to several others by Mehmet Basaran, indicates the changing focus on villagers in the national realm. In this regard, I see this poem as an interactive medium which connects the time of its creation to the present time. In the same way, the poem connects the composer of the discourse to the analyst/researcher of the discourse. The text allows us to see into the minds of both the writer and the researcher/analyst. Fairclough conceptualized text as the "product of a process of production" and also as a "resource in the process of interpretation" (Fairclough, 1989, p.26). Thus, the text starts as a social product and becomes a social process,

as it relates the discourse producer to the discourse interpreter and analyst. In this way, the praxis of discourse enables the individual and society to meet.

As the previous paragraphs have indicated, the explanation stage is about connecting the discourse to contextual and social structures. I used CDA to illustrate the link between the content and form of the poems. The coding process allowed me to communicate with the data and relate it to the immediate situational context as well as the larger institutional and social contexts. In this poem, the stages of description and interpretation of CDA highlighted the key words and phrases in the poem, "Imececi"/ "Collaborator" (Basaran, 1969, p. 5) while the explanation stage related the content of the poem to the social context. I used the coding process to illustrate how the themes of the poem emerged and matured throughout the analysis. The coding developed initial key words into categories and subcategories. In the next section, I show how I coded the entire poem, as opposed to the first five lines, because only a larger segment could adequately represent how the codes, categories and subcategories emerge and develop.

An impressionistic reading of the poem is presented below with the key words underlined. I marked and underlined the key words after multiple readings. A general coding was then assigned to each line or every two lines. I numbered these codes as code 1, code 2 and so on. For each section I wrote a general code. In general, codes can be a word, phrase or a sentence. I chose a phrase and a sentence to describe the general tone of each section (each stanza of the poem) because they best described the section. I named each section as part 1, part 2 and so on so that each part could stand on its own.

Coding Process

Part I

Line 1 I am with the <u>weak</u> in <u>fight</u>   code 1.1: I am standing with the weak

Line 2 My <u>voice</u> is sharpened with <u>rage</u>   code 1.2: I am angry

Line 3 <u>Hey</u>, I say, from a mountainous morning   code 1.3: urgent call ("*Hey*")

Line 4 Those who <u>carry stones</u> for the new <u>pyramids</u>   code 1.4: hard physical labor by slaves

Line 5   Hey, my <u>hands</u> are <u>hurting</u>   code 1.5: I am hurt (as you are hurt)

      CODE for part I*: Standing with weak against the oppressor*

Part II

Line 6 <u>Hey</u> <u>forest</u>, <u>unaware</u> of its <u>strength</u>   code 2.1: you are unaware of your strength

Line 7 I know one cannot be <u>Koroglu</u> in this age   code2.2:justice fighter-Koroglu

Line 8 But the <u>collaboration</u> of seven colors are bright   code 2.3: collaboration (all)

Line 9 Stones are wearisome of being graveyard   code 2.4: even stones are tired

Line 10 Leave <u>Pharaoh</u> to <u>decay</u> in its loneliness and isolation   code 2.5: fight the oppressor

      CODE for part II: *Collaborate to fight against oppression*

Part III

Line 11 If we touch the <u>walls</u> of <u>fear,</u> it will <u>break</u>   code 3.1: breaking walls of fear

Line 12 Everyone will be <u>set free</u> from their <u>bondage</u>   code 3.2: setting free of bondage

Line 13 Unique <u>flow of blood</u> will begin   code 3.3: freedom (flow)

Line 14 From me to you, from you to her/him   code 3.4: collective (all)

Line 15 Life is a sacred <u>sharedness</u>/sharing   code 3.5: life is sacred sharing

      Code for part III: *Breaking free from bondage*

Part IV

Line 16 A <u>sky berry</u> is what <u>I propose</u>   code 4.1: I am proposing a sky berry

Line 17 <u>Planet's harmony</u> is at taste   code 4.2: harmony is my proposal

Line 18 Lets <u>leave</u> <u>selfish happiness</u> in the <u>smelly room</u>   code 4.3: lets stop selfish happiness

Line 19 Come as <u>soil</u> and <u>insect</u> do   code 4.4: live like insects and soil

Line 20 <u>Sharedness</u>/sharing is the most-<u>intense</u> <u>love</u>   code 4.5: sharing is intense love

      Code for part IV: *Call for creating peace and harmony for all*

After I underlined key words and wrote codes for each line, I wrote a general representative code for the entire stanza. This process was repeated for each stanza in the poem. As the next step, I refined these general codes into more specific categories, and each section's representative code was brought together in a table. I re-read all of the codes as well as the poem to produce categories that would represent these codes. This seemingly simple task required extensive thinking and formulation of the coding because some codes had to be placed under other categories. The categories and sub-categories I included in the following section resulted from multiple re-readings and re-draftings of the coding.

Codes for each Part

Code for part I: Standing with weak in fight against oppressor/oppression

Code for part II: Collaborate to fight against oppression

Code for part III: Breaking free from bondage

Code for part IV: Call for creating peace and harmony for all

Refined Codes and Categories

Code I: Call for awareness

Category I: Call for awareness of oppression

        Sub-category 1:You are misused (I am hurting for you)

        Sub-category 2: You are carrying stones for the Pharaoh's pyramids

        Sub-category 3: I am angry (because you are oppressed)

Code II: Call for acting upon injustice

Category II: Call for fighting against your oppression

        Sub-category 1: You are unaware of your strength

        Sub-category 2: Collaborate with others (for changing your situation)

        Sub-category 3: Stop the Oppressor (Let Pharaoh decay)

Code III: Call for breaking free from bondage

Category III: Call for creating freedom

        Sub-category1: Break the walls of fear (for you)

        Sub-category 2: Act upon and set everyone free

        Sub-category 3: Collaboratively work for freedom

Code IV: Call for creating harmony in the world

Category IV: Call for creating shared ness and equality

        Sub-category1: Accept my proposal of sky berry (harmony)

        Sub-category2: Let's stop selfish oppression

        Sub-category 3: Live carefree and unselfish as insect and soil

        Subcategory 4: Let's share; shared ness is the most-intense love

        Sub-category 5: Life is a sacred shared ness

The above coding process illustrates the movement from general to specific categories and subcategories. As coding progressed from general codes to more refined codes, I took a closer look at the linguistic choices and the expressive style of the discourse producer. The

coding process guided my interpretation and meaning-making processes. The categories formed, changed and matured throughout the process of analysis. The flexibility of the categories suggests that coding needs to be thought of as a continuous process. During the refining of data categories and concepts, I became more familiar with the data. In the above sample coding, as I coded the poem themes started to emerge slowly. For instance, *call for fighting against oppression* was one of the main themes/main categories. C*ollaborating with others for freedom* was a theme I observed which supported the main theme of *call for fighting against oppression.* Two themes I felt throughout the poem were *call for love* and *shared responsibility for change and justice*; yet they changed to some extent as I continued with the coding process, reminding me that codes and categories are not set in stone and it is possible to abandon or change categories in light of new insights. Also, the categories in this particular poem also changed as new themes emerged. The second category *setting free* changed into *call for creating freedom* whereas *collaborative freedom making,* which I first thought to be a main category, later changed into a *subcategory* under the main category of *call for breaking free from bondage*. The themes such as *call for change / freedom* became more visible as I coded all the poetry data. I realized that codes and categories can overlap or be included in each other. The general interpretation of the poem became more meaningful as the context of its production and producer was investigated. The social context of the time and the setting of rural Turkey filled in the gaps in the analysis. The background of the poet – village-born literary figure – and his life experience, in addition to the social context of the discourse, collectively influenced the creation and interpretation of the discourse sample.

This sample analysis illustrates the complexities and the intricate details of data analysis on a small scale. It is a guide to the analytical procedures used in the next chapter. Chapter Five

identifies and discusses the final themes that emerged from the poetry data. These final themes are presented in a table first and then each of these themes are supported by evidence using excerpts from the poems. Specifically a total of 106 poems were analyzed; 22 of these poems came from the poetry book, *Pitrakli Memleket* / *Cocklebur Motherland* (Mehmet Basaran, 1969), and 84 of the poems came from the poetry book, *Kirsal Sanci* / *Rural Pain* (Talip Apaydin, 1999). I shared the analytic strategies used in studying the poems and the details of arriving at the final themes. I also included segments taken from each poem (in English translations) to substantiate the presence of these main themes. I did not include the coding process for the poems because of the large space it would require, as was evident in the sample poetry analysis "Imececi"/ "Collaborator" that I included in this chapter.

Chapter 5

Findings and Discussion

In this chapter I present the findings of this research undertaking. Firstly, I re-introduce

the research questions addressed in this study so that the focus of the research is clear. Secondly,

I explain the data analysis procedures and the results of the data analysis. Finally, I discuss the

main themes identified in the poetry, and use specific excerpts from several poems to illustrate

how these themes and interpretations emerged from a study of the content and form of the

poems. The two questions that guided the study were:

1. What does the poetry of TVI graduates suggest about the social changes following the

establishment of the Republic?

2. What does the poetry of TVI graduates suggest about the reactions of the

villages/villagers to the various social changes following the establishment of the

Republic?

Two poetry books, one by Basaran and the other by Apaydin, constituted the data for this

study. These books are titled *Pitrakli Memleket / Cocklebur/Burr Motherland* and *Kirsal Sanci

/Rural Pain* respectively. The first poetry book contained 84 poems, and the second poetry book

contained 22 poems. In total, I analyzed 106 poems; each poem was analyzed individually line

by line. I carried out a systematic data analysis using the theoretical and methodological frameworks of CDA. After I analyzed each poetry book poem by poem, I identified a list of themes for each book. I discussed the meaning and interpretation of each of the poems with a bilingual English Turkish speaker. After I finalized a list of themes for each book, I then compared each book's themes. This allowed me to highlight themes common to both poetry books, which I brought together in the final themes list. The themes that appeared in only one poetry book and infrequently occurred in the other book were dropped from the list of final themes. I excluded one poem from analysis because the other bilingual reader and I did not agree on the interpretation of the poem.

