

# International Congress of Society and Science

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December 15-17, 2023

Ankara/Türkiye

Congress Book



Editorial Board

Mehmet Korkud Aydın

Cem Karakılıç

Ramazan Şen

ISBN: 978-605-70777-6-9'

International Congress of Society and Science

(Uluslararası Toplum ve Bilim Kongresi)

15-17 December, 2023

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Ramazan ŞEN

27.12.2023

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Ankara/ Türkiye

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About Congress

Title

International Congress of Society and Science

(Uluslararası Toplum ve Bilim Kongresi)

Date:

15-17 December, 2023

Place

Ankara/ Türkiye

Organization:

Uluslararası Toplum Arařtırmaları Derneđi

(UTAMER)

**PARTICIPANTS' COUNTRIES (10 Countries)**

**Türkiye, India, Tunisia, Algeria, Iran, Philippines, Canada, Spain,  
Malaysia, Pakistan**

**Total Accepted Article: 42**

**Accepted Article (Türkiye): 13**

**Accepted Article (Other Countries): 29**

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Research Assistant Merve Ercan (Inonu University, Türkiye)  
Research Assistant Betül Kinik (Inonu University, Türkiye)

## GALLERY

- Supply side contd.
- Increasing economic distress in households
  - Loss of livelihoods
  - Increase in debt – Kudumbasree and micro-finance loans
  - Increasing expenses
  - Desire for high-skilled migration
  - Dowry demands
- Information about job opportunities through mobile phones with internet access
- Women entering paid work in low-paid jobs as domestic workers, salesgirls but continuing to enroll themselves with employment exchange
- Intergenerational change in attitude towards women's work – to the realization that the male breadwinner concept will not suffice in the face of growing expenses.

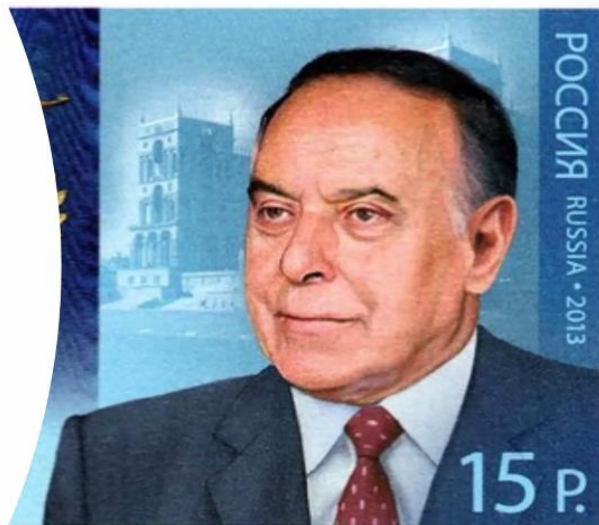


Zoom Toplantı



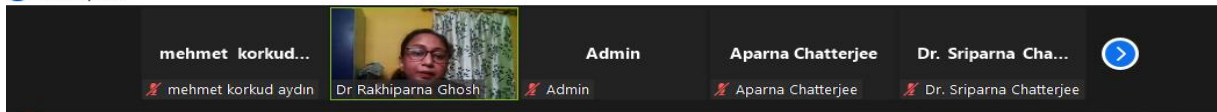
## Abstract

President Heydar Aliyev has an enormous role in modernizing Azerbaijan. The term flourish has been used to realize Azerbaijan's prosperity in education, science and technology, and culture. The worth of all countries depends on someone who is a nationwide leader, such as Ataturk of Türkiye and Heydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan. They were national leaders, along with their international reputation, who was born for revolution, influenced their countries and became a leader through their adaptation and formal and informal adaptive leadership. Their contribution to their countries is enormous. Heydar Aliyev remarked that the country's level depends on its knowledge level. His remark indicated a modern Azerbaijan that will be filled with the development of science and technology, education, and culture. President Aliyev believed in a modern nation-state and its progressive community. It can only be possible when a country is sustainably intellectual through science, technology, education, and culture. He believed in global citizenship through which a global scenario can be made in Azerbaijan for its international acceptance, where everyone is equal, prosperous, and advanced in socio-cultural and academic perspectives.



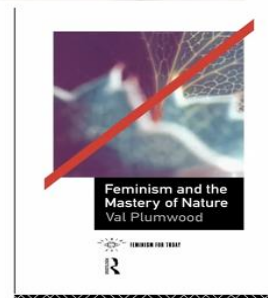
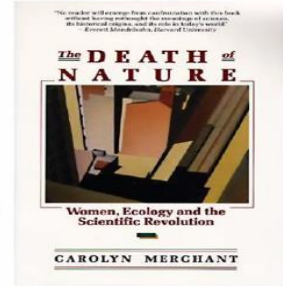
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Zoom Toplantı

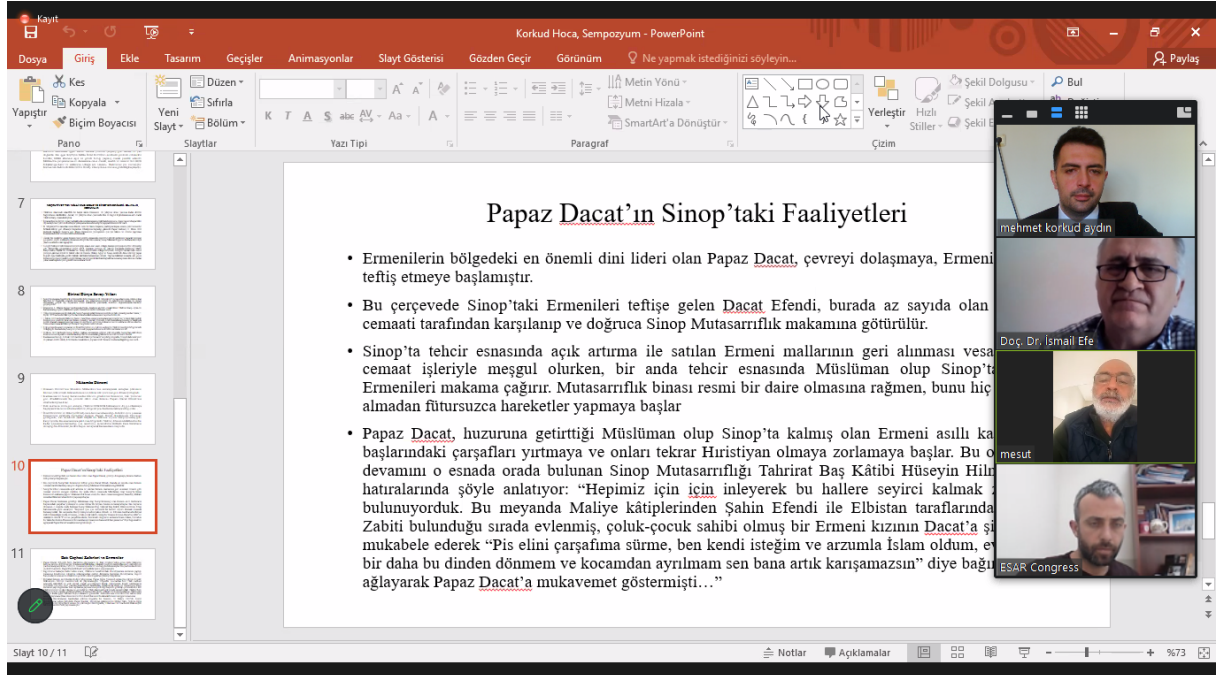
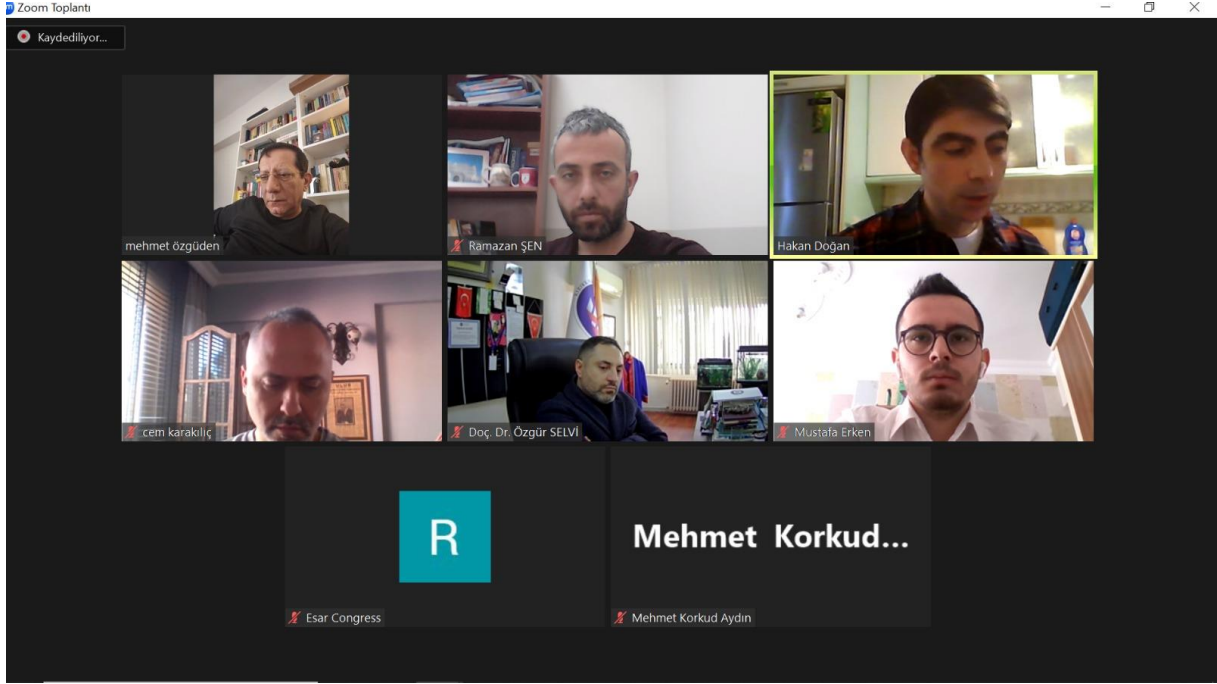


## Ecofeminism

- Term coined by Françoise d'Eaubonne in 1974. It is a philosophical and political, ethical position from ecological approach.
- Focuses on different issues, historical association of women, children, poor and nature as the 'Other' to the androcentric western ideology and practices.
- They see the social and natural as connected and work towards relieving both from the shackles of injustice and exploitation.
- Ecofeminists, despite their differences, promote a common solution. They want an alternative to the existing dominant system and wants to replace it with promotion of diversity.
- Power positions based on mind/body, masculine/feminine, man/woman, human/nature dualisms are seen to be connected. The dualisms are addressed and found incompatible with organic idea.

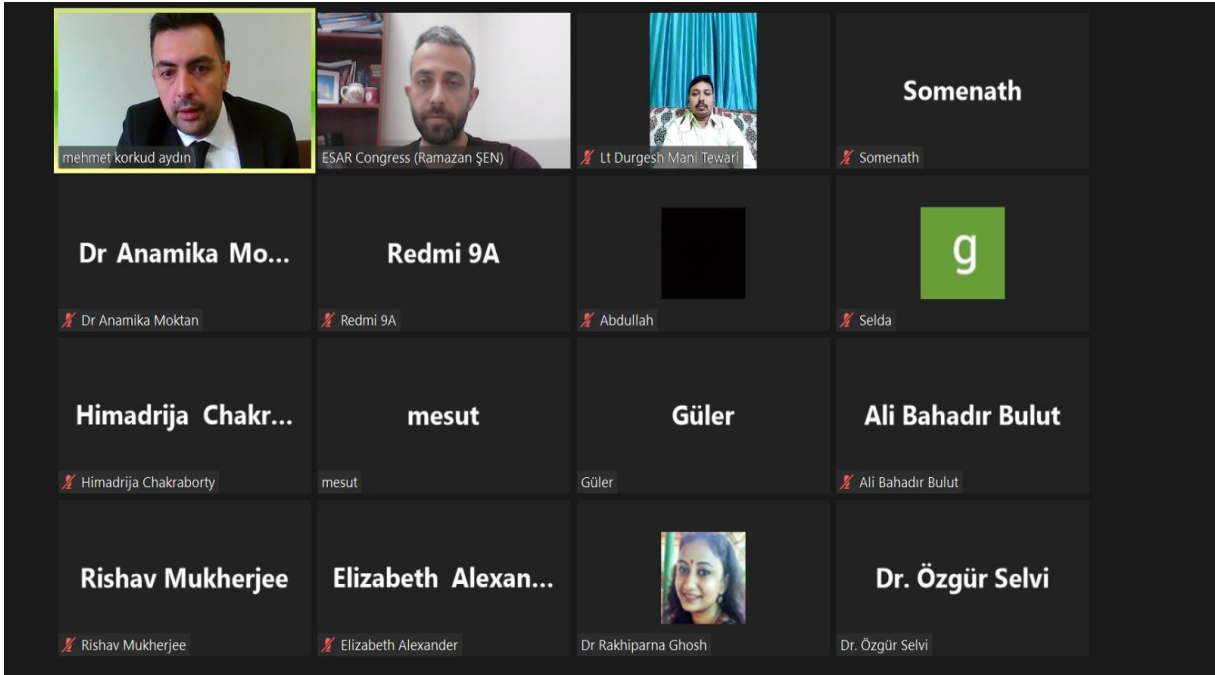


# GALLERY





# GALLERY



ULUSLARARASI TOPLUM ve BİLİM KONGRESİ  
(International Congress of Society and Science)

27.12.2023

Konu: Akademik Teşvik

İlgili Makama:

Uluslararası Toplum ve Bilim Kongresi, 15-17 Aralık 2023 tarihleri arasında Ankara'da gerçekleştirilmiştir. Kongremize 10 farklı ülkeden 46 araştırmacı toplam 42 bildiri ile katılmıştır. (29 Bildiri -Hindistan, Tunus, Cezayir, Filipinler, İran, Malezya, Pakistan, Kanada, İspanya, 13 Bildiri ise Türkiye'den kabul edilmiştir.)

Kongremiz Akademik Teşvik Ödeneği Yönetmeliğinin 16 Ocak 2020 tarihinde değişikliğe uğrayan ilgili maddesinde yer aldığı şekli ile: "Tebliğlerin sunulduğu yurt içinde veya yurt dışındaki etkinliğin uluslararası olarak nitelendirilebilmesi için Türkiye dışında en az beş farklı ülkeden sözlü tebliğ sunan konuşmacının katılım sağlaması ve tebliğlerin yarıdan fazlasının Türkiye dışından katılımcılar tarafından sunulması esastır." ifadesine uygun olarak düzenlenmiştir.

Bilgilerinize arz ederiz.



Mehmet Korkud AYDIN

Düzenleme Kurulu adına

Kongre web sitesi:

<https://www.esarcongress.org/>

***International Congress of Society and Science***



***15-17 December 2023  
Ankara/ Türkiye***

***Participation  
Online/ Face to Face***

# **International Congress of Society and Science (ESAR Congress)**

## **Online Congress Program**

- 
- To be able to make a meeting online, login via <https://zoom.us/join> site, enter ID instead of "Meeting ID or Personal link Name" and solidify the session.
- 
- 15 minutes are allocated for each presentation.
- 
- Participants can attend all online sessions as listeners.
- 
- The Head of the session is responsible for the conduct and management of the sessions.
- 
- Please check your device's camera and microphone and connection settings before connecting to the session.
- 
- Please join at least 5 minutes before your session starts
-

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**Opening Session**

**Türkiye Local Time: 18:00  
December 15, 2023 Friday  
Zoom Id: 950 9770 1862  
Password: 563687**

Head of Session:  
Dr. Vandana

Türkiye Local Time: 10:00- 11:45  
December 16, 2023 Saturday  
Zoom Id: 926 6919 5924  
Password: 641536

AUTHORS	AFFILIATION	TOPIC TITLE
Ryan R. Pecson  Grace Ann Salvador Desnacido	Instructor and BSEd Program Head, Bataan Peninsula State University-Balanga Campus, Philippines  Teacher III, Hermosa National High School, Division of Bataan, Philippines	Juxtaposing the Global Citizenship Competencies of Senior High School And College Students: Input for a Contextualized Learning Plan
Sianfuko Chelly Lucky	Datta Meghe Institute of Higher Education & Research India	Technologies and Applications of AI: Case Of Livingstone District, Zambia
Elizabeth Alexander	PhD Fellow, School of Development Studies, Ambedkar University Delhi, India	Women in Low-Paid Work: Understanding Supply-Side Factors Affecting Women's Work in The Indian State of Kerala
Dr Vandana	Centre for Women's Development Studies, New Delhi, India	Balmiki Mothers Navigating Daughters' Education in the Disadvantaged Neighbourhood
Nabil bin Ibrahim	Teacher Malaysia	Opinions on Assessing Malaysia's Tourism Potential
Ayoub Ammar	Researcher- Tunisia	Tunisa Pre-school Education in Tunisia

Head of Session:  
Dr. Belaid Louiza

Türkiye Local Time: 12:00-13:45  
December 16, 2023 Saturday  
Zoom Id: 931 4885 8833  
Password: 561826

AUTHORS	AFFILIATION	TOPIC TITLE
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Ananda Majumdar	University of Alberta Canada	Societal Development of Azerbaijan in the Era of President Heydar Aliyev
Dr. Hayfa Mohdi	ESPRIT, Monastir Tunisia	Disembodied Communication, Empowered Identity in Toni Morrison' s The Bluest Eye
Dr. Belaid Louiza	University of Ibn Khaldoun - Malaysia	The Turnout of Special Needs Children to E- learning: An Attempt to Reinforce Inclusion through Educational Technology
Samira Atefi Boroujeni  Elnaz Rahimi	PhD in Applied Linguistics, Sheikhbahee University - Iran  M.A. in Educational Research, University of Zahedan- Iran	The Role of Teachers' 21st Century-Digital Competence in Triggering Their Immunity: The Partial Least Square Modeling (PLS-SEM) Approach
Dr. Azwan Hamid	Malaysia	Malay Songs in Folk Culture
Nahyan Farooq	MA Student IBADAT International University Pakistan	Some Thoughts on Pakistan Education System

<b>Head of Session:</b> <b>Prof. Saumya Chakrabarti</b>		
<b>Türkiye Local Time: 14:00-15:30</b> <b>December 16, 2023 Saturday</b> <b>Zoom Id: 946 9825 7174</b> <b>Password: 407761</b>		
<b>AUTHORS</b>	<b>AFFILIATION</b>	<b>TOPIC TITLE</b>

Aparna Chatterjee	PhD scholar, Department of HSS, NIT Durgapur, West Bengal India	Interpreting Bharati Mukherjee in the context of North-East India: The question of identity
Madhuri Hazra	Assistant Professor, St. Xavier's College Burdwan, , West Bengal India	Narrative Control and Marginalized Voices in J.M. Coetzee's 'Foe'
Dr. Rakhiparna Ghosh	State Aided College Teacher, Raniganj Girls' College, West Bengal, India	Entanglements of Body, Nature, Identity in D.H. Lawrence's Lady Chatterley's Lover: An Ecofeminist Reading.
Dr. Sriparna Chatterjee	Assistant Professor, St. Xavier's College, Burdwan. India	The distorted Body and Self in the wake of Partition: A discussion of Manto's "Toba Tek Singh" and Manik Bandhopadhyas "The Final Solution."

<b>Head of Session:</b> <b>Dr Dahmani Souhaila</b>		
<b>Türkiye Local Time: 16:30- 18:15</b> <b>December 16, 2023 Saturday</b> <b>Zoom Id: 951 3996 6535</b> <b>Password: 007782</b>		
<b>AUTHORS</b>	<b>AFFILIATION</b>	<b>TOPIC TITLE</b>

Elaheh Toosheh	Department of English and German Philology Univeristy of Valencia, Spain	Reframing Qur'anic Verses: Illustrations as Paratextual Devices
Dr Dahmani Souhaila Dr Nammiche Samira	University of Khenchela- Algeria University of Khenchela- Algeria	Distance Education is an Introduction to a Modern Educational Environment in Algerian Universities
Anirban Sengupta	Assistant Professor, School of Development Studies Dr. B.R. Ambedkar University Delhi- India	Being 'World Class' And 'Global' in Higher Education: Entrepreneurship In Indian Private Universities
Nawel Sekkal	University Abou Bekr Belkaid Tlemcen, Algeria	System of Detection Fake Profiles on Social Network with Machine Learning and Bio-Inspired Algorithm.
Dr. M. Rajeswari  Dr. Mangalanageshwari	Head of the Department Dept. of Electronics and Telecommunication Engineering. BIT, Bengaluru, India Dept. of Electronics and Telecommunication Engineering. BIT, Bengaluru, India.	Paddy Leaves Disease Detection and Pesticide Spraying using DIP and IoT
Yakup Mert Kudas  Prof. Dr. Mustafa Bagriyanik	Istanbul Technical University (Master Student)  Istanbul Technical University	Effects Of Microgrid Applications And Electric Vehicle Charging Infrastructure In Industrial Electrical Facilities



<b>Head of Session:</b> <b>Assoc. Prof. Ozgur Selvi</b>		
<b>Türkiye Local Time: 10:00- 11:45</b> <b>December 17, 2023 Sunday</b> <b>Zoom Id: 988 5649 7449</b> <b>Password: 469212</b>		
<b>AUTHORS</b>	<b>AFFILIATION</b>	<b>TOPIC TITLE</b>

Assistant Professor Cem Karakilic	Cankiri Karatekin University Department of Political Science and Public Administration	Armenian Verse Memoirs as a Propaganda Tool
Assistant Professor Mehmet Özgüden	Cankiri Karatekin University Department of Political Science and Public Administration	Limits of State Power: Antigone
Mustafa Erken	Cankiri Karatekin University Department of Political Science and Public Administration (MA Student)	The Sociology School of Thought and Opposition in Turkey: The Example of Prince Sabahattin
Ramazan Sen	Kirikkale University	According to the New York Times, US aid to Turkey and Public Opinion (1947-1952)
Assistant Professor Hakan Doğan	Kirikkale University	Social and Economic Situation of Mahmudlar Village in Ankara Kalecik District According to the Temettuat Book No. 17095 (H. 1260-61/AD 1844-45)
Assoc. Prof. Ozgur Selvi	Kirikkale University	Internet Addiction: A Study on College Students
Assistant Professor Seda Sönmez	Kirikkale University	

<b>Head of Session:</b> <b>Prof. Dr. Mesut Aydın</b>		
<b>Türkiye Local Time: 12:00-13:45</b> <b>December 17, 2023 Sunday</b> <b>Zoom Id: 973 9365 2250</b> <b>Password: 412880</b>		
<b>AUTHORS</b>	<b>AFFILIATION</b>	<b>TOPIC TITLE</b>

Prof. Dr. Mesut Aydın	Inonu Universtiy Department of Social Studies Teaching	Activities of Sports Branches of Community Centers between 1932 and 1951
Prof. Dr. Mesut Aydın  Ress Ast. İbrahim Halil Doğan	Inonu Universtiy Department of Social Studies Teaching  Inonu Universtiy Department of Social Studies Teaching	Sportive Activities of Malatya Community Center (1932-1951)
Assoc. Prof. Mehmet Korkud Aydın	Kirikkale University AİT Department	Examples of Extraordinary Economic Measures Taken in the Economic Field in Turkey During World War II
Assoc. Prof. Mehmet Korkud Aydın	Kirikkale University AİT Department	Malatya Community Center and National Celebration Days
Assoc. Prof. İsmail Efe	Kirikkale University AİT Department	The Reaction of Sinop And Its Accidents To The Occupation Of Izmir By The Greeks
Assoc. Prof. İsmail Efe	Kirikkale University AİT Department	Sinop Armenians from the Constitutional Monarchy to the National Struggle: Events, Problems

<b>Head of Session:</b> <b>Prof. Saumya Chakrabarti</b>		
<b>Türkiye Local Time: 14: 00-16: 30</b> <b>December 17, 2023 Sunday</b> <b>Zoom Id: 932 8834 9935</b> <b>Password: 005590</b>		
<b>AUTHORS</b>	<b>AFFILIATION</b>	<b>TOPIC TITLE</b>

<p>Dr. Anamika Moktan</p> <p>Prof. Saumya Chakrabarti</p>	<p>Assistant Professor, Dept. of Economics &amp; Politics, Visva-Bharati Santiniketan India</p> <p>Department of Economics and Politics Visva-Bharati, West Bengal India</p>	<p>Quality of Employment in India: Dualities and determinants</p>
<p>Somenath Ghosh</p> <p>Prof. Saumya Chakrabarti</p>	<p>Regional M &amp; E Manager, Magic Bus India Foundation, Kolkata. India</p> <p>Department of Economics and Politics Visva-Bharati, West Bengal India. India</p>	<p>Urbanisation and Labour Marginalisation: An analysis of slum employment in post-reform India</p>
<p>Lt. Durgesh Mani Tiwari.</p>	<p>Assistant Professor, Laxmi Narain Dubey College, Motihari, Bihar. India</p>	<p>Modern Informal Sector – Agricultural Sector – Traditional Informal Sector Relationships in India: A Theoretical Analysis &amp; Some Policy Propositions</p>
<p>Himadrija Chakraborty</p> <p>Rahul Pal</p> <p>Prof. Saumya Chakrabarti</p>	<p>Research Scholar (ICSSR fellow), Visva-Bharati Santiniketan. India</p> <p>Research Scholar, Visva-Bharati Santiniketan India</p> <p>Department of Economics and Politics Visva-Bharati, West Bengal, India</p>	<p>Firm Structure, Market Structure, and Firm Dynamics: A critique of the mainstream microeconomic analysis</p>
<p>Mr. Rahul Pal</p> <p>Himadrija Chakraborty</p> <p>Prof. Saumya Chakrabarti</p>	<p>Research Scholar, Visva-Bharati Santiniketan India</p> <p>Research Scholar (ICSSR fellow), Visva-Bharati Santiniketan. India</p> <p>Department of Economics and Politics Visva-Bharati, West Bengal, India</p>	<p>Clustered production: instances of collaboration</p>

Rahul Pal	Research Scholar, Jadavpur Univ, India	Structure and Dynamics of MSME Cluster: Case studies of handloom clusters in West Bengal
Himadrija Chakraborty	Professor, Jadavpur University, India	
Prof. Saumya Chakrabarti	Professor, Jadavpur University, India	
Harsha Tiwary and Prof.	Assistant Professor, Amity University, Kolkata India	Performance of MGNREGP: A regional analysis across districts of West Bengal
Prof. Saumya Chakrabarti	Department of Economics and Politics Visva-Bharati, West Bengal, India	
Simanta Ghosh	M.A (ex-student), Dept. of Economics & Politics, Visva-Bharati Santiniketan India	Determinants of Crop Diversification: Analysis of two villages in West Bengal
Prof. Saumya Chakrabarti	Department of Economics and Politics Visva-Bharati, West Bengal, India	

**Closing Session of Symposium**

**Türkiye Local Time: 17:00  
December 17, 2023 Sunday  
Zoom Id: 979 3801 5584  
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**Juxtaposing The Global Citizenship Competencies Of Senior High School  
And College Students: Input For A Contextualized Learning Plan**

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**Abstract**

Education and globalization as tools empowering learners to think and act globally is a driving force in producing competent and humanized citizens that the world needs today. Anchored on that, the study explores the global citizenship competencies of senior high school and college students as the baseline for a contextualized learning plan. The study employs the descriptive survey design of quantitative research, wherein the needed data are gathered through a questionnaire to select students with leadership positions in various student organizations in their respective institutions. The said data also underwent rigorous statistical analysis using descriptive and inferential statistics. The findings reveal that students generally have a very high level of global citizenship competencies. When taken per domain, they have a very high level of global citizenship competencies regarding values and attitudes and a high level of knowledge and skills. More so, a significant difference in their global citizenship competencies has been incurred when they are grouped according to sex. In contrast, no significant difference between senior high school and college students has been observed. At the outset, the study proposes a contextualized learning plan promoting global citizenship endeavors and initiatives at both educational levels to foster collaboration and civic engagement.

**Keywords:** Global Citizenship Competencies, Senior High School, Tertiary Level, Contextualized Learning Plan

**Technologies and Applications of AI: Case of Livingstone District, Zambia**

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**Abstract**

Artificial Intelligence (AI) stands at the cutting-edge of technological progress in transforming entire sectors and society. This paper explores the technologies and applications of AI in order to provide a thorough understanding of its revolutionary possibilities. The findings show how AI is used in a wide range of industries, including healthcare and finance. With impressive accuracy in healthcare diagnosis and treatment, AI has revolutionised patient care in the healthcare industry. Artificial intelligence (AI) systems are able to analyse medical pictures, such as CT scans and X-rays, helping physicians identify anomalies and arrange treatments more precisely. AI-powered patient data analysis can also result in the creation of individualised treatment regimens, improving the efficiency and customization of healthcare. Similar to this, AI has demonstrated its predictive power in the finance sector, improving decision-making procedures. Financial organisations can make trading choices in real time by using AI algorithms to examine news, market patterns, and historical data. Through the analysis of several data sources, AI can also evaluate creditworthiness, empowering lenders to make better lending decisions quickly and effectively. Given AI's enormous influence, it follows that this study highlights the need for more research on responsible AI development, taking ethical and societal ramifications into account, in addition to outlining the changing field of artificial intelligence. In order to make AI models more comprehensible, researchers are also attempting to increase their transparency and interpretability. The application of AI to solve global issues and further the common good is likewise becoming more and more important.

**Keywords:** Artificial Intelligence (AI); Machine Learning (ML); Healthcare; Diagnosis; Finance And Ethics

**Women in Low-paid Work: Understanding Supply-side Factors Affecting  
Women's Work in the Indian State of Kerala**

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**Abstract**

Until recently, the south Indian state of Kerala, despite its high achievements in health and education with a negligible gender gap, unlike the majority of other Indian states, ranked among the lowest in terms of women's workforce participation rate and the highest in female unemployment rate. However, the recent Periodic Labourforce Survey 2018-19 suggests increased women's paid work in the state above the national average. The paper argues that the changes in the state economy in recent years have created certain impacts on women's labour market behaviour in the state. The paper looks at the supply-side factors and argues that the increase in the paid participation of women in recent years is partially due to increasing economic distress in the household. The changes in the pattern of international migration from the state in terms of decline in Gulf migration, increase in return-migration of early Gulf migrants, and increase in high-skill migration have increased inequality. In addition, the hope for better social and economic mobility through international migration is making households invest more in private education and other expenses to facilitate migration. This also needs to be understood in the context of growing dowry and consumerism in the state. The paper argues that these create economic pressure in households of those at the lower end of inequality to find additional income. This is often met by women in these households entering paid work in low-end jobs, which may not be their 'desirable' job opportunity, given the high educational attainment of Kerala women. The paper is based on secondary literature and primary surveys suggesting that the data-generating exercises often fail to capture women's paid work in low-end jobs. This is made even more difficult by the challenge of some of these low-paid work being in personal services and with underreporting due to the stigma attached to menial work.

**Keywords:** Women's Work, Economic Change, Inequality, Kerala, International Migration



**Balmiki Mothers Navigating Daughters' Education in the Disadvantaged Neighbourhood**

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**Abstract**

Space is not a neutral place. It is not merely defined by the infrastructure, quality of houses and local services but also by the socio-economic status of the dwellers, kinship ties with family and friends, social interactions, historical significance, political connections, everyday rituals, sense of identification, religion, ethnicity, etc. (Galster, 2001; Lupton, 2003). Social scientists have conducted a vast number of studies to understand the 'neighbourhood effect' while exploring various issues such as health, education, youth behaviour, parenting, etc., on its residence. These studies have mainly focused on disadvantaged or segregated neighbourhoods populated by racial and ethnic minorities and poor immigrants and exploring how living in an environment with blatant poverty and violence shape and influence their life experiences and opportunities.

In India, most of the population living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods or slum areas are from Scheduled castes, Scheduled Tribes and OBC. The space may look homogenous from the outside but diverse based on various parameters such as socio-economic location, religion, language, etc., (Devi and Ray, 2021). Growing up in a dilapidated, uninhabited and stigmatised neighbourhood has common negative experiences reported across genders, such as experiencing persistent untouchability and stigma, poor schooling facilities, high dropout rate, exposure to violence, poor community development and absence or lack of parental engagement or inability to construct stimulating educational environment. Parenting, particularly mothering, becomes extremely challenging in such spaces. Mothering is a complex and challenging experience in India and profoundly shaped by caste, class, region, religion, etc., where cultural pressure and discourse on intensive mothering continue to influence mothering decisions and practices. Mothering practices can get amplified for mothers from vulnerable caste locations such as the Balmiki, who are still engaged with sanitation work. Mothers who desire their children, particularly daughters, to live dignified lives and get into modern occupations through competitive education feel further marginalised and helpless in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The paper presents findings from a study that involves interviews with 30 mothers from the Balmiki community living in diverse, underprivileged and stigmatised neighbourhoods in Delhi. Thus, it seeks to explore mothers' anxieties, apprehensions and fears while raising young daughters in disadvantaged and stigmatised neighbourhoods in Delhi, what kinds of challenges they faced and how they addressed their daughters' safety and ensured access, sustenance and completion of school education.