In the first stage of the analysis, I engaged in a conceptual interpretation of the poems. I read the poems several times, took notes, and created a list of initial themes. These themes developed and matured as I engaged in a detailed coding process; this interpretive process assisted and enriched my understanding of the data. A conceptual interpretation of the poems was achieved through multiple readings of the poems. During this process, I considered both the content and form of the poems. Thus, in addition to the meaning, I also took note of the structure of the poems, and the tone of voice and style of the poems. In each reading, I underlined sections in the poems and took notes at the sides of each line or section in the poems. This manual note-taking assisted in the themes emerging. The coding process helped me to visually depict the maturation of themes, thus helping me to refine the themes to various levels of specificity and generality, and to group relevant themes under the same category. After several readings, note-taking, and word processing, I also used a visual strategy to double check the development of themes into their final state. To do this, I used a large piece of cardboard; I read each poem and noted a word or phrase that represented the theme of that poem. Once I had repeated this process

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for all of the poems, the themes were refined to their most mature form. In the following section, I include the final themes for each poetry book; I also include the side notes underneath each theme. Then the final themes common to both poetry books are presented.

Themes for Book I

Table 5.1. Themes for Poetry Book I

Pitrakli Memleket (*Cocklebur/Burr Motherland)* by Mehmet Basaran

THEME I) **Village Problems**

    a) <u>Village Poverty/Youth</u>

- Lack of resources to deal with harsh winters
- Static status quo and inequality
- Poverty, working hard under poor conditions
- Working very hard day and night but receiving very little in return
- Lost generation (youth)

    b) <u>Indifference to Village Poverty</u>

- Call for awareness of village problems
- Others' lack of concern or awareness of the village problems
- Physical and emotional distance of village & city life
- Turning a blind eye towards village poverty

THEME II) **Hopeful vs. Hopeless**

    a) <u>Hope(ful)Messages</u>

- Calling villagers to turn their silence/conformity into resistance
- Promise of more hopeful future
- Promise of hopeful new start after difficult and unjust pain/harsh past
- Despite the harsh past, optimism for a better future
- Wandering minstrels as the role models – critical optimists

    b) <u>Hopeless Messages</u>

- Unhappy picture of earth
- Hard life; life not offering anything

THEME III) **Homesickness**

- Being homesick/ in exile
- Feelings of regret (spending time away from homeland)

Less Frequently Occurring Themes

THEME IV)

- Call for productivity, hard work and altruism
- Missing pieces of democracy and the difficulty of bringing change
- Appraisal of rich curriculum of TVI and power of art especially poetry

Themes for Book II

Table 5.2. Themes for Poetry Book II

Kirsal Sanci (*Rural Pain)* by Talip Apaydin

THEME I) **Call for Productivity & Altruism**

- Not just consuming, but also producing
- Perseverance in the face of hardship and obstacles
- Leaving something to the world
- Paying forward the legacy of giving
- Being open to change and difference; being curious and creative

THEME II) **Hopeful vs. Hopeless**

a) Hope(ful)

- New beginnings (spring season)
- Perseverance, working hard, not losing heart
- Years of hard work demanding results
- Dim hope because of difficult yesterdays
- Heroic folk legends representing the inspirational character of hope
- Hope in the face of seemingly insurmountable goals
- Perseverance and hard work leads to achievement
- Hope for an imperfect, but a better future
- Slow but eventual change

b) Hopeless

- Unfulfilled rewards for continuous hard work of poor
- Working hard for a better future with no results
- Loss of hope, confidence and goals over time
- Inability of changing the course of things despite best efforts
- Hopeless and bleak reality especially for the village youth in poverty
- Hopeless times: an urgency for change, but few resources and hard work for little return
- Disappointment in others' empty promises
- Criticism of the developed world:
- Disappointment in unfulfilled dreams and pessimism about future

THEME III) **Homesickness**

- Loss of rural identity (estrangement, not belonging in city)
- Feeling abroad in one's land (undesirable life conditions)
- Preoccupation with rural identity
- Feeling homesick for village life
- Missing freedom and walking in nature

THEME IV) **Village**

a) Village Poverty/Youth

- Poverty-stricken life conditions in village
- Harsh physical realities and survival struggles
- Uneven start for babies born into poverty
- Dangerous working conditions for the poor

b) Indifference to the Village Problem

- Divorce of worlds (rural vs urban, village vs. city)
- Loneliness in one's daily struggles and indifference of others
- Distance of people from one another (neighbor)
- Call for awareness and acting on these inequalities
- Intellectuals of Turkey being unaware of and too far way from the realities of the nation/folk
- Inadequate support for the goal/purpose
- Criticism of the indifference of the rich:

THEME V) **Power of Art/Poetry**

- Power of language/poetry to communicate the issues of life/people
- Power of art communicating significant messages otherwise difficult/not possible to communicate
- The power of music and musical instruments in communicating human conditions
- Praisal of Yunus Emre and Beethoven whose art/performance survive the test of time

THEME VI) **Collective Goals**

- Mourning for not being able to achieve one's dreams and goals (*collective* goals)\
- Comradeship of villagers (village researcher)
- Need to learn from the past and others
- Disintegration of the team (those who came together for change)
- Criticism of those who abandoned their goals and went after wrong goals.
- Need of working class to act for themselves

Final Themes and Sub-themes

After I compiled these lists of themes for each poetry book, I created the final list of themes by comparing and contrasting each of these themes one to another. I identified themes common to both poetry books and wrote all of them on a large piece of cardboard for a visual representation; this helped to highlight and determine the final list of themes. These themes are presented in Table 5.3

Table 5.3. Final Themes and Sub-themes

THEME I) **Indifference of Others to Village Poverty**

    Description of the details of village poverty and problems
    Indifference of the bourgeois class to these problems

THEME II) **Call for Productivity and Responsibility for Change**

    Producing, not just consuming
    Collective altruism for next generation
    Offering hope for a better future
    Dim hope/loss of hope

THEME III) **Feelings of Homesickness**

    Being in exile/abroad
    Being in prison/missing freedom
    Losing one's village roots (loss of rural character/identity)
    Feeling psychological exile in response to bleak inequality

THEME IV) **Power of Art/Poetry**

    Use of art for critical analysis
    Art as a unique communicator (a vehicle for sharing village realities)
    Poetry as an effective tool preparing the way for the future
    Praise of Turkish Village Institutes

In the following section, I expand on the final themes outlined above, documenting with excerpts from the poems. I drew on some content and form details to provide evidence for the validity of these themes. For example, I highlighted underlying phrases and sections in the poetry books as well as the stylistic decisions of the poet that provided insights about the form and its impact on meaning. This process is repeated for each final theme outlined in the above table.

The first theme, (a) *indifference to village poverty*, was visible in several of the poems in both poetry books. These poems included details of village poverty and village problems in addition to mentioning the indifference of others towards these problems. Talip Apaydin's "Fidan" / "Sapling/Young Plant" (Apaydin, 1999, p.9) describes the hardships of village life in the following lines:

Even if soil squeezes his/her roots
..…………………………………….
Throughout drought summers
Their concern water
When winter comes
Awed cold
Withstand hey child
          (Apaydin, 1999, p.9, lines 2-8)

The above lines describe the different hardships peasant children experience in winter and summer. The soil squeezing the roots signifies the hardship the children and younger generation had to bear in poor villages. This theme of hardship illustrated in the above excerpt resonates with several other poems of Talip Apaydin. In the last line of the poem, in particular, "withstand child" gives the message not to give up even though no one cares about their problems. The name of the poem, "Sapling", is a purposefully chosen metaphor for the younger generation of villages who need care and protection. This title choice is an example of strategic use of form to

strengthen the message of the poem. Also the voice in the poem strategically changes its audience from addressing a general reader to addressing the village youth. Hence, the poem at times addresses the general reader / audience about the difficult conditions in the village for village youth, such as "throughout drought summers / their concern … water" (lines 3-4). At other times the voice speaks directly to the young generation, such as "withstand hey child" (line 8), to give them courage to endure these difficulties. These stylistic details by the poet are an effective use of form to complement the meaning of the poem.

The poem describes the poverty of the villages, poverty that was common to many villages in Turkey with a few well-to-do landowners for whom the villagers worked. Not only were many people outside of the villages unaware of the lower living standards of the villagers, but many also neglected these sufferings. Considering the transformational changes Turkey underwent in the first decades of the 20th century, it is surprising that the conditions of the villages were little affected by these changes. The poem is an illustration of the feelings of villagers about being ignored in their struggle and poverty; however, the poem does not direct its complaints against any one party and only expresses candidly the continuing difficulties of villages in those times.

There are several other poems which also highlight the difficulties of village children and youth. For example, the poems "Gencler" / "Young People" (Apaydin, 1999, p. 10) and "Genclik"/ "Youth" (Apaydin, 1999, p. 11) describe the many challenges young people had to face in poor villages.

>   Grass underneath rocks
>   They will find a space to grow
>   To sun, to sky
>   How will they arrive
>   (Apaydin, 1999, p.10, lines 1-4)

The above excerpt from the "Gencler" / "Young People" (Apaydin, p. 1999, p. 10) with the image of grass underneath rocks, "grass…underneath rocks" (line 1), portrays the diminished life chances of village youth. "Their roads/paths blocked" (line 6) in the poem indicates that there is no prosperity in the villages. Yet the metaphor of growing grass under heavy rocks does, nevertheless, give a faint hope of survival: *"They will find a space to grow"* (line 2). The last line of the above excerpt is particularly important because of encouraging one to listen to their conscience and ask how on earth the poor village children would grow to their potential: "How will they arrive" (line 4). The reader not only is given a depiction of the slim opportunities for village youth, but also a hint of the indifference of others who do not have to bear similar daily struggles. This poem is an emotional call for everyone to consider the neglected village youth who are left to their own devices. The poem is full of visual images that beg attention, and which also illustrate the effective use of form to support the content of the poem. However, there is no direct addressing or complaining about the law, authorities or city people for the difficulties of villages.

A similar excerpt from the poem "Genclik" / "Youth" (Apaydin, 1999, p. 11) presented below visualizes the slim possibilities for poor village youth. The following image portrays the grave struggle youth go through, just like birds with no place to perch or land.