**Keywords:** Balmiki Mothers, Disadvantaged Neighbourhood, Agency, Education, Safety

**Opinions on Assessing Malaysia's Tourism Potential**

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**Abstract**

Malaysia, known for its cultural diversity, natural attractions, and vibrant urban centers, has emerged as a key player in the international tourism industry. The analysis begins by examining the various factors that contribute to Malaysia's tourism appeal, including its rich cultural heritage, scenic landscapes, and thriving hospitality sector.

Assessing the effectiveness of current tourism strategies is a focal point, considering the dynamic nature of the industry and the evolving expectations of travelers. Stakeholder opinions, including those from government bodies, industry professionals, and local communities, are integral to understanding the strengths and weaknesses of Malaysia's tourism offerings. The study delves into the role of sustainable practices, infrastructure development, and cultural preservation in shaping Malaysia's tourism potential, recognizing the importance of balancing economic growth with environmental and cultural considerations.

Furthermore, the research investigates emerging trends and innovations in the global tourism market and evaluates their relevance to Malaysia's tourism sector. Digital technologies, experiential tourism, and destination marketing strategies are among the key areas explored.

The study also addresses challenges faced by Malaysia's tourism industry, such as changing consumer preferences, economic fluctuations, and the impact of global events, emphasizing the need for adaptive strategies to ensure long-term sustainability.

This study contributes valuable insights to the discourse on Malaysia's tourism potential, offering a nuanced understanding of the factors influencing its attractiveness as a destination and providing recommendations for future development.

**Keywords:** Malaysia, Tourism Potential, Cultural Heritage, Sustainability

**Pre-school Education in Tunisia**

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**Researcher- Tunisia**

**Abstract**

As a critical phase in a child's development, early childhood education is faces issues of accessibility, enrollment, and program quality in Tunisia. Educational policies are scrutinized to evaluate their effectiveness in creating an optimal learning environment. The study investigates the pivotal role of teachers and the quality of teacher training programs, acknowledging the significant influence educators exert on early learning experiences.

The incorporation of technology in early childhood education and its potential contributions to learning outcomes are explored in this study. The study addresses the broader societal implications of a robust pre-school education system, emphasizing its role in reducing inequality, fostering social cohesion, and preparing children for future academic success.

We aims with this study to contribute valuable insights to discussions on pre-school education in Tunisia, offering evidence-based foundations for policies and practices that support the holistic development of the nation's youngest learners.

**Keywords:** Tunisia, Pre-school Education, Tunisia, Early Childhood Education, Educational Policies

**Societal Development of Azerbaijan in the Era of President Heydar Aliyev**

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**University of Alberta Canada**

**Abstract**

President Heydar Aliyev has an enormous role in modernizing Azerbaijan. The term flourish has been used to realize Azerbaijan's prosperity in education, science and technology, and culture. The worth of all countries depends on someone who is a nationwide leader, such as Ataturk of Türkiye and Heydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan. They were national leaders, along with their international reputation, who was born for revolution, influenced their countries and became a leader through their adaptation and formal and informal adaptive leadership. Their contribution to their countries is enormous. Heydar Aliyev remarked that the country's level depends on its knowledge level. His remark indicated a modern Azerbaijan and its society filled with the development of science and technology, education, and culture. President Aliyev believed in a modern nation-state and its progressive community. It can only be possible when a country is sustainably intellectual through science, technology, education, and culture. He believed in global citizenship through which a global scenario can be made in Azerbaijan for its international acceptance, where everyone is equal, prosperous, and advanced in socio-cultural and academic perspectives. He was an educationist who went to school at age six and became interested in all subjects he took for his studies. His interest was in literature and writing poems. He was a member of a dramatical circle where he acted as a king. He was a king who had adaptive leadership, and thus he made Azerbaijan a prosperous country for all. He had a talent for painting. His art representation of Fizuli (Mirzoyeva, 2018) won an art competition at school. This is how his art helped him to admit to the faculty of architecture of the Azerbaijan Industrial Institute even though he did not complete his architecture studies due to World War in 1941. The paper aims to discuss the prosperity of the society of Azerbaijan through science and technology, education, and preserving its culture. The paper's methodology has been conducted through documentary analysis and a qualitative approach. The paper's outcome will be a knowledge sector through which the golden era of President Aliyev and Azeri society will be focused on for the audience. The feature question is, what are those narratives behind the development of Azerbaijan that helped to prosperous Azeri society throughout its formation to the standing in the global arena? As well, what are the steps for the establishment of a free democratized society in Azerbaijan?

**Keywords:** Education, History, Adaptive Leadership, Socio-culture, Value, Rational, Liberalization, Construction of Preschool, Educational Repairment and Development, Government Scholarship, Aid, Global Citizenship, International Education, Educational Flexibility, Early Learning, Teachers Training, Teacher Education, Value, Dignity, Nationalism, National Interest, Heydar Aliyev an Ideal President in the Global Scenario, Democratization of Azeri Society.

**Disembodied communication, Empowered Identity in Toni Morrison's The Bluest Eye**

**Dr. Hayfa MOHDHI**

**Tunisia**

**Abstract**

This article focuses on the representation, the fashioning and re-fashioning of the absent/present body of a female child when enmeshed in the swirl of an all encompassing normative society. It argues that communication in *The Bluest Eye* disembodies through reducing or negating the black body and creating an irreparable disjuncture between the non-normative body and "its" bluest eyes. Insofar as inadvertent or self-conscious illusion, a split occurs separating the silent/ silenced body from its narrating eyes. It exposes the way the disembodied communication of the blue-eyed Pecola succeeds into subverting the hegemonic tradition of a silent girl and enables the traumatized subject, oft-silenced- to reconstruct her identity. The article shows first that the body medium – whether blackened, whitened, or (dis)abled- is particularly germane for the success or the failure of communication and consequently pertains to or veers from the main stream. The second part focuses on disembodied communication as a form of liberation of: first the voice from the body and then the submissive identity from its hegemonic discourse through the destruction and fragmentation of the norm itself. The marginalized body is opposed to the overwhelming presence of the narrating voice, which itself culminates into a dramaturgy of voices without a body.

**Keywords:** Disembodied Communication, Identity, Body, Voice, Norm

**The Turnout of Special Needs Children to E-learning: An Attempt to Reinforce Inclusion through Educational Technology**

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**Department of English**

**Abstract**

This endeavour is devoted to reinforce language tuition and maintain educational inclusion among children with speech pathologies. Since the dawn of techno-pedagogy facilities, it becomes challenging to teach children with speech-language pathologies. Therefore, our work targets to unveil the challenges and hurdles that pathologists encounter when dealing with autistic spectrum disorder and their impact on language processing and production. With the increasing number of children diagnosed with mental disabilities, it is crucial to recognize and address this growing population. In order to proceed, ASD children are exposed to different language learning tasks by means of technological devices with the supervision of the institution's psychologists and speech therapists, its aim is to encourage them improve their first language and shift from acquisition to learning. The findings revealed that there is a considerable turn-out for online educational apps, though they do not accomplish all tasks as expected, and they often feel monotonous and distracted. Besides that, the psychologists and the speech therapists did not receive any special needs educational training, which leads to the unavailability of qualified teachers who are able to cope with developmental disabilities. It is recommended to diffuse the usability of online educational applications at a younger age to ease communication and transcend the Broca's dysfunctional role of language comprehension and production.

**Keywords:** Speech Pathologies; Techno-Pedagogy; Autism Spectrum Disorder; Special Needs; Broca Area.

**The Role of Teachers' 21<sup>st</sup> Century-Digital Competence in Triggering their Immunity: The Partial Least Square Modeling (PLS-SEM) Approach**

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**Elnaz Rahimi,**

**M.A. in Educational Research, University of Zahedan**

**Abstract**

Teachers' levels of digital competency have been found to have a positive or negative impact on their psychological factors. This line of inquiry has failed to investigate the notion of teacher immunity as a broad psychological term that encompasses seven psychological factors in the context of computer-assisted language learning. To this end, the present study attempts to examine the relationship between the digital competence of teachers and their level of immunity in online classes. To achieve this aim, the researcher adopted two questionnaires DigCompEdu and Language Teachers Immunity (Hiver, 2016), to evaluate participants' levels of digital competence and immunity, respectively, and administered them to 467 Iranian English teachers. The results of Partial Least Square Modeling (PLS-SEM) indicated that teachers with greater levels of digital competency and information literacy felt more immunity to virtual classes. Findings from the study may have implications for teachers, stakeholders, and policymakers in promoting digital literacy in order to protect them against stressors and reduce fatigue and burnout.

**Keywords:** Teachers' Digital Competence, Teachers' Immunity, English Teachers

## **Malay Songs in Folk Culture**

**Dr. Azwan Hamid**

**Researcher- Malaysia**

### **Abstract**

This paper is evaluating into the rich tapestry of Malay songs within the context of folk culture, offering a comprehensive exploration of their historical significance, cultural resonance, and enduring influence. Malay songs, deeply embedded in the folk traditions of the Malay community, serve as invaluable repositories of cultural heritage, reflecting the ethos, beliefs, and narratives that define the community's identity. The analysis spans various genres of Malay folk songs, encompassing traditional ballads, work songs, and ceremonial tunes, each contributing distinctively to the multifaceted cultural mosaic.

The study examines the historical evolution of Malay songs, tracing their roots to ancient oral traditions and their subsequent adaptation to changing societal dynamics. Emphasis is placed on the role of these songs in preserving and transmitting cultural knowledge across generations, acting as vessels that encapsulate the collective memory of the Malay people. The paper explores the diverse themes and motifs embedded in Malay folk songs, shedding light on the socio-cultural contexts that have shaped their lyrical content.

Furthermore, the research investigates the performative aspects of Malay songs, considering their role in communal gatherings, celebrations, and rituals. The interplay between music and dance in the expression of cultural narratives is explored, highlighting the holistic nature of Malay folk culture.

The impact of technological advancements on the preservation and dissemination of Malay folk songs is also discussed, recognizing both the challenges and opportunities presented by contemporary platforms.

In conclusion, this paper seeks to contribute to the broader understanding of Malay songs as integral components of folk culture, emphasizing their role in cultural preservation, community bonding, and the dynamic interplay between tradition and modernity.

**Keywords:** Malay Songs, Folk Culture, Cultural Heritage, Socio-cultural Contexts, Cultural Preservation.



## **Some Thoughts on Pakistan Education System**

**Nahyan Farooq**

**MA Student- Pakistan IBADAT**

### **Abstract**

Education plays a pivotal role in shaping a nation's future, and in the case of Pakistan, the system grapples with a myriad of issues that impact its effectiveness. The study begins by exploring the issue of access, addressing the barriers that hinder a significant portion of the population from obtaining quality education. Challenges related to infrastructure, geographical disparities, and socio-economic factors are scrutinized to shed light on the root causes of limited access.

Furthermore, the analysis delves into the quality of education, examining factors such as curriculum relevance, teacher competency, and assessment methodologies. The study also explores inclusivity within the education system, considering issues related to gender disparities, minority representation, and special needs education. Educational policies are evaluated for their impact on system dynamics, with a focus on their alignment with contemporary needs and global standards.

The study also investigates the role of curriculum design in fostering critical thinking, creativity, and practical skills among students. Innovative teaching methodologies are explored, considering their potential to enhance the learning experience and prepare students for the demands of the modern world. Throughout the analysis, the socio-economic implications of the education system are emphasized, highlighting the correlation between a robust education sector and national development.

In conclusion, this study offers a comprehensive overview of the challenges faced by the education system in Pakistan, providing valuable insights for policymakers, educators, and stakeholders working towards transformative reforms.

**Keywords:** Pakistan, Education System, Access, Quality, Educational Policies,

**Interpreting Bharati Mukherjee And Jahnvi Barua in the Context of  
Northeast India: The Question of Identity**

**Aparna Chatterjee**

**Abstract**

‘Anything could be true...’ - George Orwell, 1984

This paper negotiates with the reflections of 'Post-Truth' in Northeast India by using the readings of Bharati Mukherjee's fictional and non-fictional works and Jahnvi Barua's novel, *Undertow*. It attempts to present the pregnable condition of Northeast India through the writings of the two prolific writers.

The incident of bloodshed in Manipur, the indigenous split, has piloted the state into a post-truth wherein the masses' views are formed less by facts and more by uncorroborated truths that ensemble societies' emotions and dogmas. The significance of post-truth is the expression of the failure of the institutions of 'truth-telling' (Kamei, 2023). In Manipur, the emergence of post-truth can be attributed to the failure of the governments and news media. However, through the lens of Bharati Mukherjee and Jahnvi Barua, we can decipher the identity crisis of the Northeast, clearing the haze of post-truth.

**Keywords:** Immigration, Rootlessness, Subaltern, Identity-Crisis, Socio-Cultural Conflicts, Violence, Post-truth.

**Title: Narrative Control and Marginalized Voices in J.M. Coetzee's 'Foe'**

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**St. Xavier's College, Burdwan, West Bengal, India.**

**Abstract**

This paper examines J.M. Coetzee's "Foe" novel's theme of narrative control and its effects on underrepresented voices. It explores how colonial discourse and power dynamics affect the representation and agency of minority characters through a close reading of the text. The study provides insights into how narrative control affects the voices of those on the periphery of society in Coetzee's work and illuminates the intricate interplay between storytelling, identity, and authority.

**Keywords:** Coetzee, Post-Colonialism, Silence, Language, Narrative Strategy.

**Entanglements of Body, Nature, Identity in D.H Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*: An Ecofeminist Reading**

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**West Bengal**

**Abstract**

An important aspect of our existence and self-identity, that often goes unacknowledged, is the intricately entangled dependence upon the natural world. D. H. Lawrence's last novel, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928) offers opportunity with the representation of the industrial, post-World War I world of England, the natural environments of English Midlands and 'broken' human's search for their identities. This paper reads the novel through the theoretical perspectives of Ecofeminism to explore the various crisis of identity present and the important role that nature plays.

**Keywords:** Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century England, Nature, War, Identity, Ecofeminism

**The Distorted Body and Self in the Wake of Partition: A Discussion of Manto's "Toba Tek Singh" and Manik Bandhopadhyas "The Final Solution."**

**Dr. Sriparna Chatterjee**

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**Abstract**

The stories of partition critique the violence and bloodshed that accompanies partition. My paper "The Distorted Body and Self in the Wake of Partition: A Discussion of Manto's "Toba Tek Singh" and Manik Bandhopadhyas "The Final Solution" will try to show how individual identities became fraught with the confliction national identities in the wake of independence. Set at the backdrop of partition, both the narratives become representation of social condition and the insanity that was overflowing among people as both the spellbinding stories explore the effects of this inhuman barbarity and chaos in the physic of the protagonists—Toba Tek Singh and Mallika.

**Keywords:** Partition, Violence, Identity, Trauma

**Reframing Qur’anic Verses: Illustrations as Paratextual Devices**

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**Abstract**

The emergence of terrorism and radical groups in the past decade has led to an increase in negative narration and skewed portrayals of the holy Qur’an in Western culture. Narrative theory has undergone recent changes to encompass the examination of translations, with the aim of elucidating how ideology and power dynamics exert influence on narration, thereby potentially shaping public perceptions. Illustrations as paratextual elements possess the capacity to wield greater influence on public opinion and can serve as persuasive tools for cross-linguistic communication. This paper explores the visual reframing of Qur’anic verses by analyzing “American Qur’an” depicted by American artist Sandow Birk (2009), drawing upon the theoretical frameworks of Baker’s reframing theory and the principles of narrative theory. Through applying reframing theory to Birk’s illustrations, we concluded that illustrations as paratextual devices were not in line with the ideology of the receptive environment of the United States. It is noteworthy to mention that no previous study has been done on “American Qur’an” from the perspective of reframing theory.

**Keywords:** Narrative Theory, Reframing Theory, Paratextual, American Qur’an

**Distance Education is an Introduction to a Modern Educational Environment in Algerian Universities**

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**Dr. Nammiche Samira**

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**Abstract**

The combination in the dissemination of digital technologies based on encryption with digits zero and one for all kinds of information as research techniques evolve have created a tangle of information, communication and audiovisual media to provide us with a modern economy of knowledge.

The development in informatics in its various branches and the wide spread of integrated systems that include a wide range of equipment, software and means of networking have led to thinking about ways to synergize these means to perform the goal they seek to achieve. The technical revolution in the field of information and communication affected all aspects of life, and the educational process was greatly and clearly affected by the scientific and technical progress that took place, this progress not only led to the modernization of the educational process, but also led to a revolution in all areas of the educational process.

Where educational methods and systems, curricula, methods, means, quality, structure and techniques have changed. This has resulted in a new learning technique, which is called distance education. Pattern, using modern educational techniques and advanced means of communication to communicate information to the learner as quickly and less expensive as possible. This study is designed to learn about the nature of distance education in Algerian universities and how the professor deals with this modern pattern, and the future of this pattern from their point of view.

The development of informatics in its various branches and the widespread dissemination of integrated systems regulated by a wide range of hardware, software and networking means have led to reflection on ways in which these tools support the fulfilment of the goal they seek. The technical revolution in the field of information and communications has affected all aspects of life, and the educational process has been significantly and clearly influenced by scientific and technical advances. This progress has not only modernized the educational process but has revolutionized all areas of the educational process.

**Keywords:** Learning, Algerian University, Educational Environment, University

**Being ‘World Class’ And ‘Global’ In Higher Education:  
Entrepreneurship In Indian Private Universities**

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**Abstract**

Ideas like ‘world-class’ and ‘global’ entered the higher education discourses in India as the state attempted to embrace globalisation during the 1990s. Using these terms in different government documents and conversations became frequent during that time. The process gathered further momentum in 2005 when the Government of India announced its intention to sanction a large financial grant to an existing state-funded premiere institution in science and technology to initiate the process of creating world-class universities. Continuation of such strategies may be found in the more recent attempt by the Universities Grants Commission to start the Institution of Eminence award to “establish twenty ‘institutions of eminence’ to achieve world-class status, from amongst the existing government/private institutions and new institutions from the private sector”.

While the Government of India did not specify what it meant by the term ‘world-class’, over time, it has primarily been understood in terms of the rank of a university in different reputed international frameworks of institutional ranking and, therefore, the criteria set by the ranking frameworks have emerged as critical. This possibility to demonstrate ‘world-class’ status through ranking has created a market value for global recognition, particularly among private educational institutions. Contrary to the earlier imagination that private-funding in higher education implies poor quality, this new perspective of educational investment in higher education has motivated a handful of private universities to invest substantially in quality development. It is essential to understand the operation of these private universities to comprehend the operationalisation of terms like ‘world-class’ and ‘global’ today in private higher education.

This paper is based on in-depth interview data from a small group of faculty members at three such private universities in India. Based on this data, this paper seeks to understand the entrepreneurial initiatives these universities took in interpreting its global orientation in terms of the nature of knowledge transacted, investment in the development of international collaborations, orientation towards international students, recruitment of faculty members, and newer imaginations about potential students. Given the paucity of field-based research on private universities in India, this research is expected to contribute significantly to developing an in-depth understanding of the transformation of the discourses in higher education.

**Keywords:** Private University, Higher Education, Institutional Collaboration, Globalisation and Higher Education, Institutional Ranking



**System of Detection Fake Profiles on Social Network with Machine Learning and Bio-Inspired Algorithm**

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**Abstract**

The proliferation of online activities on Online Social Networks (OSNs) has captured significant user attention. However, this growth has been hindered by the emergence of fraudulent accounts that do not represent real individuals and violate privacy regulations within social network communities. Consequently, it is imperative to identify and remove these profiles to enhance the security of OSN users. In recent years, researchers have turned to machine learning (ML) to develop strategies and methods to tackle this issue. Numerous studies have been conducted in this field to compare various ML-based techniques. However, the existing literature still lacks a comprehensive examination, especially considering different OSN platforms. Additionally, the utilization of bio-inspired algorithms has been largely overlooked. Our study takes a novel approach by conducting an extensive comparison analysis of various fake profile detection techniques in online social networks. The results of our study indicate that supervised models, along with other machine learning techniques, as well as unsupervised models, are effective for detecting false profiles in social media. To achieve optimal results, we have incorporated six bio-inspired algorithms to enhance the performance of fake profile identification results.

**Keywords:** Social Network, Fake Profile, Detection, Machine Learning, Bio-Inspired Algorithm.

## **Paddy Leaves Disease Detection and Pesticide Spraying using DIP and IoT**

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### **Abstract**

This paper addresses the paddy leaf diseases faced by rice farmers in accessing affordable agricultural consulting services for timely detection and management of leaf diseases. By using Convolutional Neural Networks (CNNs), for paddy leaves (bunch of leaves) disease detection is done by leaf image analysis, enhancing accuracy and reliability. Advanced image processing techniques extract key features such as colour variations and disease-specific patterns, enabling rapid identification of disease and severity. This facilitates timely intervention and targeted management strategies, minimizing yield losses and promoting healthier rice crops

Paddy or rice is one of the most important cereal crops and a staple food for over half of the world's population. However, the yield and quality of paddy crops are threatened by various biotic and abiotic stresses. One of the major biotic stresses affecting paddy crops is the outbreak of various diseases caused by fungi, bacteria, and viruses. The timely and accurate detection of these diseases is critical to prevent their spread and to minimize yield loss. Traditionally, the detection of paddy diseases has been carried out through visual inspection by trained experts, which is not only time consuming but also prone to errors. Moreover, the increasing demand for food due to the growing population requires efficient and accurate methods for disease detection to increase crop yield and meet the demand. Therefore, the development of an automated system for paddy disease detection using machine learning techniques can provide a reliable and efficient solution to this problem. Such a system can help farmers detect diseases early on, allowing them to take timely action and prevent further spread.

A Practical hardware IoT-based pesticide spraying system is developed. This IoT-based solution optimizes pesticide usage, reducing costs and minimizing environmental impact. To evaluate system an user-friendly Graphical user interface is developed, where farmers can upload leaf images for disease detection. This low-cost solution empowers farmers with accessible tools for effective disease detection and pesticide spraying.

**Keywords:** Leaf Disease, Pest Detection, Convolutional Neural Networks (CNNs),IoT, GUI

**Effects of Microgrid Applications and Electric Vehicle Charging  
Infrastructure in Industrial Electrical Facilities\*\***

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**Abstract**

"Today, the importance given to energy resilience, flexibility, reliability, energy efficiency, carbon footprint, and sustainability in critical infrastructures of industrial facilities has been increasing. Studies indicate a growing focus and investment in energy infrastructures, such as smart grids, microgrids, and distributed generation sources (Solar Power Plants, Wind Power Plants, etc.). The efforts in infrastructure aim to achieve more effective control and operation of systems, as well as reducing carbon footprint. The costs of energy resources are increasing, and the trend towards electric vehicles worldwide is increasing day by day. Electric vehicles have lower consumption and maintenance costs than internal combustion engines. It offers users more environmentally friendly and efficient options by reducing carbon emissions. New electrical infrastructure investments are also needed to establish charging stations for electric vehicles.

In this study, the primary electrical distribution infrastructure of an industrial facility was modeled in the MATLAB Simulink environment, and simulation analyses were conducted. The effects of using a Solar Energy System with an approximate capacity of 1 MWp, calculated using roof and parking areas on a sample industrial distribution system, were investigated through load flow and loss analyses. In line with the goal of improving system operation and increasing energy reliability, the division of critical infrastructure feeding zones into microgrid zones was explored. Analyses were conducted for different operating scenarios, such as normal and critical conditions, providing insights into the effects of criteria such as costs, power portability, carbon emissions, and energy quality for investment planning.

This study was prepared firstly by the writer mentioned and is derived from the 'Master's Thesis' conducted in the Electrical Engineering Master's program at Istanbul Technical University. ORCID ID: 0009-0007-6295-8192."

**Keywords:** Industrial networks, Microgrid, Vehicle-to-grid, Carbon footprint, Energy efficiency.

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\*\*This study is being conducted within the scope of the Istanbul Technical University Electrical Engineering Thesis Master's Program. It is being supervised by Professor Dr. Mustafa BAĞRIYANIK.

## **Bir Propaganda Aracı Olarak Ermeni Manzum Hatıraları**

**Cem Karakılıç**

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Bölümü**

Hatırat kişinin başından geçen olayları ve bu olaylarla ilgili duygu ve düşüncelerini doğrudan ya da kurmaca unsurlarla zenginleştirerek anlattıkları eserlerin ortak adıdır. Hatıratlar siyasi, sosyal, edebi, kültürel ve düşünce tarihi gibi pek çok konuda bilgi sunan önemli kaynaklardır. Batı edebiyatında 16. yüzyılda özel bir tür halinde ilk örnekleri görülen hatırat bizde genellikle, tarih, seyahat, tezkire, menakıp gibi daha yaygın türde yazılmış eserler içinde bulunmaktadır.

Hatıratlar 1970'lerde maduniyet çalışmaları bağlamında önem kazanmış, bir çok bilim insanı aşağıdan tarih anlayışıyla tarihin dışına itilmiş, sıradan, marjinal veya ezilen insanların deneyimlerine odaklanarak hatıralardan yararlanmayı “audi alterem partem” yani karşı tarafı da dinle kaidesinin gereği olarak benimsemişlerdir. Fakat hatırat türü eserler tarih ve edebiyatın kesişme noktasında bulunduğu için her iki alandan da beslenmiştir. Yani hatıralar bir yanılla tarihi gerçeklere diğer yanılla da kurmacanın olanaklarına dayanmıştır.

Hatıralar yazıya dökülürken temel ayrıntılar muhafaza edilmekle birlikte çevresel ayrıntılar kaybolur, metin tedricen kısalır, sıra dışı veya çarpıcı unsurlar ya ortadan kalkar ya da kasten değiştirilir. Başka bir ifadeyle insan belleği hatıraları anımsarken onu bugünkü haliyle inşa etmeye çalışır. Yani hatırlanan şey hiçbir zaman sabit, camid, kalıcı, la-yetebeddel ve asla geçmişte yaşananların izdüşümü değildir. Freud'un da belirttiği gibi aslında hatıralar gerçeğin duygusal etkileşimlerle yoğrulmuş bir yansıması yani yorumlarından ibarettir.

Hatıralar bu yönüyle sosyal psikolojinin en önemli manipülasyon araçlarından biridir. Hele bunlar trajik tarih öyküleri ise o zaman kötü niyetli kişilerin elinde adeta bir propaganda silahına dönüşebilir. Bu tür anlatılar hem iç grubun üyelerini birleştirmek hem de onları diğer gruplardan ayırmak için de kullanılabilir. Ortak bir belleğe sahip olmak; grup üyelerine ortak bir referans noktası sağlamak ve moral konsensüsü inşa etmek suretiyle grup içinde dayanışma duygusunu artırmak bakımından önemlidir.

İşte Türk-Ermeni ilişkilerine odaklanan hatıraların çoğu geçmiş deneyimleri yeniden yaşatmak yerine onu belli bir uzlaşıya zorlayarak çarpıtmak peşindedir. Burada önemli olan şey yaşanan gerçeklik değil, deneyimi anlatıda eriterek operasyonel kodlara dönüştürmek, geçmişini gerçekliğinden kopararak güncel entelektüel, duygusal, etik ya da politik ihtiyaçlara göre yeniden üretmektir.

Bu çalışma Mennuş İmanyanyan ve Sarkis Serdaryan'ın 1915 Olayları ile Antep, Kilis ve Maraş'ın işgali hakkında ürettikleri propaganda içerikli sözde tanıklıkları incelemektedir. Sarkis Serdaryan 1927'de Kudüs'te Mihnet Destanı (Միհնէտը Տէրաբանի) adı altında Maraş olaylarını, Mennuş İmanyanyan ise 1931 yılında Halep'te yayınladığı Antep Destanı (Այնթապ Տէրաբանարը) ve Varakalar Destanı adlı hatıratlarında (Վարազապար Տէրաբանը) Antep'in

işgalini ve sonrasını anlatmıştır. Her biri gerçeklikten uzak, sübjektif ve operasyonel mesajlar içeren bu hatıratlar manzum olarak destan formunda yayınlanmıştır. Çalışmamızda metin analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri, Propaganda, Ermenice Hatıratlar, Mennuş İmanyanyan, Sarkis Serdaryan.

## **Armenian Verse Memoirs as a Propaganda Tool**

### **Abstract**

Memoirs are the common name of works in which a person tells about the events he experienced and his feelings and thoughts about these events, either directly or by enriching them with fictional elements. Memoirs are important sources that provide information on many subjects such as political, social, literary, cultural and intellectual history. Memoirs, the first examples of which were seen as a special genre in Western literature in the 16th century, are generally found among more common types of works such as history, travel, tezkire, and menakıb.

Memoirs gained importance in the context of subaltern studies in the 1970s, and many scholars focused on the experiences of ordinary, marginal or oppressed people who were pushed out of history by the understanding of history from below. Historians have adopted the use of memories as a requirement of the principle of “audi alterem partem”, that is, listen to the other side. However, since memoirs are at the intersection of history and literature, they have been nourished by both fields. In other words, memories are based on historical facts on the one hand, and on the possibilities of fiction on the other.

While memories are transcribed, basic details are preserved, but peripheral details are lost, the text is gradually shortened, and unusual or striking elements are either eliminated or deliberately changed. In other words, while remembering memories, human memory tries to construct it as it is today. In other words, what is remembered is never fixed, unchanging and never a projection of what happened in the past. As Freud stated, memories are actually a reflection, or interpretation, of reality mixed with emotional interactions.

In this respect, memories are one of the most important manipulation tools of social psychology. Especially if these are tragic historical stories, then they can turn into a propaganda weapon in the hands of malicious people. Such narratives can also be used to both unite members of the ingroup and distinguish them from other groups. Having a common memory; It is important to increase the sense of solidarity within the group by providing a common reference point to group members and building moral consensus.

Most of the memoirs focusing on Turkish-Armenian relations seek to distort past experiences by forcing them into a certain compromise, rather than reliving them. What is important here is not the lived reality, but transforming the experience into operational codes by dissolving it in the narrative, separating the past from its reality and reproducing it according to current intellectual, emotional, ethical or political needs.

This study examines the propaganda-based so-called testimonies produced by Mennuş İmanyán and Sarkis Serdaryán about the 1915 Events and the occupation of Antep, Kilis and Maraş.

While Sarkis Serdaryán wrote about the Maraş events under the name of Mihnet Epic (Միհնէթ Տէսթանի) in Jerusalem in 1927, Mennuş İmanyán described the occupation of Antep and its aftermath in his books titled Antep Epic (Այնթապ Տէսթանլարը) and Varakalar Epic (Վարազալար Տէսթանը), published in Aleppo in 1931. These memories, each containing subjective and operational messages far from reality, were published as poetic epics. Text analysis method was used in our study.

**Keywords:** Turkish-Armenian Relations, Propaganda, Armenian Memoirs, Mennuş İmanyán, Sarkis Serdaryán.

## **Devlet İktidarının Sınırları: Antigone**

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### **Özet**

Antik Atina'da demokratik şehir devletinin kurulmasıyla birlikte ortaya çıkan tragedyaalar, siyaset felsefesinin en temel kavramlarını ve tartışmalarını konu edinen en eski edebi metinlerdir. Tragedyaalar ve demokrasi karşılıklı olarak birbirlerini entelektüel, kültürel ve siyasal olarak beslemiş ve meşrulaştırmışlardır. Atina'da yılın en önemli kamusal yurttaş etkinliği olan tragedya tiyatrosu gösterileri, okuma yazma bile bilmeyen ancak günlük siyasal pratiklere katılan yurttaşlar için eğitici bir işleve sahip olmuştur.

Sofokles'in M.Ö. 441 yılında yazdığı Antigone, siyaset felsefesinin temel tartışmalarını ele alan, üzerine sayısız yorum yapılan en önemli ve ünlü edebi metin olmuştur. Antigone hukukun, siyasetin ve siyasi yükümlülüğün doğasına ilişkin temel soruları gündeme getiren siyasal bir oyundur.

Kral Oedipus'un ölümünden sonra iki kardeş, içlerinden birinin her yıl sırayla kral olacağı konusunda bir anlaşma yapmışlardır. Ancak Antigone'nin iki kardeşinden biri olan Etheclus, krallık süresini tamamladıktan sonra anlaşmayı bozar ve kardeşini sürgüne gönderir. Bunun üzerine Polyneikes, tahtı ele geçirmek için Argos kralının kızıyla evlenir ve kralın ordularıyla ülkesini işgal eder. Ancak savaşta her iki kardeş de ölünce taht dayıları Creon'a geçer. Yeni kral Etheclus'in ülkesini savunan bir vatansever olarak törenlerle gömülmesini emrederken Polyneikes'in de ülkesine ihanet eden bir vatan haini olarak cesedinin gömülmeden kurtların kuşların yemesi için açıkta bırakılmasını emretmiştir. Bu emrini ihlal edenleri de ölümle cezalandırılacağını duyurur. Creon'a göre kendisine ve kanunlarına itaat etmek mutlak ve tartışılmazdır.

Kardeşinin cesedini gömerken yakalanıp idam cezasına çarptırılan Antigone'ye göre yeryüzünde hiçbir pozitif yasanın ya da bir kralın emrinin yerini tutamayacak çok daha üstün yasalar vardır. Dünyadaki yasalar bu daha yüksek ilahi kanunlarla ve ebedi gelenekle uyumlu olmalıdır. Antigone'nin savunduğu gömülme hakkı insanlık tarihinin en eski doğal haklarından biridir.