> Frightened a cluster of birds
> Scattered by the wind here and there
> No branch to perch
> But they will find a place to land/settle
> (Apaydin, 1999, p.11, lines 1-4)

An emotional call for empathy can be felt in the above excerpt. This poem, similar to the previous one, focused on the wellbeing of the village youth. The lines "nobody cares, it is not their business / backs turned to problems" (lines 5-6) change the tone of imploring into complaining about those who choose to be indifferent and ignorant about these village difficulties instead of tackling this problem. The pronoun "nobody" indicates an indirect allegation, which is another stylistic decision used by the poet. The use of the phrase "cluster of birds" and "no branch to perch" are vital images that create a certain visual impact in the mind of the reader and thus achieve a strong semantic effect as the form and content unite. The identification of the speaker with the difficulties of village children and youth is clearly felt in the poem "Arslanlara Siir" / "Poem to Lions" (Apaydin, 1999, p. 45):

> My righteous, my lion offspring
> You are born into bad world
> I couldn't grow you as I desired
> I couldn't feed you bountifully
> I couldn't tour/roam you in mountains and slopes
> Your air is bad, your food is scarce
> I didn't know what to do
>   (Apaydin, 1999, p.45, lines 1-7)

The poem is written in the form of an apology to village children, which can be felt in line 5: "I couldn't tour/roam you in mountains and slopes" (line 5). Also, the use of possessive pronoun "my" and the first person pronoun "I" create a tone of personal care expressed by the speaker's voice in the poem. The poet uses the form to create this special effect, as opposed to creating a neutral narrative voice. This line indicates that these children could not enjoy childhood, having to grow up too early. The unequal beginnings of village and city children are highlighted in the line "you are born into bad world" (line 2). The speaker calls the village children "my righteous"

(line 1) and "my lion offspring" (line 1) who need good nutrition but only find scarce resources; this is highlighted in the line "your air is bad, your food is scarce" (line 6).

> Others' Hyenas
> Ride off in all directions
> Showing their teeth and attack
> Considering themselves powerful
> What could I say to you
> Endure/forbear and wait
> My Tarzans without nourishment
>   (Apaydin, 1999, p.45, lines 8-14)

The above excerpt from the same poem illustrates the reality of the disparity between those who have and those who have not. Background knowledge about the Turkish context offers a similar account. The poverty of the villages continued despite the emergence of the Turkish Republic and the carrying out of various national changes. The poem indicates reluctance on the part of those who have plenty to share their wealth/power, which is visible in the line "showing their teeth and attack" (line 10); this conveys a message to the poor children that they need to be aware of this disparity and "endure/forbear and wait" (line 13) with the hope of a better future. This poem moves back and forth between hope and hopelessness, which might be considered a strategic form choice by the poet to express the reality of poverty as it is, but also to instill some hope for a better future. Hence the poem, on the one hand, tries to give hope to village children that things will be better in the future. On the other hand, the poem is a clear documentation of the stark disparity between village and city children and their possibilities.

Similar to Talip Apadin, Mehmet Basaran also highlighted the hardships of village life in his poems. In Basaran's poem "Kiragili Sabahlar" / "Mornings of Hoarfrost" (Basaran, 1969, p. 21) the difficulty of village life is described. Lack of resources makes it hard to deal with harsh

winters. The tone of despair is felt through images such as "Touches knife on your flesh, tongue of snake" (line 1) and "Crooked world" (line 5) in the first few lines of the poem.

> What a night it was
> Perhaps discomfort of a century
> Death's cold breath
> Passed over fields
> Over crops, books, hearts
> Steppes are getting uneasy
> From stillness of trees
> > (Basaran, 1969, p.21, lines 6-12)

The way these lines are aligned emphasizes the tone of despair. As the poem continues, a fuller picture of the despair is given. Thus the word and phrase choices such as "…discomfort of a century / death's cold breath / passed over fields/ over crops, books, hearts" (lines 7-10) indicate the working of form and content together to create the intended semantic effect in the mind of the reader. For example, the word choice "century" is significant; it highlights the unchanging conditions of the villages despite the enormous national changes of modernization. Background knowledge of the Turkish context supports the account expressed in the poem about the suffering of villagers for many centuries. The image of death passing over fields, crops, books and hearts indicates the enormity of despair and death in the villages, which is even felt by nature. The personification of nature is another stylistic strategy used by the discourse maker, the poet, to create empathy with the problems of the villagers. Thus, the message is that nature hears the suffering of the village and yet the rest of the world continues to ignore this centuries-long discomfort.

In the poem "O Sular"/ "Those Waters" (Basaran, 1969, pg. 10) once again attention is called to the poverty of the villages and the difficult living conditions of the village children if they want to survive.

> Would you say these are the eyes of children
> Opening to the world the first time
> Ponies breathless
>   (Basaran, 1969, p.10, lines 1-3)

The above lines illustrate that life is no fairy tale for village children. The metaphor of breathless ponies is a strong image used to draw attention to children's weariness in poverty-stricken conditions; they are children with exhausted eyes. Another poem, "Mavi Cocuklar" / "Blue Children" (Basaran, 1969, p. 18), also portrays the difficult conditions of village life for the young generation.

> Unknowingly they stood near death
> Their hearts in their hands
> Their laughter is from their sadness
> Blue children
>   (Basaran, 1969, p. 18, lines 1-4)

This poem depicts poverty in the villages and bleak opportunities for the children in these villages. Hopelessness, in this poem, is felt through expressions such as "their laughter is from their sadness" (line 3) and "love and pain in silence" (line 9). There is also an indirect allegation of contempt for the indifference of others towards this situation. The title of the poem "Mavi Cocuklar" / "Blue Children" might be referring to the lost generation of villages, the youth. The poem does not give any clues as to why the color blue is chosen to refer to the children. The tone

of the poem is indirect without actually accusing or questioning anybody; it merely describes the

hardships for village children. The following poem "Kar Suyu" / "Snow's Water" (Basaran,

1969, p.24) assumes a more direct address and expresses a complaint:

> Who says centuries are passing
> Men are laborers to the same ache
> At their head is the agha (land owner) of the sky
>   (Basaran, 1969, p.24, lines 5-7)

The line "who says centuries are passing" (line 5) reiterates the forbearance of people with their

pain, despite the passing of time, because the inequality and difficulty of life persist. The word

choice "centuries" again highlights the unchanging living conditions of the villages despite

national modernization. The word "men" in the poem refers to the common village folk: "Men

are laborers to the same ache" (line 6). Thus, the same oppression of the poor landless peasants

by the village elite and the rest of the country continues because *agha* (major local landowners)

continue to hold power over them.

> A night comes down from the ancient times
> As the knife leans on the bone (*Turkish idiom*)
> Children condemned to hunger and death
> Their dreams confiscated
>   (Basaran, 1969, p.24, lines 8-11)

The use of the idiom, "the knife leans on the bone" (line 9) is a significant form choice. This

idiom has two associative meanings that are relevant to the poem. The first meaning is coming to

the end of one's limit of endurance because the pain becomes unendurable. The second

associative meaning is the urgent necessity of taking action for a long delayed or ignored task.

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The use of this particular idiom makes the message of the poem stronger and conveys that it is urgent to deal with this problem. In this context, it is no longer deniable that there are "children condemned to hunger and death" (line10) and another generation continues to have their children's "…dreams confiscated" (line 11).

> Drawing the picture of fear
> A police station story
> Shrieks are accusing all of us
> This is how my homeland looks in the east
> Hey those who have snow's water in their ears
> When the day comes and blood grows in the fields
> The land's judgment will then be precise
>   (Basaran, 1969, p.24, lines 22-28)

The images become more grotesque as the poem continues and a more direct tone is attained. This poem highlights the speaker's distrust of the system and the law. For example, the use of phrases such as "drawing the picture of fear / a police station story/shrieks…" (lines 22-23) indicates villagers' mistrust and fear of the police or law. The police are expressed as being on the side of the strong, not the poor, which can be felt in the lines, "forced a woman with her child/ where gendarmes are going/ life through the bullets" (lines 18, 19 & 21). The feelings of betrayal by an unfair system are felt in the line, "This is how my homeland looks in the East" (line 25). These images indicate dissatisfaction with and lack of trust in the law and the system by the villages. Background knowledge of Turkish villages confirms that villagers tried to solve many problems on their own instead of seeking help from the authorities. The poem hints at an isolation and betrayal of the villages by the nation because it does not offer them a better life.

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The title of the poem "Kar Suyu"/ "Snow's Water" is a strategic name choice by the poet to get the attention of the reader; the title hints early on that people's ears are blocked to some issue. The speaker's voice expresses the general indifference of others in the following exclamation: "Hey those who have snow's water in their ears" (line 26). Even though there is no name-calling or direct object for the speaker's address, the response is direct. The final blow to this indifference can be seen in deliberate word choices such as "when the day comes for blood to grow in the fields" (line 27) and "the land's judgment will be precise" (line 28). These word choices and the image of blood growing in fields is a pessimistic premonition. The poem finishes with a dim hope, indicating that a breaking point will occur for better or worse.

Going back to Talip Apaydin's poem "Koy Evi"/ "Village House (Apaydin, 1999, p. 30), this is also a good representation of the village theme. This poem describes the unjust life conditions experienced by a villager. The physical details of a village home are depicted in the poem:

> I think of a far away village house
> With soil coated walls
> Dung smells from its chimney
> Frozen basil smell
> From its small window
> There was a warm happiness
> But I forgot where
> (Apaydin, 1999, p.30, lines 1-7)

The simple fragility of a village house in winter is felt in the lines, "with soil coated walls" (line 2), "Dung smells from its chimney" (line 3) and "Frozen basil smell/from their small window" (lines 4-5). Despite the hardships of life, nevertheless, the speaker indicates that there was also simple happiness in this difficult life of theirs.

> In our small field
> We tried to find our place in the world
> Hoping to arrive at a better life
> We worked with our whole being
> Waited for that day
> When one day our land owner would agree
>   (Apaydin, 1990, p.30, lines 14-19)

The villagers' hard work is felt through the line, "at nights we return dead-tired" (line 8). Similarly their hope for the future is also visible in the following lines: "In our small field"/ "we tried to find our place in the world / hoping to arrive at a better life / we worked with our whole being" (lines 14-17). There is the feeling that if they keep working hard, one day the landowner will notice their efforts and help them get ahead.

> How naïve we were,
> It was obvious, we wouldn't
>   (Apaydin, 1999, p. 30, lines 20-21)

A drastic turn occurs in the poem in the above two lines, "How naïve we were" (line 20), with the realization that things will never be any better. Form is used effectively to create a turning point in the tone of the poem towards the opposite of hope. *Agha* represents the local landowners for whom the majority of landless villagers work. This situation and isolation of the villagers also highlights the unjust structure outside of the villages as well (lines 14-19) and the impossibility of achieving a better life despite working very hard (lines 20-21). And the thought comes to an end with the last two lines which indicate no better prospects are possible for the village poor. The strategic positioning of these lines into different sections illustrates the cooperation between the content and form to create a transition of mood in the poem.

The poem "Bir Kis Daha" / "One More Winter" (Apaydin, 1999, p. 36) is another poem which depicts the harsh realities of the poverty-stricken regions of Turkey in winter. The divided sections of the poem included below illustrate the strategic flow of content. The poem starts with the physical details of their struggle.

> Now it is -20 °C in the East
> What do you think the poor people do
> In mud-brick houses buried in soil
> One more winter will pass in fury
> Without fire-wood, charcoal
> If there is any dried cow dung, it wouldn't heat
> (Apaydin, 1999, p. 36, lines 1-6)

The above lines question those who know nothing about the hardships of village poverty in winter. The line "Now it is -20 C in the East" (line 1) reveals how cold the winter climate is in some eastern villages of Turkey. The lines, "What do you think the poor people do / in mud-bricks buried in soil" (lines 2-3), question the conscience of those people who continue to be naïve about these difficult life conditions. The poet continues to include physical details of village life in lines, "one more winter will pass in fury / without fire wood, charcoal" (lines 4-5). Their lack of resources is captured in the line, "if there is any dried cow dung, it wouldn't heat" (line 6).

> Wearing sackcloth, pretending it is wool cloth
> Their minds at a far away place
> Will ache again their bones and flesh
> Coughing their livers hurt
> The days and nights are never-ending
> (Apaydin, 1999, p. 36, lines 7-11)

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The helplessness of the villagers in the harsh winter in the East is expressed in the line, "wearing

sackcloth, pretending it is wool cloth" (line 7). Yet there is nothing they can do to protect

themselves in this brutal weather, and "…their bones and flesh" (line 9) continue to ache and

"…their lives hurt" (line 10) as they cough.

> What do the poor people of East think
> What do others say on their behalf
> Which decisions are taken for them
> Them not knowing
> What the TV screen says, media writes
> Hey you in your warm houses
> What do the Eastern people do in these winters
> > (Apaydin, 1999, p. 36, 12-18)

The indifference of others to the villagers' pain is counteracted by graphic details of the

villagers' struggle in the above excerpt. There is a direct address to the media and the authorities

in the following line: "what the TV screen says, media writes" (line 16). The speaker seems

angry because these sufferings continue in the villages while not much is said or done for them.

The line, "hey you in your warm houses" (line 17) addresses directly those who live in warm,

luxurious houses and are oblivious or indifferent to the villagers' struggle in the harsh winters.

The speaker's voice forces a dialogue with those who are unaware or uncaring of the villagers,

"what do the Eastern people do in these winters" (lines18). The tone of the poem hints at betrayal

of and lack of trust towards others or the system. The form is designed in such a way that

sectional divisions are achieved in the poem; I included three excerpts of the poem in the above

section to illustrate the transition from the hardships of winter in villages, to the coping

mechanisms of the poor, to the indifference of others who live outside of villages to illustrate the

poet's purposeful division of content through form.

The second theme, *(b) call for productivity and individual responsibility for change*, are illustrated below in excerpts from Talip Apaydin's and Mehmet Basaran's poetry. This theme occurs more frequently in Apaydin's poetry than in Basaran's. The first poem in Apaydin's poetry "Calismak Uzerine" /" On Working" (1999, pg. 5) is a strong call for productivity and altruism.

> Look at how many people gave back to earth
> Take them as your role model
> Be productive, work hard
> Leave something behind for your brothers/sisters
> (Apaydin, 1999, p. 5, lines 7-10)

These lines are written in the form of an invitation to produce and take responsibility for future generations as opposed to just consuming the world's resources. The speaker's voice in the poem expresses the view that it is the duty of everyone to continue the good work of others who came before them. Knowledge of the Turkish context indicates that the changing national context did not bring much change to the lives of village people. The poem could be considered a plea to people who live elsewhere with different possibilities to go beyond their self-interest and act communally for the welfare of all. The implication is that everyone should take those who sacrificed for their nation as their role model. The poem "Borc" / "Debt" (1999, p. 6) is another poem which is a call to show gratitude, to continue the good work of the previous generation, and to be useful to humanity. Altruism is at the heart of these poems. Both poems invite the reader to spread the responsibility from one individual to all, indicating that all should do their part for a better future.

People, I am indebted to you
With words, with sounds, with colors
All these creations by you
I am indebted to you
Not easy to pay
                    (Apaydin, 1999, p.6, lines 1-5)

The very first line "People, I am indebted to you" (line 1) encourages everyone to perform

similar good deeds and pay forward the favor of those who created a better life for us. The poem

hints that people should think beyond themselves and consider a better world for the next

generation. Again, this poem might be referring to the general efforts of those leaders,

particularly Atatürk, who ended the theocracy and started the nation state. There is the feeling

that in the past some people worked hard to bring democracy and prosperity to the nation. The

duty of today's generation is to continue the good work of those who wanted to spread welfare to

all parts of the nation and to share the responsibility of creating a better world for future

generations.

Basaran's poetry also includes comparable invitational strategies, encouraging everyone

to do their part in creating a better future. His poem "Imececi" / "Collaborator" (Basaran, 1969,

p. 5) is a call for love, shared responsibility for change and a more just life order.

I am with the weak in fight
My voice is sharpened with rage
Hey, I say, from a mountainous morning
Those who carry stones for the new pyramids
Hey, my hands are hurting
                    (Basaran, 1969, p. 5, lines 1-5)

The first two lines of the above excerpt indicate the stance of the speaker with the weak – the

oppressed. The oppressed are encouraged to realize their strength through positive affirmations

such as "Hey forest" (line 6), "strength" (line 6), "…set free of bondage/prison" (line 12) which

can be seen in the following excerpt from the same poem:

> Hey forest, unaware of its strength
> I know one cannot be Koroglu in this age
> But the collaboration of seven colors are bright
> Stones are tired of being a graveyard
> Leave Pharaoh to decay in its loneliness and isolation
> If we touch the walls of fear, it will break
> Everyone will be set free from their bondage/prison
> (Basaran, 1969, p. 5, lines 6-12)

The importance of collaborative work is also emphasized in the poem through the use of the

phrase "life is a sacred sharedness" (line 15). The same collaborative spirit is encouraged in the

following lines:

> Life is a sacred sharedness/sharing
> A sky berry is what I propose
> Planet's harmony is at taste
> (Basaran, 1969, p.5, lines 15-17)

Starting with the proposition that "life is a sacred sharedness" (line 15), the speaker's voice

encourages empowerment and shared responsibility through empathic address. The "sacred

sharedness" (line 15) is connected to the "harmony" of the planet (line 17) if everyone accepted

the proposal of acting together. The metaphor of the "sky berry" (line 16) refers to the collective

thinking and action which would bring positive change. These word choices and metaphors

create a glue between form and content and create an effective semantic togetherness. The poem

ends on a strong note, reiterating the power of sharedness in "Sharedness/sharing is the most-

intense love" (line 20). The poem acknowledges the presence of oppression and inequality and

encourages everyone regardless of their social standing to come together and fight against injustice in the changing national context of Turkey. Background knowledge of Turkey suggests the relevance of this plea in the context of villages.

Talip Apaydin's poetry overall continues to summon people to change; however, his poems offer different degrees of hope. Some of his poems are positive and hopeful, while others hint at different degrees of hope. For instance, the poem "Zor Olan" / "The Difficult One" (Apaydin, 1999, p.7) reiterates that change is not easy and the path towards change is thorny, and yet one should keep working for the goal of change.

> Uphill shouldn't stagger you
> Walk the mountainous path
> …………………………
> To Enlightenment
>   (Apaydin, 1999, p. 7, lines 2-5)

The above lines indicate that there are obstacles and hard work ahead, but that should not get in the way of hope and determination. "Uphill shouldn't stagger you" (line 2) gives the message to continue the good work despite difficulties. The speaker voice encourages continuing to move in the face of the "mountainous path" (line 3). The implication is that any change in *status quo* requires tremendous effort by all. Despite the absence of specific information on the context of change, this situation applies both to the village power structure as well as the national power structure in the Turkish context in the 1930s and 40s.

> The one who knows hard task appreciates
> Every step entails obstacles
> Jump of the tripping (of a foot)
> Escape traps
> Take the correct path from the beginning
>   (Apaydin, 1999, p. 7, lines 6-10)

In the above stanza, the hopeful call for devotion to the goal of change is prevalent in lines such as "jump of the tripping (of a foot) / escape traps" (lines 8-9). Again, the poem is calling for individual responsibility and action to change life into something better. In this poem "Zor Olan"/ "The Difficult One" we feel the assertion that hard work and dedication will eventually pay off. Other poems by Apaydin deliver more hopeful messages. For example, the poem "Nisan" / "April" (Apaydin, 1999, p.8) describes the beginning of the spring season.

> Moves insects
> Engages people
> Sun with the soil
> And also the rain
> When pure-water walks through veins
> Seeds crack into life
> (Apaydin, 1999, p. 8, lines 1-6)

This extract suggests the beginning of the spring season – nature giving birth to life – holding promise and hope for change and a better future. The title of the poem aims to instill hope right from the beginning even before one starts to read the poem. The implication is that the nature of life requires and dictates change, meaning there will be desired structural changes in the village or at the national level at some point. The form of the poem accomplishes this favorable possibility through the process of nature giving birth to life.

"Zor Olan" /"Difficult One" (Apaydin, 1999, p. 16) is a poem which shares the same title with another poem (p.7) by Apaydin in the poetry book. Both poems express the difficulty of bringing about change in any social context. The lines, "bee's sweat on soil /enlightenment through the fishnet of mind" (lines 1-2) suggest that people are working hard to bring about change. "Fishnet of mind" (line 2) also suggests the difficulty of the process of change because

of the difficulty of enlightening minds. The metaphor of the bee stands for the hard work of people who exert effort for the goal of change. The sweating of the bee suggests the labor of people. Also, "bee's sweat on soil" (line 1) might suggest the smallness of the results of each person's efforts, implying the necessity for collective effort to bring about change in the villages, cities or the national structure. Continuous sweating and little return are frequent images appearing not only in the initial line of the poem "bee's sweat on soil" (line 1) but also in the later lines:

> It does not make sense
> Sweating in such cold
> Working with your whole being to reach the goal
> Everyone's hearts in disappointment
> (Apaydin, 1999, p. 16, lines 9-12)

As the poem progresses, the tone becomes more negative as in the line, "the road is still blocked" (line 16), and yet the message of continuing to work hard and not lose heart in the face of slow progress is reiterated throughout the poem. Even though hopes are unmet, an ongoing call for working hard and "overcoming various barriers" (line 6) indicates the importance of persistence and retaining hope in bringing about positive change. These metaphors, images, and word choices are effective form choices that strengthen the message.

Another poem "Zorunlu" / "Binding" (Apaydin, 1999 p. 26) portrays dim hope throughout the poem, expressing the view that the hard work of several years needs to provide a pay off.