Antigone, ölümüyle Creon'un gayri meşru yönetimini mahkum etmenin yanı sıra sınırlarını aşan ve tiranlaşan siyasal iktidarlara karşı yurttaşların direnme haklarının sözcüsü olarak demokratik bir misyon da üstlenmiştir. Ayrıca Antigone ölümüyle, yasallık-meşruluk, pozitif yasa (yazılı hukuk)-doğal yasa (yazılı olmayan evrensel doğa hukuku), bireyin özgürlüğü-devlet iktidarının sınırları, devlet iktidarına karşı insanın hakları ve siyasal yükümlülük ve sivil itaatsizlik gibi bir çok tartışma ve sorgulamalara yol açan mesajları da vermiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Antigone, Tragedya, Sivil İtaatsizlik, Demokrasi, Devlet.

## **Limit of State Power: Antigone**

### **Abstract**

The tragedies that emerged with the establishment of the democratic city-state in Ancient Athens were the oldest literary texts dealing with the most basic concepts and discussions of political philosophy. Tragedies and democracy have nourished and legitimized each other intellectually, culturally and politically. Tragedy theater performances, the most important public civic event of the year in Athens, had an educating function for citizens who were illiterate but took part in political practices.

Sophocles' B.C. Antigone, which he wrote in 441, has become the most important and famous literary text dealing with the fundamental debates of political philosophy, which has been commented on countlessly. Antigone is a political play that raises fundamental questions about the nature of law, politics, and political obligation.

After the death of King Oedipus, the two brothers make an agreement that one of them will take turns to become king every year. However, Eteoclos, one of Antigone's two brothers, breaks the agreement after completing his own term as king and exiles his brother. Thereupon, Polynices marries the daughter of the king of Argos to seize the throne and invades his country with the king's armies. However, when both brothers die in the war, the throne passes to their uncle Creon. King ascends to the throne, he issues an order ordering that Eteoclos be buried with ceremonies as a patriot who defended his country, but Polynices is declared a traitor and his body is left out in the open to be eaten by wolves without being buried in the ground. Those who violate this order will be punished with death. For Creon, obedience to himself and his laws is absolute and unquestionable.

According to Antigone, who was caught burying her brother's body and sentenced to death, there is a higher law that cannot replace any positive law on earth or the command of a king. The laws on earth must be in harmony with these higher divine laws and eternal tradition. The right to burial defended by Antigone is one of the oldest natural rights in human history. In addition to condemning Creon's illegitimate rule with her death, Antigone also undertook a democratic mission by becoming the spokesperson for citizens' rights to resist against political powers that went beyond their borders and became tyrannical. She also led to discussion and questioning by many messages such as legality-legitimacy, positive law (written law)-law (unwritten universal natural law), human freedom and the limits of state power, human rights against state power. political obligation and civil disobedience.

**Keywords:** Antigone, Tragedia, Civil Disobedience, Democracy, State



## **Türkiye’de İlmî İçtimai Ekolü ve Muhalefet Anlayışı: Prens Sabahattin Örneği**

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**Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi**

### **Özet**

Bu çalışma Osmanlı Devleti’nde siyasal buhranın pek yüksek olduğu vakitte yaşamış olan, Padişahın sarayında büyümüş olmasına karşın, siyasal hayatının önemli bir kısmı monarşiye karşı verilen mücadele ile geçmiş, Türk Sosyolojisinin ve Türk Siyasal Hayatının epey renkli ve memleket için özgün fikirlere haiz şahsiyeti Sabahattin Bey’i, nam-ı diğer Prens Sabahattin’i ve onun ortaya koymuş olduğu muhalefet anlayışını konu alacaktır. Sultanzadelik dışında kendisinin adının duyulması, Avrupa’da geçirdiği yıllarda öğrendiği ilmi içtimai, günümüz Türkçesi ile “Sosyoloji” bilimi ile tanışıklığı sayesinde olmuştur. Fransız Sosyolog Frederic Le Play’ın ortaya attığı, akabinde öğrencisi Edmund Demolins ’in geliştirdiği kamucu ve ferdi toplum tasnifleri, Sabahattin Bey’in siyaseti ve toplumu yorumlarken istifade ettiği kaynakların başında gelmektedir. Anglosakson toplumları, özellikle de İngilizleri detaylıca inceleyen Sabahattin Bey, bireylerin hür ve müstakil hareket etme iradesinin yanı sıra, devletin de toplum üzerindeki etkisinin sınırlı olmasından epey etkilenmiştir. Ve milletlerin gelişmesinin yegane şartının ferdi toplum yaratmak olduğu, üniter, toplumcu ve kamucu şekilde özetlenen doğu toplumlarının batıdan geri kalmalarının sebebinin bu sınıfın oluşmamasından ileri geldiğini söylemiştir. O yaşadığı topraklarda da tıpkı batı memleketlerinde olduğu gibi, devletin gücünün sınırlandığı, bireyin ekonomik ve toplumsal olarak şahsi hareket etme gayretine sahip olmasını istemiştir. Ayrıca idari yapı olarak da, devletin tek bir merkezden idaresi yerine özerk bölgelerin olduğu adem-i merkezîyet ilkesi ile kurulacak yeni yönetim anlayışının benimsenmesini söylemiştir. Fakat tarihi süreç böyle olmamış, II. Abdülhamid sonrası kurulan yeni devlet merkezi idareyi esas alan, toplumcu bir hüviyet kazanmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Prens Sabahattin, Osmanlı Devleti, Sosyoloji, Ferdi Toplum, Kamucu Toplum

## **The Sociology School of Thought and Opposition in Turkey: The Example of Prince Sabahattin**

### **Abstract**

This study will focus on Sabahattin Bey, also known as Prince Sabahattin, a very colourful figure of Turkish Sociology and Turkish Political Life, who lived at a time when the political crisis in the Ottoman Empire was very high, who grew up in the Sultan's palace, but a significant

part of his political life was spent with the struggle against the monarchy, and who had very unique ideas for the country, and the opposition understanding he put forward. Apart from being a Sultanzade, he became well known thanks to his acquaintance with the science of "Sociology", in today's Turkish, which he learnt during his years in Europe. The classifications of public and individualistic society put forward by the French sociologist Frederic Le Play and subsequently developed by his student Edmund Demolins are among the sources that Sabahattin Bey utilised while interpreting politics and society. Having analysed Anglo-Saxon societies, especially the British, in detail, Sabahattin Bey was impressed by the individuals will to act freely and independently, as well as the limited influence of the state on society and he said that the only condition for the development of nations was to create an individual society, and that the reason why eastern societies, summarised as unitary, communitarian and publicist, lagged behind the West was because this class was not formed. In the lands where he lived, just like in the western countries, he wanted the power of the state to be limited and the individual to have the endeavour to act individually in economic and social terms. In addition, in terms of administrative structure, he said that instead of a single central administration of the state, a new understanding of administration to be established with the principle of decentralisation with autonomous regions should be adopted. However, this was not the case in the historical process, and the new state established after Abdülhamid II gained a socialist identity based on centralised administration.

**Keywords:** Prince Sabahattin, Ottoman State, Sociology, Individual Society, Publicist Society

**New York Times'a göre ABD'nin Türkiye'ye Yardımları ve Kamuoyu  
(1947-1952)**

**Öğr. Gör. Ramazan Şen**

**Kırıkkale Üniversitesi Yabancı Diller Yüksekokulu**

**Özet**

II. Dünya Savaşı'nın sonucunda ortaya çıkan iki kutuplu dünya düzeninde Türkiye'nin tarafı bir süre belirsiz kalmıştır. Bu süre zarfında ABD, Türkiye ve Yunanistan üzerindeki Sovyet tehdidini görmüş ve dönemin ABD Başkanı Harry Truman tarafından 1947 yılında ilan edilen doktrin ile Sovyetlere karşı bu iki ülkeyi Amerikan eksenine çekebilmek için Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a askeri yardım gönderilmesi kararlaştırılmıştır. New York Times gazetesinin ilgili tarihlerdeki nüshaları incelendiğinde Amerikan kamuoyunun çoğunluğunun Truman Doktrinini desteklediği görülmüştür fakat azınlık pozisyonunda da olsa söz konusu yardım planını desteklemeyen unsurların gerekçeleri, ABD'nin gerçek hedefini ortaya koyması bakımından, önemlidir. Bu konuda muhalefetin en güçlü argümanlarının; BM'nin by-pass ediliyor olması, Türkiye'nin II. Dünya Savaşı esnasındaki durumu ve Türkiye ile Yunanistan'ın birer demokrasi olmadığı iddiaları olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Amerikan kamuoyunda söz konusu yardım programlarının desteklenmiş olmasının sebebinin ise hükümet tarafından topluma aşılardan Sovyet nefreti ve korkusu ile Hükümet yetkilileri tarafından bu yardımların sadece insani boyutunun vurgulanmış olması şeklinde özetlenebilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** ABD Yardımı, Türkiye, The New York Times, Kamuoyu, II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası

**According to the New York Times, US aid to Turkey and Public Opinion  
(1947-1952)**

**Abstract**

In the bipolar world order that emerged as a result of World War II, Turkey's side remained uncertain for a while. During this period, the USA saw the Soviet threat on Turkey and Greece, and with the doctrine declared by the then US President Harry Truman in 1947, it was decided to send military aid to Turkey and Greece in order to attract these two countries to the American axis against the Soviets. When the copies of the New York Times newspaper on the relevant dates were examined, it was seen that the majority of the American public supported the Truman Doctrine, but the reasons of those who did not support the aid plan, even if they were in a minority position, are important in terms of revealing the real goal of the USA. It has been determined that the strongest arguments of the opposition on this issue are; The fact that the

UN is being bypassed, The position of Türkiye during World War II and claims that Turkey and Greece are not democracies. The reason why these aid programs were supported by the American public can be summarized as the hatred and fear of the Soviets instilled in the society by the government and the fact that only the humanitarian dimension of this aid was emphasized by the government officials.

**Keywords:** U.S. Aid, Turkey, The New York Times, Public Opinion, Post-World War II

**17095 Numaralı Temettuat Defterine Göre Ankara Kalecik Kazası  
Mahmutlar Köyünün Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durumu (H.1260-61/M.1844-45)**

**Hakan Doğan**

**Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Kırıkkale Üniversitesi, İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Fakültesi, Tarih  
Bölümü**

**Özet**

Tanzimat'ın ilanından sonra Osmanlı Devleti'nde birtakım malî reform ve düzenlemeler yapılmış ve bu dönemde herkesin kazancı ölçüsünde vergi ödemesi prensibine bağlı olarak yeni bir vergi uygulaması başlatılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda, Tanzimat'ın uygulanacağı eyaletlerde, H. 1256/ M. 1840 – H. 1260 / 1844 yılları arasında Müslim-gayrimüslim herkesin sahip olduğu her çeşit malını, gelirini ve ödemekle mükellef olduğu vergiyi tespit etmek için temettuat sayımları yapılmaya başlanmıştır. Sayımların kayıt altına alındığı defterlere ise “temettuat defterleri” ismi verilmiştir. Bu defterlerde, sayımı yapılan yerlerde yaşayan hane sahiplerinin isimleri, lakapları, meslekleri, ziraî üretimde buldukları kaç dönüm arazilerinin olduğu ve bu arazilerden ne kadarını kullanıp kullanmadıkları, yetiştirdikleri tarım ürünleri ile bu ürünler üzerinden ödedikleri vergi miktarları, sahip oldukları büyükbaş-küçükbaş hayvanlarının sayıları ve yıllık toplam gelirlerine dair çok sayıda bilgi bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, H. 1260-1261/M. 1844-1845 yılında Ankara'nın Kalecik kazası, Çandır nahiyesine bağlı Mahmutlar köyünün sosyal ve ekonomik durumu, T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi'nde kayıtlı bulunan 17095 numaralı temettuat defterindeki kayıtlar ışığında incelenmiştir. Defterdeki kayıtlara göre, toplam 32 hanesi bulunan Mahmutlar köyünde yaşayan insanların temel geçim kaynağını tarım ve hayvancılık oluşturmaktadır. İncelediğimiz dönemde köyde yetiştirilen başlıca tarım ürünleri buğday, arpa, yulaf, burçak ve pamuk olup hayvancılık alanında da büyükbaş, küçükbaş ve yük-binek hayvanlarının yetiştirildiği görülmektedir. Meslek gruplarına bakıldığında ise köydeki hane sahiplerinin büyük bir kısmının ziraatçı (çiftçi) olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bunların dışında köyde geçimlerini hizmetkârlık ve çobanlıkla sağlayanlar da bulunmaktadır. Çalışmaya kaynaklık teşkil eden temettuat defterindeki kayıtlardan, köyün demografik yapısı, köydeki hane sahiplerinin kullandıkları isim ve lakaplar ile köydeki hane reislerinin tarım, hayvancılık ve meslek gelirlerine de ulaşmak mümkün olmuştur. Ayrıca köydeki ekili-dikili arazilerin miktarı ile hane sahiplerinin ödemekle yükümlü oldukları vergi çeşitleri de ortaya konularak bu kişilerin vergi yükleri de tespit olunmuştur. Çalışmanın sonunda ise köydeki hane sahiplerinin yıllık toplam gelirleri detaylı bir şekilde verilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Ankara, Kalecik Kazası, Çandır Nahiyesi, Mahmutlar Köyü, Temettuat Defteri.

**According to the Dividend Book Numbered 17095 Ankara Kalecik District Mahmudlar Village Social and Economic Stuation (H. 1260-61/ M. 1844-45)**

**Abstract**

After the proclamation of Tanzimat, a number of financial reforms and regulations were made in the Ottoman Empire and a new tax practice was initiated in this period based on the principle that everyone should pay taxes according to their earnings. Accordingly, between H. 1256/ M. 1840-H. 1260/ M. 1844, dividend censuses were started to be conducted in the provinces where Tanzimat was to be implemented in order to determine all kinds of property owned by Muslims and non-Muslims, their on come and the tax they were obliged to pay. The boks in which the censuses were recorded were called “temettuat books”. In these boks, there is a lot of information about the names, nicknames, occupations, agricultural production, how many acres of land they own and how much of this land they use or do not use, the agricultural products they grow and the amount of taxes they pay on these products, the number of cattle and sheep they own, and their total annual income. In this study, the social and economic situation of Mahmudlar village of Çandır sub-district of Kalecik accident of Ankara in the year H. 1260-1261/ M. 1844-1845 is analysed in the light of the records in the temettuat book numbered 17095, which is registered in the Ottoman Archive of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives. According to the records in the book, the main source of livelihood of the people living in Mahmudlar village, which has a total of 32 hauseholds, is agriculture and animal husbandry. The main agricultural products grown in the village during the period we examined were wheat, barley, oats, vetch and cotton, and it is seen that cattle, sheep and goats and beasts of burden were raised in the field of animal husbandry. In terms of occupational groups, it is understood that most of the households in the village, and the agricultural, livestock and occupational income of the heads of households in the village were also obtained from the records in the temettuat book, which constitutes the sorce of the study. In addition, the amount of cultivated and cultivated lands in the village and the types of taxes that households were obliged to pay were also revealed and the tax burden of these people was also determined. At the and of the study, the total annual income of the households and in the viilage is given in detail.

**Keywords:** Ankara, Kalecik District, Çandır Sub-district, Mahmudlar Village, Temettuat Book.

## **İnternet Bağımlılığı: Üniversite Öğrencilerine Üzerine Bir Araştırma**

**Özgür Selvi**

**Doç. Dr. Kırıkkale Üniversitesi**

**Seda Sönmez**

**Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Kırıkkale Üniversitesi**

### **Özet**

İnternet günümüzde insanların iletişim kurmalarını ve bu iletişimi kesintisiz süreçlerle devam ettirebilmelerini sağlayan bir teknoloji olarak çok önemli bir görevi yerine getirmektedir. Ancak aşırı internet kullanımına bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan internet bağımlılığına özellikle genç nüfusta sıklıkla karşılaşılmaktadır. Bu çalışmada da üniversite öğrencilerinin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerini belirlemek ve öğrencilerin bireysel özelliklerinin internet bağımlılığı düzeyi üzerinde etkili olup olmadığını ortaya koymak amaçlanmıştır. Elde edilen sonuçlara göre internet bağımlılığının araştırmada yer alan öğrencilerce genel olarak düşük düzeyde ( $35,82 \pm 13,89$ ) algılandığı görülmüştür. Ayrıca öğrencilerin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin bireysel ve demografik özelliklere göre farklılık gösterip göstermediği incelendiğinde yalnızca sınıf ve kalınan yer değişkenine göre bir farklılık bulunamamış olup ( $p > 0,05$ ); cinsiyet, yaş, alan, algılanan gelir düzeyi, anne-baba tutumu, algılanan akademik başarı düzeyi ve günlük internet kullanımı değişkenlerine göre öğrencilerin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin farklılaştığı ( $p < 0,05$ ) görülmüştür. Çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçların üniversite öğrencilerinin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin iyileştirilmesine ilişkin faaliyetlere katkıda bulunacağı düşünülmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Bağımlılık, İnternet, Üniversite Öğrencileri

## **Internet Addiction: A Study on College Students**

### **Abstract**

Internet fulfills a very important task as a technology that enables people to communicate and continue this communication with uninterrupted processes. However, internet addiction arising due to excessive internet use is frequently encountered especially among the young population. In this study, it was aimed to determine the internet addiction levels of college students and to reveal whether the individual characteristics of the students have an effect on their internet addiction level. According to the results, it was observed that internet addiction was generally perceived at a low level ( $35.82 \pm 13.89$ ) by the students taking part in the study. In addition, when examining whether the internet addiction levels of students differ according to their individual characteristics, no difference was found only according to the class and place of

residence variable ( $p > 0.05$ ); it was observed that the internet addiction levels of the students differed according to the variables of gender, age, area, perceived income level, parental attitude, perceived academic achievement and daily internet use ( $p < 0.05$ ). It is thought that the results obtained from the study will contribute to the activities to improve the internet addiction levels of college students.