Burning loneliness in us
Even birds fly afar
Maybe buzz of a fly in our ears
Holding on to our tired knees
Need to go up hill and go down dale
    (Apaydin, 1999, p.26, lines 6-10)

Lines such as "burning loneliness in us" (line 6), "tired knees" (line 9)," spread a gloomy air because of people not being able to arrive at the collective goal. Despite the overall gloomy atmosphere of the poem, the speaker of the poem wishes to inject hope through lines such as "need to go up hill and go down dale" (line 10) and "nothing is a hinder" (line 16). There is an attempt to retain hope and remind the reader of the collective goal/dream despite the odds. Yet, there is heavy exhaustion that comes as a consequence of the lack of returns in the path of change. The form also suggests the fleeting state of the speaker's voice between hope and hopelessness.

   Other poems also depict diminishing hopes as well. The poem "Parilti"/ "Gleam / Sparkle" (Apaydin, 1999, p. 27) creates a sad atmosphere despite its semantically positive title. This could be a form device intended to contrast the title with the content of the poem in order to capture the attention of the reader.

Aftermath of those dirty nights
We woke into desert days
Vague plains in front of
No sound comes from anywhere
I don't know how we endured
    (Apaydin, 1999, p. 27, lines 1-5)

The above lines draw an unhappy and gray picture, especially because of the word choices such as "dirty nights" (line 1), "desert days" (line 2) and "vague plains" (line 3). The loss of hope continues with consistent joyless depiction through lines such as "a strange odor of burnt in the air / orphan child inside us" (lines 6-7).

> In the field of patience lonesome
> We dreamt and cultivated
> We looked up to that
> We withstood
> (Apaydin, 1999, p. 27, lines 15-18)

This negative atmosphere in the poem might be a reflection of the frustration that occurs when conditions do not change easily. Thus the context of Turkey might be frustrating for people who want to have an impact on change. Similar tones of distress continue in the poem "Düşkirik" / "False Hopes" or "Untrue Dreams" (Apaydin, 1999, p. 18). This poem describes the disappointment in the face of unfulfilled rewards despite working hard. The very first line of the poem sets the tone of the poem with "we are always defeated by tardy returns" (line 1). As the poem progresses, there is a degree of shrinkage in hopes:

> Countless times we are deceived by our dreams
> Limping with inconsistent kinesis
> Left empty-handed
> Grew disenchantment in our hearts
> (Apaydin, 1999, p.18, lines 5-8)

Feelings of despair follow unmet aspirations as the line continues: "countless times we are deceived by our dreams/ limping with inconsistent kinesis" (lines 5-6). This poem is a

compelling example of frustration and loss of hope in the face of unfulfilled rewards. The poem illustrates the unchanging conditions of Turkey despite caring efforts. The poem ends with a collective disappointment for unfulfilled hopes as described in "how often the destruction, how often our shock" (line 9). Several other examples can be drawn on to depict the hopeless images in Apaydin's poetry. One such example comes from the poem "Bizim Daglar" / "Our Mountains" (Apaydin, 1999, p. 31). This poem is significant because of its direct association with village life. The title "our mountains" represents the life of the countryside.

Our mountains are a bit gloomy
………………………………….
Its soil flown into the sea
Its stones and rocks remained on its shoulders
That's why it doesn't hide anything
                    (Apaydin, 1999, p.31, lines 1-5)

The line "our mountains are a bit gloomy" (line 1) indicates some kind of burden for the people of the countryside. The imagery of the mountains is strong because the shape of the mountains suggests a kind of fluctuation, which refers to the difficulties of the villagers.

The heads (of the mountains) that shine at sunset
What do they say to us
There is a loneliness coming from past
The first witness of several events
Perhaps that is the reason why its stones are hard
                    (Apaydin, 1999, p. 31, lines 6-10)

This second excerpt from the poem reveals a negative tone more clearly. The line "what do they say to us" (line 7) is a rhetorical question. The mountains express the "loneliness" (line 8) of the

villages, which most probably refers to the difficulties and injustices the villages have

experienced from the past to the present day. The last two lines of the above excerpt indicate that

mountains witness things of grave importance, unknown to others, which is why their stones are

so hard (lines 9-10).

When we look at Mehmet Basaran's poetry, it is possible to see different degrees of

optimism and hope as well. This is a form choice by the poet to represent life's contradictions

between what is wanted and what is possible. The poem "Vuruk" / "Struck" (Basaran, 1969, p.

19), despite its title, presents a hopeful message and the possibility of change. The poem starts

negatively by describing the burdens of people but the tone changes into a more positive later on:

> On their shoulders the weight of night
> Returns back from unrelenting war
> Throughout the day he had been shot
> Returns to rejuvenate again
> > (Basaran, 1969, p. 19, lines 3-6)

> How many more times…always struck
> His/her enlightenment is broken into pieces
> > (Basaran, 1969, p. 19, 7-8)

The above excerpt might literally be referring to past wars such as the War of Independence

(1919-1922). The Turkish victory was only possible because of the sacrifices and services of the

rural countryside after the national defeat of WWI (1914-1918). Thus, the villager's sweat is

explicated in both the time of war − fighting for their nation − and the time of peace − because

they suffer poverty and inequality. The last two lines of the above section emphatically ask how

many more times people have to bear similar injustices and continue on, while their hope of

enlightenment is yet again in pieces: "how many more times….always struck / his/her

enlightenment is broken into pieces" (lines 7-8). The personal pronoun "onun", which refers to

"his/her", indicates a neutral/unisex address to the people of the countryside.

> All values s/he knows defeated
> Bleeds his invisible blood
> In empty lands, grieving homes
> Pangs of oppressed public
> > (Basaran, 1969, p. 20, lines 15-18)

The above excerpt depicts the disappointment of the villagers: despite fighting in the war and

working hard for their nation, they did not achieve well-being. The line, "all values he knows

defeated" (line 15) highlights that the values on which he based his trust no longer exist. Despite

being killed in the fields of battle, the villagers now continue to experience injustice and live in

poverty. The line "bleeds his invisible blood" (line 16) refers to their oppression at the present

time.

> Just then brotherly eyes of loneliness
> Soft steps of dreams
> At depths like a God
> Wakes sacred resistance
> Fallen flags come up again
> Starts to repair destroyed castles
> > (Basaran, 1969, p. 20, lines 19-24)

The above excerpt is a turning point in the mood of the poem, illustrating how form changes the

content. The negative tone of the previous sections of the poem turns into positive

encouragement. Despite the "…brotherly eyes of loneliness" (line 19), it is possible to dream of

a positive existence. The line, "wakes sacred resistance" (line 22) hints that desperate situations

call for desperate measures. Thus, there is the implication that resistance is possible and the

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villagers can rise up to save themselves; this can be felt in the line "sacred resistance waking up like a God" (line 21). The lines, "fallen flags come up again / starts to repair destroyed castles" (lines 23-24) indicate the possibility of a regenerated existence for deserving village folk. The last section of the poem brings the argument to completion: "Grows the irresistible call / of rage, love, and freedom" (line 25-26). The poem highlights the possibility of change for the villages, which is inevitable sooner or later.

Another poem "Gunbasi" / "Dawn" (Basaran, 1969, p. 31) also carries a positive tone and the possibility of change. The poem creates positive imagery envisioning better days ahead:

> Your face, speckled daylight
> So as the steppes with a hidden light
> Say it is the end of a long night
> No more the heavy weight on our feet
> On our forehead, the chill of the dawn
> (Basaran, 1969, p.31, lines 1-5)

The two lines "the end of long night / no more the heavy weight on our feet" (lines 3-4) clearly signifies the resolution of a previously endured hardship. The word choice of "say" in "say it is the end of a long night" (line 3) expresses a wish as opposed to the reality of the present day. In the second section of the poem, "say history is the darkness we surmounted" (line 6) foresees that history holds the possibility of change in the future. This positive outlook becomes more obvious in the next line, "our nails will hurt for sure" (line 7), indicating that change will only come with some sacrifice. However, the tone is still optimistic:

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Waking up to ears of grain fields
Not allowing their hands to be ravaged anymore
The crowd we walk with
Love is the unbeatable strength of life
The first time radiates the world around
     (Basaran, 1969, p.31, lines 11-15)

The last section of the poem brings the wish full circle. The previous lines associated darkness with part of the past or a desired present moment. The above excerpt, on the other hand, focuses on the wishful future when the present changes into a more desirable life. The future definitely holds equitable and desirable opportunities and does not allow villagers' "…hands to be ravaged anymore" (line 12).

In Basaran's other poems, the hopeful tone fluctuates from poem to poem, similar to Apaydin's poems. For instance, "Utancimizla" / "With Our Shame" (Basaran, 1969, p. 27-28) is a less hopeful poem. These fluctuations of hope in the different poems could mean the contrast between the desires and conditions of that period. This poem, "Utancimizla"/"With Our Shame" (Basaran, 1969, p. 27-28) expresses a negative tone by describing the hardships of the present day. This poem overall represents the difficulties and challenges that stand in the way of desired change because not all aspects of democracy have been achieved in Turkey.

Clouds pass aimlessly
We remain with a stiff sky
Whichever face I look there is discomfort
Whichever face I look…
     (Basaran, 1969, p. 27, lines 1-4)

Expressions such as "clouds pass aimlessly" (line 1), "stiff sky", "face…is discomfort" create a dismal picture. The line, "whichever face I look there is discomfort" (line 3) expresses a

collective burden, whatever it is, that is actually shared by a group of people who are most

probably villagers. The experiences of oppression and silencing are brought to one's attention in

the following lines:

> I am unable to forget that journalist
> Beaten and thrown to the side of the road
> Degenerating our region
> We remain with rage
> > (Basaran, 1969, p. 27, lines 9-12)

 This excerpt refers to a "journalist" "beaten" (lines 9-10) who was thrown down at the side of a

road. The details of this violent event are not given (i.e., whether he was beaten by civilians or

authorities). Since he is a journalist, he may have been beaten because of his views, which would

indicate the difficulty of expressing some opinions.

> What do teachers say again
> Their eyes evoke Bursa soylevi/ public address in Bursa
> We remain with our reality
> > (Basaran, 1969, p. 27-28, lines 16-18)

The above excerpt tells a long and important story. The line "their eyes evoke Bursa Soylevi /

public address" (line 17) refers to a public address by Atatürk in 1933, the details of which are

not given in the poem. The teachers (line 16) are referred to because their ideals resemble

Atatürk's ideals. The contextual details of Turkey and my background knowledge on the topic

indicate that teachers spoke up about standing up for one's values and fighting for the rights of

people, referring to the "Bursa Soylevi" (line 17). It is necessary to include the ideals of Atatürk

for the Turkish nation to interpret the poem in its cultural context. Atatürk referred to the Turkish

Republic and its values as "the youths' valuable work of art that needed the guardianship of all the citizens" in the Bursa Soylevi/ address. Atatürk foresaw that there would always be attacks on the secular values of the Republic in the hope of bringing Turkey back to its pre-republic theological leanings. The teachers instructed students in the ideals of Atatürk: about cherishing the values of the Turkish Republic and standing up for what they believed in. Yet, these ideals unfortunately can clash with the present day reality, which can be felt in the line, "we remain with our reality" (line 18).

Bursa Soylevi refers to Atatürk's public address in the Bursa region in 1933. Reference to this public address in line (line 17) is significant because of its national and historic importance in the Turkish Republic. This speech by Atatürk came after a riot in Bursa. In Bursa, a group of one hundred people rioted against the recent regulation of the call for prayer in Turkish, as opposed to the earlier Arabic call habits. Even though the young people of the region disagreed with this public riot, they did not do anything until the police stopped the rioters. Atatürk, in his speech addressed to the Turkish youth, said that they should react to protect the values of the Turkish Republic against any attack. Atatürk saw the young generation as the guardians of the Turkish Republic and advised them not to wait for the police or authorities to correct wrongdoings, but react against the deeds they believed were wrong.

Despite the hopeful views of the teachers and the courageous caretaker role Atatürk assigned to the youth, the unfortunate reality is that fighting for what one believes in can have high costs, even a tragic end. Telling the truth or saying what you believe is not without negative consequences. The idealism of the state is confronted with present day realities. The poet ends on the note "we remain with our shame" (line 24) in the last line of the poem. The poem successfully identifies the missing pieces of democracy and the difficulty of acting out for what

one believes in. Thus, the poem clearly illustrates the difficulty of bringing change within the present conditions of the state and the hostility that might be experienced because of one's attempts.

A more pessimistic poem by Basaran is "Bir Tasitta miyiz" / "Are We in a Vehicle" (Basaran, 1969, p. 13-14). This poem centers on the static/unmoving status quo and its effect on inequality in general. The poem starts and ends with the same clause "are we in a vehicle", which is also the title of this poem. The last line of the poem "are we in a vehicle not reaching its destination" (line 34) indicates that time and movement are static in the context of the countryside and conditions do not change much.

> We are a village as if granary for barley
> To bandits from past to present
> Underneath nail, ash-colored time
> Over us the age's pressure
> Are we in a vehicle not reaching its destination
> (Basaran, 1999, p.14, lines 30-34)

"We are a village" (line 30) is the first line in this last section of the poem, which indicates a collective sense of identity as villagers. In the same line the exploitation of the villages is expressed through the use of "village as if granary for barley" (line 30). This line implies the misuse of the villages' resources and manpower by the rich in the villages and by the rest of the nation who uses their hard-earned products inequitably. The next line makes the abuse of power clearer through the use of the word "bandits" (line 31). Word choices such as "ash-colored time" (line 32), "age's pressure" (line 33) "vehicle not reaching its destination" (line 34) strengthen the pessimistic sketch presented in the poem up to this point. These word choices and images are stylistic decisions of form to support the meaning. The image of a static vehicle is especially

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effective in communicating the lack of destination, whatever that might be. The use of the imagery of a static vehicle as opposed to a mobile one emphasizes the unchanging nature of the villages' conditions and the impossibility of reaching their destination.

The poem, "Yörüngesiz" / "Without an Orbit" (Basaran, 1969, p. 16) is another poem with a pessimistic view of the world. The title implies the content of the poem, which is about the loss of balance and stability.

> Who made all this poison
> In invisible pots
> Crazy sun all around
> World came out of its orbit
> Pain is a word, inadequate
> Death is a word
> I am an elongating pain
> And I am in emptiness
> > (Basaran, 1999, p. 16, lines 5-12)

The narrator in the poem says that there are many problems. The use of "poison" (line 5), "in invisible pots" (line 6), and "crazy sun" (line 7) foreshadow the world losing control and going out of its orbit. The image the poem depicts is one of total chaos. Troubles are larger than the world. Life is presented as being out of balance, a place that does not have stability or control. This situation is so painful for the speaker that words are inadequate in expressing this situation, which is felt in "pain is a word, inadequate" (line 9). How the poet says what he says intensifies the chaotic image, especially through word choices such as "world came out of its orbit" (line 8), and "…in emptiness" (line 12). This poem and the previous poems discussed above do not offer much hope for change or a better future. They do, however, highlight the contrast between the conditions of the present day and the equitable possibilities desired for the future.

The third theme, *(c) feelings of homesickness*, is captured in both the poetry books. This is a versatile theme used in a variety of ways by the poets. The feelings of homesickness expressed in different situations accord with how form is used in these situations. Homesickness, expressed literally, refers to being away from one's homeland; figuratively, it is feeling a sense of loss when living in one's home.

Apaydin's poem "Saptayim" /"Dead-End" (Apaydin, 1999, p. 13) is a poem which describes the ambivalent sense of belonging. The very first lines of the poem express the loss of rural character in the strange city in "5 p.m. crowd of city / I inhabit my rural loneliness" (lines 1-2). Longing for the original rural identity is expressed while living in the crowded city.

> If I didn't hold onto myself, I will slip away
> All these lights and colors
> Hidden beneath my darkness
> I am gently opening from one edge
> (Apaydin, 1999, p.13, lines 7-10)

Various colors and lights contradict the inner loneliness of the speaker, which is expressed through the line "if I didn't hold onto myself, I will slip away" (line 7). Beneath the colorful surroundings, the speaker feels loneliness and longing in the city surroundings.

> A confusion, a dizzy head-spin
> I am perpetually at a dead-end
> If only you knew how much I toiled
> When there is no place to go
> I escape to myself
> (Apaydin, 1999, p.13, lines 11-15)

Feelings of lack of belonging and strong homesickness leave the speaker in a continuous

dilemma. This can be felt in "I am perpetually at a dead-end" (line 12). He struggles to hold onto

his inner strength to survive this calamity; however, there is no place for him to go. As the last

line says, he escapes to himself to find peace.

Other forms of homesickness can be observed in other poems such as "Temmuz Sancisi"

/ "July Pain" (Apaydin, 1999, p. 44). The speaker expresses homesickness because of being

away from his homeland and missing his people. Hence, the way the speaker's voice expresses

homesickness creates different situations and feelings.

> I also looked from the seashore
> Our steppe is not visible
> People who work on the fields
> Sweat dripping from shepherds
> As if there is no homesickness
> Those inside never get distressed
> > (Apaydin, 1999, p. 44, lines 1-6)

Being away from his/her homeland and missing his/her own people make the speaker homesick.

The absence of village's "steppe" (line 2), its "people who work on fields"

(line 3), and "sweat dripping over shepherds" (line 4) make the speaker more nostalgic.

> Always half always quarter
> Why is something missing
> Burnt like a pin-point
> I feel inside my brain
> > (Apaydin, 1999, p.44, lines 8-11)

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The outside world is unaware of and indifferent to the conditions of rural life, its needs and inequalities. Despite trying hard to get used to his location, the speaker feels incomplete: "Always half always quarter / why is something missing" (lines 8-9). The poem is an emphatic call to its audience to realize the problems of the villages.

Another poem by Apaydin is "Gurbet" /"Abroad/Diaspora" (1999, p. 14); it also expresses homesickness. The title seems to be a straightforward signaling of the feelings of homesickness; however, the feelings of homesickness are not because of being away from one's homeland, but because of feeling estranged in one's homeland.

> We are always homesick on our land
> If things are not in our favor
> If longings grow inside us
> Like a heavy weight
> Sweaty, is our dreams
> (Apaydin, p. 14, lines 1-5)

The above excerpt expresses a certain kind of homesickness. This feeling of homelessness occurs because life in the homeland does not offer the desired conditions of life. These feelings are carried through in the following lines with the unfulfilled "longings" (line 3) that the speaker associates with "heavy weights" (line 4) and "sweaty" dreams (line 5). The poem is an outburst of dissatisfaction that is carried throughout the poem, ending on a similar note: "like the wheat among wild tall grass/ suffocating is our heart" (lines 13-14). The poem describes the desire for change with diminished hope or belief that it will ever occur.

The poem "Icerde" / "Inside/Indoors" (Apaydin, 1999, p. 50) expresses homesickness and longing to be outdoors, walking in nature and breathing the outside air.

Weaves sadness the fall rain
Adding days to nights
Accumulates loneliness inside/indoors
This ache, where it comes, you don't know
As if hollowing out your brains
Wishing now to be walking on those roads
Inhaling chilly wetness to your lungs
Mingle with nature once again
Alas it is too far away
                    (Apaydin, 1999, p. 50, lines 1-9)

This poem focuses on nature and the desire to walk outside. It is not clear if the speaker describes being away from the countryside or being in prison. Yet, he feels sad as the fall season takes its course, which can be felt in the line "weaves sadness the fall rain" (line 1). The desire to be outdoors is evident in the line, "wishing now to be walking on those roads / inhaling chilly wetness to your lungs" (lines 6-7). It is suggested that the simple desire of going out and enjoying nature cannot be actualized in real life for him/her, which gives him/her a tremendous pain: "this ache, where it comes, you don't know / as if hollowing out your brains" (lines 4-5). Even though we do not know the reasons for not being able to engage in outdoor activities, we know that it is a far away possibility because of the line, "alas it is too far away" (line 9).

Mehmet Basaran also expressed themes of homesickness and exile in his poetry. His poem "Lenfosarkom" /"Lymphosarcoma" (Basaran, 1969, p. 32) is a very emotional poem which is sidenoted by the poet as a dedication to the poet's father. The poem interweaves the poverty- stricken conditions of the villages with the feelings of the individuals who are abroad working for the survival of their families.