**Keywords:** Addiction, Internet, College Students



## **Halkevleri Spor Şubelerinin Faaliyetleri (1932-1951)**

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**Türkçe ve Sosyal Bilimler Bölümü Sosyal Bilgiler Eğitimi Anabilim Dalı**

### **Özet**

Halkevleri, Türk ocaklarının kendisini feshetmesinden sonra dönemin ihtiyaçlarına göre oluşturulmuş bir yaygın eğitim kurumudur. Halkevleri 19 Şubat 1932 tarihinde açılmaya başlamış ve kısa süre içinde yurt genelinde yaygınlaştırılmıştır. Dokuz şube halinde çalışmalarını sürdüren Halkevlerinin halk eğitimi bakımından da etkili olan çalışma alanlarından biri de Spor şubeleridir. Halkevleri kurulduğu andan itibaren çeşitli resmî kurumlar ve özellikle örgün eğitim kurumlarıyla işbirliği halinde çalışmalarını sürdürmüştür. Halkevleri spor şubeleri de Türkiye İdman Cemiyeti İttifakı, Türk Spor Kurumu ve Beden Terbiyesi Genel Müdürlüğü gibi spor teşkilatlarıyla eş güdümlü çalışmalar gerçekleştirmiştir. CHP Genel Sekreterliği VI. Büro tarafından yönlendirilen ve denetlenen Halkevi spor şubeleri ayrıca kurulduğu yörenin sportif faaliyetlerine de öncülük etmiştir. Belki de o güne değin adı duyulmamış spor dallarının kendi yöresinde tanınmasını, sportif faaliyetlerin gerçekleşmesini sağlamışlardır.

Halkevleri Spor şubeleri, atıcılık, güreş, futbol, voleybol, basketbol, eskrim, cirit, kayak, yüzme, jimnastik, boks gibi spor dalları yanında halat çekme ve kır koşusu etkinliklerini de gerçekleştirmiştir. Halkevleri spor faaliyetleri için gerekli olan spor malzemeleri ise CHP Genel Sekreterliğince karşılanmış; ayrılan yıllık ödenek dâhilinde ya malzemeler temin edilerek ilgili yöreye ulaştırılmış ya da ücretleri makbuz karşılığında halkevlerine gönderilerek sporun gelişimine katkı sağlanmıştır.

Ata sporu güreş, binicilik ve cirit hemen her yörede yaygın olmakla birlikte Halkevleri, yörenin kültürü ve iklim koşullarını da dikkate alarak belirli spor alanlarında yoğunlaşmışlardır. Denize kıyısı olan yörelerde su sporları öne çıkarken kış şartları çetin geçen ve uzun süre karın kalkmadığı yörelerde kayak sporu cazip hale getirilmiştir.

Halkevleri 1932-1951 yılları arasında spor şubeleri marifetiyle Türk sporunun gelişmesine katkı yapmış, önemli sporcuların yetişmesine imkân sağlamıştır.

Çalışma, Devlet Arşivleri Cumhuriyet Arşivindeki belgeler taranarak hazırlanmış, diğer kaynaklarla bütünleştirilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Halkevi, Spor, Ayak Topu (Futbol), Kır Koşusu

## **Activities of Community Centers Sports Branches (1932-1951)**

### **Abstract**

Community Centers are widespread educational institutions that were established to meet the needs of the period following the self-dissolution of Turkish Hearth branches. They commenced operations on February 19, 1932, and quickly expanded nationwide, operating in nine branches.

One of the areas where Community Centers have been influential in public education is through their sports branches. Since their establishment, Community Centers have collaborated with various official bodies, particularly formal educational institutions.

The sports branches of Community Centers have also coordinated activities with sports organizations such as the Turkey Sports Society Alliance, Turkish Sports Institution, and the Directorate General of Physical Education. Directed and supervised by the CHP General Secretariat VI. Bureau, the sports branches of Community Centers have played a pioneering role in the sporting activities of the regions where they were established. They have facilitated the recognition of perhaps previously unknown sports in their regions and the realization of sporting events.

The sports branches of Community Centers have engaged in various sports such as shooting, wrestling, football, volleyball, basketball, fencing, javelin, skiing, swimming, gymnastics, and boxing. In addition to traditional sports, they have also organized activities like tug of war and cross-country running. The necessary sports equipment for Community Centers' sports activities was provided by the CHP General Secretariat. The allocated annual budget was used to procure equipment, which was then delivered to the relevant regions, contributing to the development of sports.

While wrestling, equestrian sports, and javelin were widespread in almost every region as traditional sports, Community Centers focused on specific sports areas, taking into account the local culture and climate conditions. Water sports took precedence in coastal areas, while skiing became attractive in regions with harsh winter conditions and prolonged snowfall.

Between 1932 and 1951, Community Centers, through their sports branches, made significant contributions to the development of Turkish sports and provided opportunities for the emergence of notable athletes. This information is derived from documents in the Republic Archives of the State Archives and integrated with other sources.

**Keywords:** Community Center, Sports, Football, Cross Country Running

**Malatya Halkevi ve Sportif Faaliyetleri (1932-1951)**

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**Özet**

Malatya Halkevi, 19 Şubat 1932 yılında kurulan Halkevlerinden biri olup yörenin eğitim, kültür ve sanat alanında gelişmesine katkı sağlayan önemli bir misyona sahiptir. Dokuz şube halinde teşkilatını tamamlayan Malatya Halkevi'nin önemli bir çalışma alanı da sportif faaliyetlere katkı sağlamak olmuştur. Malatya Halkevi Spor Şubesi, yörenin spor potansiyelini tespit ederek spor kulüplerin kurulmasına öncülük ettiği gibi, ata sporu güreş başta olmak üzere atıcılık, boks, futbol, cirit gibi spor dallarının gelişmesine de imkân sağlamıştır. CHP Genel Sekreterliğince sağlanan maddî imkânlarla ilgili spor dalına ait fiziki mekânların oluşturulması, spor malzemelerinin temini ve sportif faaliyetlerin organize edilmesi gibi önemli görevleri yerine getirmiştir. Malatya Halkevi yakın çevresine örnek olacak şekilde kendi bünyesinde Fırıtspor adıyla bir futbol takımı da oluşturmuş, hem Malatya'da hem de çevre illerin futbol takımlarıyla deplasmanlı turnuvalar düzenlemiştir.

Malatya Halkevinin önemli bir misyonu da millî gün ve bayramlarda etkin bir rol üstlenmesidir. Bu kapsamda Cumhuriyet Bayramı, 23 Nisan Egemenlik ve Çocuk Bayramı ve 30 Ağustos Zafer Bayramının yanı sıra konumuzla yakından ilgili olan 19 Mayıs Gençlik ve Spor Bayramı etkinliklerini de düzenlemiştir; Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde Türk millî kimliğinin inşasına katkı sağlamıştır. Malatya Halkevi, 1932-1951 yılları arasında spor şubesinin faaliyetleri kapsamında yörenin değişik dallarıyla sporun gelişmesine katkı yapmış, önemli sporcuların yetişmesine imkân sağlamıştır.

Nitel bir çalışma olan araştırmamızda doküman analizi tekniği kullanılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Malatya Halkevi, Spor, Ata Spor, Cirit, Futbol

**Sportive Activities of Malatya Community Center (1932-1951)**

**Abstract**

Malatya Community Center, established on February 19, 1932, is one of the Community Centers contributing significantly to the region's development in education, culture, and the

arts. Completing its organization in nine branches, Malatya Community Center has played a crucial role in supporting sports activities. The Sports Branch of Malatya Community Center has facilitated the identification of the region's sports potential, leading to the establishment of sports clubs and contributing to the development of sports disciplines such as traditional wrestling, marksmanship, boxing, football, and javelin. It has fulfilled essential tasks, including creating physical spaces for sports disciplines, providing sports equipment, and organizing sporting activities, with financial support from the CHP General Secretariat. As an example for its surrounding areas, Malatya Community Center has even formed a football team named "Fıratspor" within its structure and organized tournaments with both local and neighboring city football teams.

Another significant mission of Malatya Community Center is its active role in national days and holidays. In this context, it has organized events for Republic Day, April 23 National Sovereignty and Children's Day, August 30 Victory Day, and particularly relevant to our topic, May 19 Youth and Sports Day. The center has contributed to the construction of the Turkish national identity in the early years of the Republic. Between 1932 and 1951, through the activities of its sports branch, Malatya Community Center has made contributions to the development of sports in various fields in the region and provided opportunities for the emergence of noteworthy athletes.

Our research, a qualitative study, utilized the document analysis technique.

**Keywords:** Malatya Community Center, Sports, Ancestral Sport, Javelin, Football

## **II. Dünya Savaşı Yıllarında Türkiye’de Ekonomik Alanda Alınan Olağanüstü Ekonomik Tedbirler Üzerine Örnekler**

**Doç. Dr. Mehmet Korkud Aydın**  
**Kırıkkale Üniversitesi AİT Bölümü**

### **Özet**

II. Dünya Savaşı döneminde Türkiye, savaş dışı kalmayı seçmiş ve savaşan taraflar arasında bir denge politikası izlemiştir. Türkiye savaş sonuna kadar bu politikayı başarılı bir şekilde sürdürmüş olsa da, pek çok alanda II. Dünya Savaşı’nın olumsuz etkilerini hissetmiştir. Türkiye bu süreçte savaşın sebep olduğu ekonomik olumsuzluklar ile başa çıkmak ve savaşa hazırlıklı olmak amacıyla çeşitli önlemler almıştır. Bu önlemler arasında Milli Korunma Kanunu, Varlık Vergisi ve Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi gibi hukuki düzenlemeler önemli bir yer tutmaktaydı. Söz konusu tedbirlerin etkileri ekonomik hayat ile sınırlı kalmamış ve ciddi toplumsal sorunların yaşanmasına da sebep olmuştur.

1940 yılında çıkarılan Milli Korunma Kanunu, Türkiye’nin savaşa girmesi durumunda Milli Mücadele yıllarındaki gibi bir yokluk durumu ile karşılaşmasını önlemek için hazırlanmıştır. Ayrıca karaborsacılığın da engellenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Ancak uygulamada ortaya çıkan aksaklıklar toplumsal hayatta CHP Hükümetine karşı ciddi bir tepkiyi de beraberinde getirmiştir.

Savaş döneminde CHP Hükümeti tarafından alınan bir diğer olağanüstü tedbir ise Varlık Vergisi idi. Varlık Vergisi’nin amacı, piyasadaki paranın azaltılması, Türk lirasının değerinin korunması ve karaborsacılığın ortadan kaldırılması idi. Söz konusu dönemde Türkiye’de servet sahibi kimselerin önemli bir kısmının gayrimüslim olmaları, Vergi’nin uygulama safhasında ciddi tartışmalara sebep olmuştur.

Bu dönemde yürürlüğe giren bir başka olağanüstü vergi uygulaması ise Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi idi. Aşar Vergisi’ne benzetilen bu vergi de benzer şekilde olası bir savaş durumuna karşı tedbir amaçlı çıkarılmıştır. Ancak verginin uygulanması sırasında ciddi aksaklıklar yaşanmış ve çiftçiler mağdur olmuşlardır.

Çalışmamızın amacı, II. Dünya Savaşı esnasında yapılan düzenlemeler etrafında dönemin siyasi, ekonomik ve toplumsal yapısını tahlil etmektir. Çalışmamız hazırlanırken resmi belgeler ile birlikte dönemin basın- yayıncılık kaynakları incelenmiştir. Ayrıca konu ile ilgili telif ve tetkik eserlerden de istifade edilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** II. Dünya Savaşı, Ekonomi, Milli Korunma Kanunu, Varlık Vergisi, Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi.

## **Examples of Extraordinary Economic Measures Taken in the Economic Field in Turkey During World War II**

### **Abstract**

During the period of World War II, Turkey chose to remain neutral and adopted a policy of balance among the warring factions. Although Turkey successfully maintained this policy until the end of the war, it experienced the negative impacts of World War II in various fields. In response to the economic adversities caused by the war and with the aim of being prepared for potential conflicts, Turkey implemented various measures. The effects of these measures extended beyond economic life, contributing to the emergence of serious societal issues.

Enacted in 1940, the National Defense Law aimed to prevent Turkey from facing scarcity similar to the National Struggle years in the event of entering the war. It also aimed to prevent black market activities. However, implementation challenges led to a significant societal backlash against the CHP Government.

Another extraordinary measure taken by the CHP Government during the war was the Wealth Tax. The purpose of the Wealth Tax was to reduce circulating money in the market, preserve the value of the Turkish lira, and eliminate black market activities. The fact that a significant portion of wealthy individuals in Turkey during that period were non-Muslims caused serious debates during the implementation phase of the tax.

Another extraordinary tax implemented during this period was the Tax on Soil Products, resembling the Asar Tax. This tax, enacted as a precautionary measure in the event of a potential war, faced serious challenges during its implementation, causing distress for farmers.

The aim of our study is to analyze the political, economic, and societal structure of the period around the regulations made during World War II. In preparing our study, official documents were examined alongside the period's press and publication sources. Additionally, copyrighted and research works on the subject were consulted.

**Keywords:** World War II, Economy, National Defense Law, Wealth Tax, Tax on Soil Products.

## **Malatya Halkevi ve Milli Bayramlar**

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### **Özet**

Halkevleri, Cumhuriyetin ilanından sonra vatandaşlara yeni düzen çalışmalarını tanıtmak ve cumhuriyet değerlerini öğretmek maksadı ile kurulmuş yapılarıdır. Türk Ocaklarının kapatılmasının ardından Atatürk'ün emri ile kurulan Halkevleri, 1932 senesinde 14 ilde faaliyete geçmişti. Halkevleri çok kısa bir zaman zarfında teşkilatlanmasını tamamlayarak ülke geneline de yayılmışlardı. Tek parti dönemin siyasi şartları gereği CHP'ye bağlı bulunan Halkevleri, birer kültür ocağı olarak faaliyet göstermişlerdi. Özellikle yetişkinlerin eğitiminde önemli bir rol oynayan bu kurumlar, spor, müzik, edebiyat, tiyatro, resim ve heykeltiricilik gibi alanların yanı sıra okuma yazma ve meslek kurslarını da tüm köy ve kasabalara kadar ulaştırmışlardı.

Toplum hayatında milli bir bilincin yükselmesi ve bir birlikteliğin sağlanması açısından da Halkevleri önemli bir görev üstlenmişlerdi. Halkevleri bu görevlerini özellikle milli gün ve bayram kutlanmalarında yerine getirmişlerdi. Nitekim Cumhuriyetin ilanından sonra hayatımıza giren ve günümüzde de kutlanmaya devam eden milli bayramların yanı sıra, Lozan Günü ve Hatay'ın Anavatanı Kavuşuş Bayramı gibi bugün unutulmuş olan milli gün kutlamalarında en önemli vazifeler Halkevlerine verilmişti.

Çalışmamızın amacı, milli gün ve bayramların kutlanması hususunda Halkevlerinin üstlenmiş olduğu vazifeyi incelemek ve eldeki verilerin ışığında söz konusu dönemde toplumsal hayatta yer alan birlik ve beraberlik duygusunu incelemektir. Çalışmamız hazırlanırken, Devlet Arşivi belgelerinden, dönemin basın ve yayın kaynaklarından ve dönem ile ilgili hazırlanmış basılı materyallerden istifade edilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Halkevleri, Milli Bayramlar, Kutlama, Cumhuriyet, Toplum

## **Malatya Community Center and National Celebration Days**

### **Abstract**

Community Centers, established with the aim of introducing citizens to the new order efforts and teaching the values of the republic after the declaration of the Republic, were structures established by Atatürk's order following the closure of Turkish Hearth. In 1932, they became operational in 14 provinces, completing their organization across the country in a very short period. Operating as cultural centers affiliated with the Republican People's Party (CHP) during the single-party era, the Community Centers played a significant role, particularly in adult

education, by extending activities such as sports, music, literature, theater, painting, sculpture, literacy, and vocational courses to all villages and towns.

Community Centers also assumed an important role in elevating national consciousness and fostering unity in societal life. They particularly fulfilled this role during the celebrations of national days and holidays that entered our lives after the proclamation of the Republic and continue to be celebrated today. Notably, the Community Centers were assigned crucial duties in national day celebrations that are now forgotten, such as Lozan Day and the Celebration of Hatay's Reunion with the Motherland.

The aim of our study is to examine the role undertaken by the Community Centers in celebrating national days and holidays and, in light of the available data, to explore the sense of unity and togetherness prevalent in societal life during that period. In preparing our study, we drew upon documents from the State Archives, as well as press and publication sources from the era, and printed materials related to the period.

**Keywords:** Community Centers, National Holidays, Celebration, Republic, Society



## **Meşrutiyet'ten Milli Mücadele'ye Sinop Ermenileri: Olaylar, Sorunlar**

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**Kırıkkale Üniversitesi AİİT Bölümü**

### **Özet**

Türklerin idaresinde müreffeh bir hayat süren Ermeniler, 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına kadar devlete bağlılıklarını sürdürdüler. Ancak, 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Rus ve İngiliz kışkırtmalarına alet olarak Türklere karşı isyana kalkıştılar. İsyanlar üzerine devlet, isyancılar hakkında soruşturmalar açıp takibata başlayınca, isyancıların elebaşları ülke dışına kaçtılar. Çetecilerden Rusya'ya kaçanlar arasında Sinop'ta yaşayan Ermeniler de vardı. II. Meşrutiyet'in ilanından sonra ülkede ılımlı bir hava oluşunca, yurtdışına kaçan ermeni çetecilerinin bir bölümü ülkeye geri dönmeye başladılar. Dönüşlerin başladığı günlerde Papaz Vartenez, 11 Ekim 1910 tarihinde Sadarete Sinop'a geri dönen Ermenilere, yerleşmeleri için yer tahsisi ve evlerin yapılması konusunda destek verilmesi talebinde bulundu. Ancak, bu sırada bir gurup Ermeni'nin Gireğöz ormanında izinsiz bir şekilde meskenler yaparak yerleşme girişimleri, çeşitli sorunların çıkmasına sebep oldu. Bu sorunlar, Sinop Mutasarrıflığını ve Kastamonu vilayet idaresini uzun bir süre uğraştırdı. I. Dünya Savaşı'nın başında Doğu Anadolu'da Ermeni isyanları başlayınca, hükümet tehcir yasasını çıkarıp uygulamaya koydu. Tehcir uygulamasının ilk etabında, Sinop Sancağındaki Ermeniler tehcire tabi tutulmadı. Ancak, ilerleyen zamanda artan asayiş sorunları ve İtilaf Devletleri ile ilişkileri nedeniyle, Sinop Ermenileri de tehcire tabi tutuldu. Savaşın kaybedilip mütarekenin imzalanmasından sonra, tehcirle gönderilen Ermeniler, Sinop'ta eski yerlerine geri dönmeye başladılar. Geri dönenler, Ermeni Papazı Dacat Efendi'nin himayesinde eski mallarını zorla geri almaya, Türklere karşı hakaretamiz tavırlar sergilemeye başladılar. Güya, Sinop'taki Ermenileri teftişe gelen Dacat Efendi, Mutasarrıflık makamında huzuruna getirttiği, Müslüman olup Sinop'ta kalmış olan Ermeni asıllı kadınların başlarındaki çarşafı yırtmaya ve onları tekrar Hıristiyan olmaya zorlamıştır. Sinop'ta Milli hareketin güçlenmesi, Batı Cephesi'nde kazanılan zaferler, Papaz Dacat Efendi'nin ve çeteci Ermenilerin tavırlarını değiştirerek, milli hareketi destekler tavırlar içerisine girmelerine sebep olmuştur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Sinop, Ermeniler, Meşrutiyet, I. Dünya Savaşı, Milli Mücadele

## **Sinop Armenians from the Constitutional Monarchy to the National Struggle: Events, Problems**

### **Abstract**

Armenians, who lived a prosperous life under the rule of the Turks, continued their loyalty to the state until the second half of the 19th century. However, in the second half of the 19th

century, they attempted to rebel against the Turks as a tool of Russian and British provocations. After the riots, the state launched investigations against the rioters and started prosecution, and the leaders of the riots fled the country. Among those who fled to Russia from the gangs were Armenians living in Sinop. II. When a moderate atmosphere emerged in the country after the declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy, some of the Armenian gangsters who had fled abroad began to return to the country. In the days when the returns began, Pastor Vartenez requested the Grand Vizier to allocate land for the Armenians who returned to Sinop to settle and support them in the construction of houses, on October 11, 1910. However, in the meantime, a group of Armenians' attempts to settle by building houses in the Gireğöz forest without permission caused various problems. These problems troubled the Sinop Governorship and Kastamonu provincial administration for a long time. When Armenian revolts began in Eastern Anatolia at the beginning of World War I, the government passed and implemented the deportation law. In the first stage of the deportation, the Armenians in the Sinop Sanjak were not subjected to deportation. However, due to increasing public order problems and relations with the Allied Powers, Sinop Armenians were also deported. After the war was lost and the armistice was signed, the deported Armenians began to return to their old places in Sinop. Those who returned began to take back their old property by force, under the protection of the Armenian Priest Dacat Efendi, and to display insulting attitudes towards the Turks. Supposedly, Dacat Efendi, who came to inspect the Armenians in Sinop, brought before him in the Governor's office, and forced them to tear the sheets off the heads of the women of Armenian origin who had converted to Islam and stayed in Sinop, and forced them to become Christians again. The strengthening of the National movement in Sinop and the victories gained on the Western Front caused Pastor Dacat Efendi and the Armenian gang members to change their attitudes and support the national movement.

**Keywords:** Sinop, Armenians, Constitutionalism, World War I, National Struggle.

## **İzmir'in Yunanlılar Tarafından İşgaline Sinop ve Kazalarının Tepkisi**

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### **Özet**

Türk vatanının kadim merkezlerinden biri olan İzmir, 15 Mayıs 1919 tarihinde Mondros Mütarekesi'nin ruh ve maksadına aykırı bir biçimde işgal edilmiştir. Bu işgalin bilhassa Yunanlılara yaptırılması ve onların da İzmir'e ayak basar basmaz, katliamlara ve halkın mukaddesatına karşı tecavüzlere girişmeleri, Türk Milletini derinden etkilemiştir. Yapılan zulüm ve haksızlıklara karşı Türk kamuoyu ilk tepkisini, kapalı salon toplantıları yaparak ve resmi makamlara telgraflar çekerek göstermiştir. 9. Ordu Müfettişi Mustafa Kemal Paşa, 28 Mayıs 1919 tarihinde Havza'dan bütün askeri ve mülki makamlara yayımladığı tamimle işgalleri protesto mitingleri yapılmasını, İtilaf Devletleri mümessilleri ve İstanbul Hükümeti'ne protesto telgrafları çekilmesini istemiştir. Bu çağrıdan sonra Türk Milleti, İzmir'in işgaline karşı en etkili tepkisini, yurdun çeşitli yerlerinde düzenlenen mitinglerle göstermiştir. Vatanın diğer bölgelerinde olduğu gibi, Sinop ve ilçelerinde de İzmir'in işgalini protesto mitingleri düzenlenmiş, İstanbul Hükümeti'ne ve İtilaf Devletleri mümessillerine protesto telgrafları çekilmiştir. 16 Mayıs 1919 tarihinde Sinop Belediye Reisi Rasim Bey'in önderliğinde, İstanbul Hükümeti'ne İzmir'in Yunanlılar tarafından işgali sırasında gösterdiği tavır nedeniyle protesto telgrafi çekilmiştir. Ayrıca, İzmir'in işgalini protesto etmek amacıyla, 3 Haziran 1919 tarihinde Seyit Bilal Türbesi önünde büyük bir miting düzenlenmiştir. Mitingin sonunda, alınan kararlar İstanbul Hükümeti'ne ve İstanbul'daki İtilaf Devletleri temsilcilerine gönderilmiştir. İzmir'in işgali Sinop'un Ayancık Kazası halkı tarafından da protesto edilmiştir. Ayancıklılar, İzmir'in işgalini 26 Mayıs 1919'da, Ayancık Müftüsü İsmail Hakkı ve Belediye Başkanı Mehmet Haşim önderliğinde "İstanbul Yüksek Sadarete" başlığı altında, İstanbul Hükümeti'ne gönderdikleri bir telgraf ile protesto etmişlerdir. 27 Mayıs 1919 tarihinde ise Boyabat Kazası Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası Şube Reisi Osman Nuri imzasıyla, İstanbul Hükümeti ve İtilaf Devletleri temsilcilerine İzmir'in Yunanlılar tarafından işgalini protesto eden bir telgraf çekilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İzmir'in İşgali, Yunanlılar, Sinop ve Kazaları, Protesto

## **The Reaction of Sinop And its Accidents to the Occupation of Izmir by the Greeks**

### **Abstract**

Izmir, one of the ancient centers of the Turkish homeland, was occupied on May 15, 1919, contrary to the spirit and purpose of the Armistice of Mudros. The fact that this occupation was made especially by the Greeks and that they started massacres and rapes against the sacred values of the people as soon as they set foot in Izmir, deeply affected the Turkish Nation. The Turkish public showed its first reaction to the oppression and injustice by holding closed-door meetings and sending telegrams to the official authorities. 9. Army Inspector Mustafa Kemal Pasha, in the circular he issued to all military and civil authorities in Havza on 28 May 1919, asked for protest rallies to be held against the occupations and for protest telegrams to be sent to the representatives of the Allied Powers and the Istanbul Government. After this call, the Turkish Nation showed its most effective reaction against the occupation of Izmir with rallies held in various parts of the country. As in other parts of the country, protest rallies were held in Sinop and its districts against the occupation of Izmir, and protest telegrams were sent to the Istanbul Government and representatives of the Allied Powers. On May 16, 1919, under the leadership of Sinop Mayor Rasim Bey, a protest telegram was sent to the Istanbul Government for its attitude during the occupation of Izmir by the Greeks. Additionally, a large rally was held in front of Seyit Bilal Tomb on June 3, 1919, to protest the occupation of Izmir. At the end of the rally, the decisions taken were sent to the Istanbul Government and the representatives of the Allied Powers in Istanbul. The occupation of Izmir was also protested by the people of Ayancık District of Sinop. The people of Ayancık protested the occupation of Izmir on 26 May 1919, under the leadership of Ayancık Mufti İsmail Hakkı and Mayor Mehmet Haşim, with a telegram they sent to the Istanbul Government under the title "Istanbul Supreme Grand Vizier". On May 27, 1919, a telegram was sent to the representatives of the Istanbul Government and the Allied Powers, protesting the occupation of Izmir by the Greeks, with the signature of Osman Nuri, Head of the Boyabat District Freedom and Entente Party Branch.

**Keywords:** Occupation of Izmir, Greeks, Sinop and its Districts, Protest.

**Quality of Employment in India: Dualities and determinants**

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**Abstract**

In India, despite a liberalised economic environment and a consistently high rate of economic growth, the quality of employment is poor. In this context, this paper analyses India's employment quality across rural-urban locations and social groups using three crucial dimensions as proposed by the International Labour Organisation: 'employment opportunity', 'social security' and 'social dialogue'. The paper uses the nationally representative unit/household-level data published by the Government of India for the period when India was growing very fast. The main findings of the paper are: although the household level factors, such as age and education of the household's members, male-female ratio, socio-religious identities, household head's education etc, are significant in explaining the variations in the quality of employment at the micro-level, intriguingly, at the macro-level (sub-national state-level), aspects such as the overall volume of economic activities, the volume of organised sector activity, overall quality of governance, the flexibility of business regulatory environment and labour-law compliance either have no significant role or have significant negative influences on employment quality.

**Keywords:** quality of employment, employment opportunity, social security, social dialogue, dualism, India

**Urbanisation and Labour Marginalisation: An analysis of slum employment in post-reform India<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract**

While the ‘Urban Workforce Marginalisation’ portrays an ongoing process of general economic exclusion in the urban areas of developing countries like India, slums are visible sites of exclusion in cities providing refuge to a precarious labour force. In this context, this paper seeks to understand the changing pattern of employment opportunity and marginal employment of the slum residents relative to that of urban India. It also reviews the supply and demand factors influencing such a change in relative employment opportunity and relative marginality. With this objective, the study finds that both relative employment opportunity and relative marginal employment of the slum residents are increasing over time, signifying the growing incidence of marginal employment for the slum residents. Moreover, higher marginal employment elasticity of the slum residents due to one unit rise in output denotes increasing marginal work by the workers of slums. The study also finds that the increase in the share of the slum population to urban, as a supply-side factor, has influenced both relative employability and marginality of the slum dwellers more effectively than the demand-side factors. On the demand side, the study finds that economic growth and manufacturing sector growth influence the marginal employment of slum residents. The study has been done using employment and population data of the slum and urban residents from census 2001 and 2011. The data relating to economic growth and other exogenous variables are collected from RBI, NSSO, etc. The study uses tables, charts, correlation and regression results for data analysis.

**Keywords:** quality of employment, employment opportunity, social security, social dialogue, dualism, India

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<sup>1</sup>This specific version of the paper is solely prepared for publication in the conference proceedings which is based on the presented form of the paper at the International congress of Society and Science, Ankara Turkey.

**Modern Informal Sector – Agricultural Sector – Traditional Informal Sector Relationships in India: A Theoretical Analysis & Some Policy Propositions**

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**Abstract**

In the past two decades, the Indian economy has experienced both “jobless growth” and “job-loss growth”. Despite a sizeable expansion of the formal/modern production base, there was a markedly low degree of formal employment generation, but informal employment increased substantially. These jobless people settle themselves in the informal sector. Therefore, contrary to the old forecasts, informality has not diminished over time. The persistence in the size of the informal sector and the lack of significant structural change that reallocates workers and firms from the low-productive informal sector to the high-productive formal sector constrain the growth of aggregate productivity in the economy. We have divided the informal sector into modern and traditional. The modern segment of the informal sector is relatively more dynamic and capable of supporting the formal sector through various demand- and supply-side linkages. This interaction improves the condition of the modern informal sector. However, the condition of the traditional segment of the informal sector has become more severe because modern informal sector expansion means the extraction of more resources from the traditional informal sector. Therefore, the informal sector has been a matter of policy concern at the global level. There is no macro-level policy available for the informal sector, like in the formal sector and agriculture. Therefore, the greatest challenge for India's policymakers today is to balance the growth momentum with inclusionary policies. The strategy of inclusive growth also does not provide any appropriate policy prescription for the informal sector. In this paper, we have constructed a basic theoretical model following a structuralist approach that shows the relation between the modern and traditional informal sectors in the presence of generic resource constraints in the agriculture sector. We have analysed the outcomes of various demand- and supply-side policies that relate to the modern informal sector. Our theoretical studies show that with the expansion of the modern informal sector, the traditional informal sector either expands or contracts. We have also examined the resultant outcomes of various policies empirically. Based on our study, we can say that to achieve inclusive growth in the economy, balanced growth and balanced policy frameworks involving all the major sectors of the economy are essential.

**Keywords:** Micro-firms, Cluster, Collaboration

**Clustered production: instances of collaboration**

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**Abstract**

The condition of the micro firms, engaging millions of people, has become vulnerable in India, and Covid has made it even worse with significant income loss and rising poverty. In that context, researchers argue for a long-term revival of these firms through cluster-based institutions. Against this backdrop, we explore the probable impacts of clustering on micro firms, focusing on their structure, market-specific aspects, inter-firm relationships, and dynamics. Using ethnographic methods, we conduct in-depth case studies focusing on the above-mentioned aspects, considering two natural clusters of handloom weaving in the Indian state of West Bengal (Tantipara of Birbhum district and Dhaniakhali of Hooghly district). Exploring these two clusters, we find significant inter-firm collaboration through a variety of tangible and intangible resource sharing in the production process. These clustered firms collectively bargain with the government and private players in markets and share bulk orders and market-related information. These collective actions reduce transaction costs. The complex production processes cannot be performed in an isolated place because they require active social collaboration. History, common cultural background, trust, and mutual reciprocity generate this social collaboration, and these elements are important for their(firm) survival in the cluster.