> I lived poverty and droughts always
> Like the village I was born in
> Growing with pangs of homesickness, distances
> My insides cracked from thirst
> If you see, my hands are branches of a dry tree
> (Basaran, 1969, p. 32, lines 6-10)

The above excerpt clearly illustrates the emotional hardship experienced due to homesickness, which can be felt in "I lived poverty and droughts always" (line 6). This emotional challenge is connected to the hardships and poverty of the villages in the line "like the village I was born in" (lines 6-7). The speaker's pain is visualized through the imagery of "dry tree" branches (line 10). This imagery can also represent the lack of opportunities for the poor villagers who are left to their own devices to exist in barren conditions. I would guess that the longing described refers to a father figure's lonely experience living abroad; however, I am not completely sure. The poem could be describing the speaker's own experience of diaspora, whether he is in exile or alone in a faraway location. In either case, it is possible to feel the longing and despair expressed in the poem. The line, "growing with pangs of homesickness, distances" (line 8) communicates the depth of his longing for home and homeland. This longing cracks his body and soul which can be felt in "my insides cracked from thirst" (line 9). The image of dry wrinkled hands underscores the hard conditions in which he/she has to work and is captured in "if you see my hands they are a dry tree branch" (line 10). All these emphatic word choices and images that make up the form create a feeling of compassion for what the speaker is experiencing.

Another poem by Basaran, "Olum Orneksiz Nakis" / "Death, a Unique Embroidery" (Basaran, 1969, p. 33), is dedicated to a father figure. The poem is about the experience of diaspora while working hard in a far away location to earn a living for the family. There is a gloominess in the poem because the hard work of a lifetime does not bring any reward.

Needles of pain are penetrating in and out
Stitches connected lines to eternity
A lifetime my father sweats, homesick, absent
Cannot keep up breathing till morning
Appears on his forehead the beauty of soil
                              (Basaran, 1969, p. 33, lines 6-10)

The line "needles of pain are penetrating in and out" (line 6) provides a visual depiction of the pain the person is going through. This is another strong form choice to capture the attention of the reader. The gloomy aspect of the poem intensifies in the line "a lifetime my father sweats, homesick, absent" (line 8); despite working very hard day and night, the father figure receives very little in return, which makes the effort wasted. Since no details are given about the location of the working father, I suspect that he was working in a foreign country for his family. Yet, it is also possible that he worked away from his village in the city, which might also have caused these same feelings of homesickness. In either case, the poem describes the pain of separation from loved ones and homeland under less than desirable work conditions: "….stitching into blood and into night / using the threads of discomfort in abundance" (lines 11-12). One strong implication in the poem is that the imposition of the difficult life conditions of poverty on village people forces people to seek money in faraway lands away from their families. These last few images are very strong and capture the mind of the reader.

The last poem in Basaran's book, "Toprak Duzeyinde (iii)" / "On the Level of Soil (iii)" (Basaran, 1969, p. 39), is a particularly strong poem about the feelings of homesickness and exile, and feelings of confusion upon return to one's native land. Despite not knowing whether the experience of exile is an emotional or physical one, we nevertheless feel the power of it.

I am hearing somewhere in my head
I am hearing after all this time
Alive, warm knee of Nature
As if I returned from being abroad
Something's knotted in my throat
Tired and regretful
"Mom!" I say

(Basaran, 1969, p. 39, lines 1-7)

In the first two lines of the poem, the speaker talks about a sensation not felt for a long time. As the poem goes on, we realize the speaker is talking about the experience of being in nature as he feels "alive" and "warm knee" of nature (line 3). The sensation is one that is similar to coming back from abroad (line 4). In the middle of this peaceful sensation, he feels a breakdown, which is expressed in the line "something's knotted in my throat" (line 5). He is unable to gather together the words to speak because he is overcome by emotions. The line, "tired and regretful" (line 6) is the key line in the poem, clearly communicating the feelings of regret for being away from his home. Most probably he is talking about living far away from his village, but clearly there is the implication that he feels regret for not sharing his ancestors' lifestyle and for losing his roots to some extent.

The last theme, (d) *power of art/ poetry* is a strong theme prevalent in both poets' literary work. This theme is significant because poetry is the medium used to describe the power of poetry as a theme. Apaydin's poem "Siir Gelir" /" Here Comes Poem" (Apaydin, 1999, p. 23) describes poetry as a powerful tool of communication which is used in different cultures and languages.

> Wherever we are
> Whatever language we speak
> Poetry finds us
> If only we are ready to receive it
>   (Apaydin, 1999, p. 23, lines 17-20)

The above poem in general communicates the universal importance of poetry for all cultures and languages. The line, "…the hidden power of poetry" (line 16) expresses poetry's significance for people. The lines, "wherever we are" (line 17) and "whatever language we speak" (line 18) emphasize the previously made point about the importance of poetry regardless of the culture we come from or the language we speak. The last two lines of the poem make the final point, which is the need to be ready to hear what the poem is communicating to us. The line," if only we are ready to receive it" (line 20) indicates that if one is ready to accept the message of poetry, a message is always there.

"Bizim Yunus" / "Our Yunus" (Apaydin, 1999, p. 34) is another poem that deals with the theme of the power of art / poetry. Yunus is an important literary figure in Turkish literature who lived in the 13th century. This poem is a dedication to his literary power; it has surpassed the test of time and continues to communicate to people today.

> Giant Yunus, our villager
> What does he say from far distance, smiling
> Steppe sun shines on his face
> Soil smells his every word
> Smells human, smells love
> Gentle Anatolian descent
>   (Apaydin, 1999, p. 34, lines 1-6)

The initial line, "Giant Yunus, our villager" (line 1) describes Yunus Emre as one of theirs, one of the villagers; the membership is expressed by the speaker because of the shared village background. Yunus Emre is praised for his love and concern for his people, which is felt in "soil smells his every word / smells human, smells love / gentle Anatolian descent" (lines 4-6).

> There is the trace of effort in his hands
> Erasing several times would not wipe out his trace
> The ground he wanders is the heart of folk
> The place he looks at is the ground of soil
> He does not comprehend falsehood
> Our Yunus, a person of human stature
> (Apaydin, 1999, p.34, lines 13-18)

Even though Yunus Emre is not alive now, he passed the test of time, and his works of art continue to communicate to people today with a message of love. "Heart of folk" (line 15) and "ground of soil" (line 16) emphasize his care for his people and their concerns. The line, "erasing several times would not wipe out his trace" (line 14) confirms his firm stand "in front of centuries" (line 9): time tests him and confirms his immortal presence through his art. The poem ends on a similar note with his message of love and truthfulness surviving to present times.

"Dil Bahcesi" / "Language Garden" (Apaydin, 1999, p. 35) is a poem that reminds people about hope in the face of hardship. The poem highlights the power of art, such as poetry and song, in communicating issues of concern through the creative power of language. The first section of the poem, included in the following excerpt, illustrates the infinite possibilities of language:

> I am wandering in the language garden
> Thousands of words around me
> Thousands of flowers
> Branches flowers in exile,
> Flying like bees
> Some caress, some touch and escape
> They play with me
> 　　　　　(Apaydin, 1999, p. 35, lines 1-7)

The garden imagery in "I am wandering in the language garden" (line 1) refers to the richness of language. Just as a garden can include "thousands of flowers" (line 3), the garden of language, through its creative power, can offer beautiful combinations and colorful diversity and convey important messages. The garden also symbolizes the life of the rural people and their concerns. The plane tree, which is included in the following excerpt, is a metaphor representing the rural folk who have experienced hardships.

> (They) Fill with whispers in my ears
> Some give me news from the past
> Memory loaded plane tree
> 　　　　　(Apaydin, 1999, p. 35, lines 9-11)

The personification of the "plane tree" (line 11) provides a medium by which important news from the past can be heard. The concluding line of this section indicates the importance of the communication of memories, which even breaks a stone into pieces: "crumbles stone the folk melody" (line 15). The message is the importance of listening to the concerns of the folk, whether it is their words, songs or poems, because they have compelling things to share.

> Difficult days they went through
> Summers winters are drought
> Winds broiling
> ……………………………
> What a resistance this is
> > (Apaydin, 1999, p. 35, lines16-20)

Hardships of the past are expressed through "difficult days" and "summers…drought" (lines 16-17). Also, the strength of the rural people is made clear by the line, "what a resistance this is" (line 20). The perseverance of the rural folk in the face of hardship is expressed in the following lines:

> Lives our garden, and will continue to live
> Many more flowers it will bloom
> Lets lean our shoulders together
> To very many harvests
> > (Apaydin, 1999, p. 35, lines 16-19)

Despite all difficulties the garden continues to withstand, as in the line "lives our garden, and will continue to live" (line 22). As a metaphor the plane tree is significant because some plane trees live for up to three hundred years. They continue to live with little care and can survive drought periods. This metaphor speaks to the endurance and strength of the common people. Yet, at the same time it speaks to the urgency of their time to experience more just living conditions. The poem ends with an invitation to care about the village cause and to work towards the production of "many harvests" (line 20).

The poem "Ozanlar" / "Wandering Minstrels" (Apaydin, 1999, p.58) is a poem which communicates the critical power of art. The poem discusses wandering minstrels as critical

observers of social reality who share their observations with the public through their works of art.

>Wandering minstrels, the fishermen of poetry
>They are always on the alert
>Ceaselessly (they) throw fishnets to far away valleys
>Listening to the sounds coming from the depths
>Gazing at waters without getting wearisome
>Wandering minstrels, the fishermen of poetry
>   (Apaydin, 1999, p. 58, lines 1-6)

In this short poem, wandering minstrels are depicted as critical observers and also foreseers of the future in society. Historically, they wandered from one locale to the next and shared their critical observations. Wandering minstrels are popular because of their ability to look at the future without getting disheartened even if things do not change too quickly. "Ceaselessly (they) throw fishnets to far away valleys" (line 3) suggests their determination and continuing analysis, and "gazing at waters without getting wearisome" (line 5) illustrates their optimistic outlook on life.

Another poem "Siir Gelince" / "When Poetry Comes" (Apaydin, 1999, p.76) communicates the power of poetry and its unique power of expression. This poem argues that poetry expresses desires and goals otherwise impossible to communicate.

>First a key word
>Stands in front of us
>Full of connotations
>Ready to open many doors
>Rings everyone's ear
>Perhaps bud of a plant
>   (Apaydin, 1999, p.76, lines 1-6)

Poetic language displays strong expressive power. Poems use "key words" (line 1) which expand into strong poetic expressions such as "bud of a plant" (line 6) growing into branches. The image of the bud hints at the enlarging capacity of poetry. Just as a "bud" can turn into a flower or a fruit from a seed, a poem can imagine things not easily conceptualized in the present day. The ability of poetry to reach audiences is expressed in the line, "rings everyone's ear" (line 5), as long as people are ready to hear the message of poetry.

Mehmet Basaran's poetry also focused on the role of art, especially poetry and songs, in communicating important messages. For instance, the poem "Veysel Gecesi" / "The Night of Veysel" (Basaran, 1969, p. 35) is a remembrance of a highly regarded Turkish poet-songwriter who served at the Turkish Village Institutes. The poem is in praise of the strength of his music and his stringed instrument. Despite being blind most of his life, his music enlightened and still continues to enlighten people today. The poem "Veysel Gecesi" / "Night of Veysel" (Basaran, 1969, p. 35) indirectly mentions the TVI literacy campaign. In its praise of Asik Veysel, a highly regarded wandering minstrel, the poem also hints at his service at the Turkish Village Institutes.

Another example of Basaran's poetry, "O bir Koy Enstitusudur" / "That is a Village Institute" (Basaran, 1999, p.29), stresses the importance of art, poetry and history in the teaching of the Village Institutes. The poet praises the rich and interdisciplinary curriculum of the TVI that included philosophy, mythology, art and poetry. Historians, philosophers and artists from different periods are mentioned to highlight that Anatolia's youth learned both contemporary and ancient works in their education. Also, the lasting effect of the TVI is explicated in the following lines:

No matter what you do
That is a village institute
It is sagacious land of Anatolia
(Basaran, 1969, p. 29, lines 8-10)

There is a tone of reassurance that no matter what happens or has happened, the Village

Institutes will continue to exist in the minds and hearts of people. This poetry book was first

published in 1969 and was composed after the closing of the Village Institutes in 1950

(unofficial close) /1954 (official close). The implication is that the Institutes might be closed, but

their influence will certainly carry on. The continuing influence of the TVI's teachings in

people's lives is highlighted; the poem's importance as a critical medium to bring significant

messages to audiences is also highlighted. Further, the poem hints that Basaran himself was able

to voice village realities in his time by using poetry to communicate to larger audiences and

future generations.

In this chapter, the findings of this study were summarized. The major themes that

emerged from the data were *(a) indifference of others to the problems of villagers*, (*b*) *a strong*

*call to bring about a better and more just world, (*c) *the feelings of homesickness*, and *(d) power*

of art, especially poetry, as a critical analyzer. These final themes that emerged from the poetry

data were discussed and substantiated. In the next chapter, I present the conclusions of this

research inquiry by referring to the final themes that emerged from the study and what these

results mean in light of the research questions. The final chapter concludes with suggestions for

future research.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This chapter draws together and summarizes the main points of the analysis and discussion in the previous chapter, and contextualizes them within the cultural and historical context of Turkey. Here I discuss the four major themes that emerged from the data and tie them back to the research questions. The chapter ends with a section on future directions for related research, emphasizing the significance of the study and the potential of literary-based inquiry for undertaking social research.

The Voices of Cultural Change

The early years of the Turkish Republic introduced a complex set of changes to the Turkish nation. The most significant change was the replacement of the seven-hundred-year-old empire with nation-state rule. Other changes included the substitution of religious theocracy with secularism and the replacement of religious education with secular education in order that the Turkish nation could progress to meet the standards of the modern world. These swift changes were applied top-down throughout the nation in every socioeconomic class of society. For the people of the nation, it was a national imperative that they adapt to new laws and new cultural values. It is worthwhile to inquire into the experiences of the common people, especially the

villagers who lived in locations far away from the central government and who had to internalize a set of foreign cultural values. Their voices had been little heard previously. This study analyzed two poetry books of the TVI-educated village poets Mehmet Basaran and Talip Apaydin to investigate the experiences and responses of villagers to these major national changes, to present their voice. The poets' cultural backgrounds as villagers and their literary backgrounds as village writers/poets made their literary work ideal as data sources for the study.

The poetry of the TVI educated poets provided a fertile ground for analysis because of the insights of poetry for personal and social reflection. The literary creations of these poets provided a glimpse of the experience of the poets and the villagers, and their communities' reactions with respect to continuing national changes. Studying the literary works of the Village Institute graduates as research data resulted in a number of major themes that highlighted the changing identities of the villagers. The study resulted in the four major themes described below:

The first theme that emerged from the data is *(a) indifference of others to the problems of villagers*. Several poems provided details about village poverty and the hardships the villagers had to endure. Other poems provided evidence about the ongoing difficulties of the villages throughout history, evidence that indicated the villagers were absent in the national planning process. The poetry data also suggested that there was considerable indifference and lack of concern about the problems of the villages. Those who lived outside of villages either did not know about the hardships of villages or did not care about their problems. In a similar way, the majority of the villagers was essentially unaware of the new ideals of the Turkish nation and continued to live with the values of the pre-nation Ottoman Empire. The poems were filled with pleas for empathy and described the heart-rending details of village poverty. Disapproval was expressed for this indifference towards the problems of the villagers. A combination of these

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accounts suggested the absence of improved life standards for the villages/villagers despite the establishment of the nation-state. The TVI-educated village poets drew attention to this neglected topic — the communal experience of villagers in a changing context and the details of life in the villages.

When considering the research questions, the poetry of the TVI graduates suggests that the social changes following the establishment of the Republic had little positive effect on the rural cultural context. Not only did national changes occur mainly in urban centers but little in the way of change was offered to the countryside. Persistent poverty indicates that these social changes only partially touched the lives of those in the countryside and barely influenced the social relationships or the living standards in the countryside. The TVI-educated village poets used poetry as a means to highlight the difficulties of village life.

The second theme that arose from the poetry data was *(b) a strong call to bring about a better and more just world.* Altruism and personal participation were two key components of this theme. An invitation to work hard and produce for the wellbeing of all was a frequent call in several poems. The poems also included calls to take individual responsibility and to work collectively to create a more equitable nation for future generations. The tone of the poems fluctuated from being highly optimistic to expressing low spirits. Some poems included hope for and determination to change, whereas others displayed hopelessness and despair for the unchanging conditions. The changing tone of the poems suggests a contradiction between the desired changes and present conditions.

In considering the research questions, the second theme specifically highlights the fact that nation was not effective in bringing positive changes to the countryside. Also, social changes following the establishment of Republic did not improve the lifestyles of the rural people. The

idea of better living standards was a dream, a dream which could only be realized by all members of society behaving altruistically and productively. The poets became a voice for the wishes of their communities.

The third theme that emerged from the poetry data is *(c) the feelings of homesickness*. Several poems described instances of emotional turmoil due to feelings of homesickness and being part of a diaspora. Physical distance from home and emotional distance from the homeland/home culture were two causes of feelings of homesickness. Some poems described a loss because of leaving village roots and experiencing city life. This was the experience of villagers who suffered in poverty and had to emigrate to the cities to earn a living for their families; villagers who had to migrate to other countries to find jobs to sustain their families experienced a similar loss. The poems identified poverty and the inequalities of village life as reasons for people being pushed to far away locations for survival. These hardships also indicate why the countryside only partially adapted the ideals of the new Turkish nation, because the new nation had very little to offer them. Some of these poems also imply the isolation of the TVI-educated generation who sought careers in cities away from their family and village cultures.

In considering the research questions, the poetry of the TVI graduates suggests that the social changes did not bring wealth to the countryside. The social problems in the countryside persisted over decades and caused disintegration of families where family members worked in far away places for the survival of the family. The poetry represented the poets' divorce from their communities but also the separation of several members of the villages because of survival concerns. Once again, the poems showed that the lives of village people were very poor and attempts to survive often meant living far away living situations from their villages.

The fourth theme is the *(d) power of art, especially poetry, as a means of critical analysis*. Not only were village realities effectively voiced to larger audiences in poetic expression, but also a desirable future that was yet to come was envisioned through the creative power of poetry**.** Some poems praised the TVI for their interdisciplinary curriculum and for incorporating poetry and art into their praxis. The poetry of the TVI-educated poets shared the philosophy of the Village Institutes and provided a glimpse of the TVI experience to those who had not experienced it. The Village Institutes graduates helped to direct the attention of the nation to the villages and expressed villagers' concerns through their works of art and their poetry.

In considering the research questions, the poetry of the TVI graduates suggests that a new identity began to emerge in the countryside; this identity was not only the emerging literary roles that the TVI graduates embraced, but also the changing perception of the villagers in the national context. The TVI-educated village poets capitalized on the changing position of the villages/villagers in national politics, and used their literary tools to engage in social inquiry about the position of the villager in the aftermath of the establishment of the new nation. Poetry as a critical vehicle presented a better possible life for the villager. The TVI-educated poets become the embodiment of the changing public consciousness in the countryside and offered critical insights about their own and the villagers' experiences.

Future Directions

The complex nature of the Turkish nation, the heterogeneous makeup of its population, its unique history and geography, its contradictions and diversity were captured in the modernization experience of Turkey. The spreading of literacy in the countryside created a new generation of educated villagers who went beyond the boundaries of the countryside, influencing the future of the technical, social, educational and literary worlds of Turkey. These village intellectuals demanded attention through their literary works, also drawing attention to the struggles of the villages and the reactions of the villagers to the transformational changes. This study has been instrumental in revealing the experiences of the villages during the modernization of Turkey. The village poets have been a true voice for the lived experience of change for the village communities because they are familiar with the realities of the villages.

This study provided alternative voices to those voices in the literature that usually speak about the changing context of Turkey. I specifically wanted to include alternative voices, which is why I chose poetry discourse as the data source for the study. This unique discourse allowed creative expression, which provided significant insights into the experience of change in the village context. The village poets became the mediators between the village folk and the rest of the nation; they shared the details of village life and expressed the concerns which had been ignored for centuries. Poetry, in this sense, became a means of social inquiry for the poets and a unique communication device for social commentary. Studying the voices speaking in the poetry data brought allowed significant concerns to come to light for wider audiences.

The study provides plausible evidence of the intricate relationship between literature and history, and suggests that there is a great deal to learn from literature-poetry specifically as a source of research data in social inquiries. In this study, poetry discourse described the hardships

of the villages and addressed class issues effectively. Future studies could focus on the works of

other TVI-educated literary figures. There is much to learn from the voices of the villages about

their experiences of change in the evolving national context of Turkey. Future research could

also focus on female writers/poets' literary work to investigate similar research questions about

the experience of villagers in the changing village context. Gender roles and changing positions

in social classes is another important subject that could be explored through literary data. It

would be interesting to compare the results of such a study to the current study. As this study has

shown, there is a relationship between literature and history whereby historical happenings can

be effectively portrayed in literature, specifically in poetic form. Similar poetry data could be

used in future studies to explore other aspects of the Turkish context in the aftermath of the

proclamation of the Turkish Republic. For example, religiosity and its relationship to nationalism

could be a critical research inquiry. The secular context of the nation would make such a study

significant. As these possible research directions indicate, literature has much to offer

educational research by using its aesthetic expression and creative criticality in social inquiries.

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