JEL codes- L10, R11, O43

Keywords- Micro-firms, Cluster, Collaboration



**Firm Structure, Market Structure, and Firm Dynamics:  
A critique of the mainstream microeconomic analysis<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract**

This paper analyses the firm structure, market structure, and firm dynamics of the micro-units engaged in two types of activities (forging-fabrication and handloom-weaving) and operating across the Indian state of West Bengal. Our primary data-based analysis shows that, barring a few, these micro-firms are intrinsically non-capitalistic, having collaboration among the intra-firm actors. In the market, there are intermediaries, especially in handloom. However, contrary to popular belief, firms enjoy a collaborative relationship with market agents. For firm growth, limited surplus seems to be a constraint. Despite this, willingness for expansion is perceptible. However, for many firms, the motive behind this expansion is survival rather than accumulation.

**JEL Codes:** D22, L22, O12, O17, P00

**Keywords:** micro-firms, competition, collaboration, accumulation, survival, India

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**Performance of MGNREGP: A Regional Analysis Across Districts Of West Bengal**

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**Abstract**

MGNREGP of India is a pro-poor programme that works in a demand-driven mechanism for generating employment and developing rural infrastructure. The main focus of the study is to analyse the regional disparity in the performance of the MGNREG programme (dimensions spread, depth and rationing ratio) and also to find the change in MGNREGP performance due to the growth in the agriculture and rural non-farm sector. The districts of West Bengal are classified into three categories, namely hilly, Chota Nagpur plateau and alluvial plains regions, for analysis over time 2011-16. The analysis was done with the help of different GIS maps, tables, diagrams, and pooled regressions at the district level. Firstly, MGNREGP performance is mixed in alluvial fertile regions and is very good in plateau regions. Secondly, there is a positive impact of RNFS employment on MGNREGP outcomes. This finding might be because the work done in RNFS is temporary or marginal, and even returns from RNFS are less. Agricultural productivity has a negative significant impact on MGNREGP outcomes. People prefer more agricultural employment as agriculture wages are higher than MGNREGP wages, and MGNREGP involves onerous types of work. Another vital variable seems to be programme expenditure, as there is a positive and significant association with MGNREGP outcomes.

**Keywords:** *Regional analysis, Agriculture, RNFS, Employment, Performance, Performances of MGNREGP over Time.*

**Structure and Dynamics of MSME Cluster: Case studies of Handloom Clusters in West Bengal**

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**Abstract**

The large workforce engaged in Indian petty commodity production has become a cause for concern due to its not-so-praiseworthy living standard, which further worsened during COVID-19. In that context, researchers argue for a long-term revival of these firms through cluster-based institutions. Exploring the vast literature, we find that clustered firms enjoy a relative advantage over dispersed firms due to a variety of sharing (of tangible and intangible resources and markets, too), synergic effects, and scale economies. However, in the context of India and specifically West Bengal, literature in this regard is scanty. Against this backdrop, we intend to study the probable impacts of clustering on MSME firms, focusing on their structure, market-specific aspects, inter-firm relationships, and dynamics. Using ethnographic methods, we conduct in-depth case studies focusing on the above-mentioned aspects, considering two natural clusters of handloom weaving in West Bengal (Tantipara and Dhaniakhali). Exploring these two clusters, we find significant inter-firm collaboration through a variety of sharing, such as knowledge, space, labour, tools/machines, and raw materials. In the market, the presence of inter-firm collaborative relations in terms of sharing of information and bulk orders plays an important role. These clustered firms also collectively bargain with the government and private players in the input and output markets. Given their social relations and common cultural background, mutual faith, trust, and reciprocity have a crucial role in embracing inter-firm relations. By having such collectiveness in firm and market-specific interactions, the micro-firms can transcend their size constraint and thereby affect their growth potential.

**Keywords:** Micro-firms, Cluster, Collaboration

**Determinants of Crop Diversification: Analysis of Two Villages in West Bengal**

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**Abstract**

The agrarian sector is suffering from an acute crisis; livelihoods are threatened, and on the other hand, the agricultural development crisis is caused by neglect of agriculture as a result of ineffective program design and resource allocation. As a solution, researchers are emphasizing on evergreen revolution, i.e., large-scale diversification. However, the pattern of diversification varies across the state and from district to district. This paper is an attempt to find out the probable determinants of crop diversification. This study is based on a primary data, taking two villages from two districts of West Bengal. The study analyses the structure of diversification patterns, the crop's input cost, and the income structure of farming households. We also examine how input-output market structure, subsidies scheme and rural literacy, contribute to crop diversification. The main findings indicate that the operational land holding size, education of the household head, the number of family members engaged in agriculture, and the market structure positively influences the crop diversification. We see that a lack of a well-developed market system forces people to choose monocrop patterns. In addition, the government-led procurement system also encourages people to go for monocrop patterns. The study shows that the tendency towards diversification is more prevalent among small and marginal farmers, which contradicts the World Development Report, 2008. However, agricultural income alone is insufficient to sustain marginal farmers; income diversification is also required in addition to agricultural income.

**Keywords:** Micro-firms, Cluster, Collaboration

## **Balmiki Mothers Navigating Daughters' Education in The Disadvantaged Neighbourhood**

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### **Abstract**

Studies have highlighted how the neighbourhood influences and shapes the overall development of its dwellers, particularly children and youth. One of the focuses of these studies has been mapping the negative impact and risks children and youth go through while living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. However, living in a disadvantaged neighbourhood does not independently determine the impact. Rather, it can also be mediated or reconstructed by other social contexts, particularly by family and parenting practices. The literature has shown the anxieties and helplessness of the parents, particularly mothers living in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods, but pays limited attention to the processes of negotiation mothers do within the family and in the neighbourhood. The paper presents findings from a study that involves interviews with 30 mothers from the Balmiki community living in diverse, underprivileged and stigmatised neighbourhoods in Delhi. Mothers who desire their children, particularly daughters, to live with dignity and get into modern occupations through competitive education feel further marginalised and helpless while living in the urban slums. The paper explores mothers' anxieties, apprehensions and fears while raising young daughters in disadvantaged and stigmatised neighbourhoods in Delhi, what kinds of challenges they face and how they address their daughters' safety and ensure access, sustenance and completion of school education.

**Keywords:** Mothering strategies, Disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods, Agency, Education, Safety

### **Introduction**

Scholarly work on neighbourhood effects and child growth indicates a direct and close relationship between neighbourhood disadvantages and children's educational outcomes. Parents often face multiple challenges while raising their children in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods, such as poor schooling facilities, high dropout rate, exposure to violence, poor community development, absence or lack of parental engagement and inability to construct a stimulating educational environment. A large number of studies have, thus, focused on how being in a disadvantaged neighbourhood impacts the youth, family functioning and different aspects of parenting.

The relationship between parental practices and the disadvantaged neighbourhood has been conceptualised as static. The researchers have analysed the neighbourhood factors objectively that influence and determine parenting perceptions and practices. The neighbourhood factors

include socio-economic status, caste and religious composition, conflict, crime rate, etc. In contrast, little attention has been paid to individual and family responses and the discourse among parental responses, particularly of the mothers resulting from living in a disadvantaged neighbourhood. Some research studies have focused on parenting, especially mothering practices. The perception of neighbourhood risks and the definition of safety for young kids differ from mother to mother and may also be shaped by their family circumstances. The existing studies on mothering practices are limited and hardly recognise that mothers' perceptions in the Balmiki communities may vary, and so does their agency. Studies on Balmiki youth growing up in disadvantaged neighbourhoods show their vulnerability. They have also concluded that they are more likely to succumb to the same fate. Thus, in order to acquire a better understanding of how daughters' educational development process is shaped in the disadvantaged urban neighbourhood and the role played by the mothers in the Balmiki community, there is a need to study the interplay between the neighbourhood and mothering practices in a qualitative study.

However, living in a disadvantaged neighbourhood does not independently determine the impact on youngsters. Rather, it can also be mediated or reconstructed by other social contexts, particularly family and parenting practices. This paper addresses this issue, analyses how living in a disadvantaged urban neighbourhood in Delhi is related to and mediated by mothers where young girls grow up, specifically in the family context, and raises research questions. In this situation, this paper seeks to explore to what degree mothers living in a low-income urban neighbourhood regard their space as a problematic place to raise their young daughters and how the space constitutes a constant risk for their children, especially for daughters. Second, to what extent are negative influences of the disadvantaged urban neighbourhood mediated through mothers' conscious strategies?

These questions have been explored by using interviews with the mothers in Balmiki communities living in a low-income, disadvantaged urban neighbourhood in Delhi about their perceptions and experiences of their daughters being at risk.

### **Parenting in the deprived/disadvantaged neighbourhood**

Space is not neutral but rather shaped and produced by the lives, relations and actions (Thompson, Russell, & Simmons, 2014). The neutral space becomes social when others use it, giving meanings and boundaries (Visser et al., 2015). Here, people can assign and interpret meanings in multiple ways. Theories on neighbourhoods have conceptualised neighbourhoods as physical and social spaces. It is not merely defined by the infrastructure, quality of houses and local services but also by the socio-economic status of the dwellers, kinship ties with family and friends, social interactions, historical significance, political connections, everyday rituals, sense of identification, religion, ethnicity, etc. (Galster, 2001; Lupton, 2003). Social scientists have conducted several studies to understand the 'neighbourhood effect' while exploring various issues such as health, education, youth behaviour, parenting, etc., on its residence. These studies have mainly focused on disadvantaged or segregated neighbourhoods populated by racial and ethnic minorities and poor immigrants and exploring how living in an environment with blatant poverty and violence shape and influence their life experiences and opportunities.

In India, most of the population living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods or slum areas are from Scheduled castes, Scheduled Tribes and OBC. The space may look homogenous from the outside but diverse based on various parameters such as socio-economic location, religion, language, etc.,. (Devi and Ray, 2021). Scholars working in Dalit residential locations, particularly in urban neighbourhoods, document how their dwelling is 'stigmatised' and 'ghettoised' by the people from privileged caste and class locations. Untouchable residential areas are often found in the peripheral, waste and non-usable places in rural areas. To escape from caste and gender-based violence and aspiration to live a life with dignity, Dalits started migrating to cities. However, like rural areas, in urban areas, including metropolitan cities, their spatial locations are also segregated on caste and religious lines. Qualitative studies have suggested that caste plays a significant role in shaping the spatial organisation of Indian cities. Mostly, they live (and are also allowed to live) in spaces considered uninhabited by the touchable, such as marshland or funeral grounds (Chalwadi, 2023). The government also constructed specific localities for workers who indulged in highly polluting occupations such as sanitation work. Even if such locations are placed at the heart of the city and are close to all the necessary and happening places, they are also stigmatised (Ganguly, 2018). Likewise, Solanki (2016) studied how municipal and government policies have spatially and socially segregated conservancy workers' residential locations. Most of these spaces lack, at times, basic amenities and suffer from various kinds of social and cultural disadvantages resulting from caste-struck spatial segregation and stigmatisation.

Some scholars have addressed the negative influence of disadvantaged neighbourhoods on youth in Balmiki communities. Growing up in a dilapidated and stigmatised neighbourhood has common negative experiences reported across genders, such as experiencing untouchability, poor schooling facilities, high dropout rate, exposure to violence, poor community development and absence or lack of parental engagement or inability to construct stimulating educational environment. However, the impact varies drastically for girls and boys, mainly if they are in their adolescent phase. As children grow older and enter adolescence, they require more freedom and autonomy (citation). It has been reported that among historically disadvantaged communities such as Balmikis, young boys become vulnerable and indulge in various activities that ultimately deviate them from education. Parents feel helpless and ineffective in controlling and monitoring their lives. Parents have pointed out that living in such an environment and unsupervised childhood and youth, boys become vulnerable to drugs and alcohol consumption, gambling, physical fights and petty crimes. They also become disoriented and indifferent towards their education and careers. On the other hand, controlling and monitoring young girls becomes easier for parents. They are being controlled and guarded to save the family's honour. This negatively impacts their education and often results in their dropout from the formal education system (Ganguli, 2018; Walters, 2019).

Parenting is challenging in such an environment. However, they can play an important role in tempering the impact of the neighbourhood on their young children by adopting and developing various strategies. One of the common ways for parents in this community to address the issue is to adopt protective strategies such as monitoring, cautionary warnings, danger management, chaperonage, and keeping children at home. Second, while aspiring for a just and equal society

and a better future for their children, parents are forced to adopt various strategies to protect their school-going children from stigma and discrimination. Parents working in stigmatised occupations cautiously hide or maintain secrecy over their work with their children. They consciously remained an invisible parent in the public space to save their children from getting humiliated by their fellow peers. Parents rationalised to their children the importance of their work for survival (Walter, 2019). Parents also consciously exercised the notion of ‘they’ and ‘us’ in front of their children to differentiate themselves from the further-graded residents living in the same dwelling. The symbolic logic of distinction (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 245) creates a feeling of separation and social distancing, ultimately making it important to protect their children from the effects of their surroundings. The perceived strategy also helps young minds to tackle the stigmatised label such as ‘Jamadar Colony’ by replacing it with the pade likhe (educated) (Ganguly, 2018). However, such strategies, Walter (2019) believes, are restrictive, temporary, and ineffective in the long run. It builds tension among the parents that despite their best efforts, hard work and aspirations, the stigma of caste is blocking the way of their children in the educational institution and outside. Parents feel helpless despite consciously exercising parental agency (Walter, 2019).

#### **Why study mothering practices in the Balmiki community?**

Studies on the Balmiki communities have significantly focused on studying the issues of occupational hazards, stigma, continued practice of untouchability and a vicious cycle of being trapped in manual scavenging and violence. Given the intense focus on occupation and stigma, there is less focus on mothering and mother-daughter relationships. Few studies have explored parenting in the Balmiki community. However, parenting has been studied neutrally, with both father and mother and not specifically about mothering practices. Mothering is a complex and challenging experience in India and is deeply shaped by caste, class, region, religion, etc., where cultural pressure and discourse on intensive mothering continue to influence mothering decisions and practices. Mothering practices may get amplified for mothers from vulnerable caste locations such as the Balmiki. Mothers who desire their children, particularly daughters, to live dignified lives and get into modern occupations through education feel further marginalised and helpless living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. However, it is important to pay attention to mothers’ risk management skills, documenting their struggle, active reflection and risk-taking behaviour to create a safety shield for their children, particularly for young daughters.

However, mothers in these studies have been shown to feel helpless in influencing and controlling their children’s lives from the negative influence of their surrounding environment. Various constraints by which the Balmiki community suffers create difficulty in protecting and making the environment safe for young children’s educational growth. That happens in the case of privileged caste society where intensive mothering monitors the young kids’ outside movement, social interactions and peer group influence. Disciplining the child requires constant monitoring and guidance from the parents, which is difficult and, to a great extent, non-accessible to the children of Balmikis. Caste and gender together make Dalit women’s public labour essential to maintain caste purity and the privilege of upper-caste women. They play a significant role in contributing to the livelihood of the family. However, Dalit mothers are also



traditionally revered as they play one of the core roles in shaping the home environment while regulating and activating family resources to benefit children. Her role in supporting their children's, especially daughters' education, has been underplayed and less explored by scholars. Studies on mothering and motherhood have been chiefly conducted, keeping upper-caste and middle-class women in the centre. Thus, this paper also highlights how mothers play a significant role in influencing and constructing

### **Research Methodology**

The paper presents findings from a study that involves interviews with 30 mothers from the Balmiki community living in diverse, underprivileged and stigmatised neighbourhoods in Delhi. The qualitative study uses the methodological tool of in-depth interviews of mothers from the Balmiki community whose daughters are pursuing (higher) education at any college affiliated with the University of Delhi. Balmiki community suffers from the stigma and graded inequality within marginalised groups and is more likely to be in manual scavenging. They are the second largest castes among Scheduled castes in the city after the Chamar. According to the Census of India, 2011, their population is approximately 5 Lakhs in Delhi. Despite numerically the second largest group among Scheduled Castes, lagging behind in the education. The literacy rate of Balmikis is 67.4 per cent (Census of India, 2011), the lowest among the Scheduled castes in Delhi.

The fieldwork was conducted in two phases, i.e., from May 2022 to August 2022 and from April 2023 to August 2023 in Delhi. The research participants were mothers from the Balmiki communities whose daughters studied in class 12 or enrolled to pursue higher education degrees at the time of data collection. Interviewing mothers whose daughters were pursuing studies in a specific locality in Delhi was not possible. Looking at the community's struggle regarding access to education and stigma, the researcher realised that the researcher might not get sufficient in-depth interviews from one dwelling. Therefore, it was decided to identify and interview the mothers living in different locations in Delhi. Since it's an exploratory study, me and the research staff had to visit various places in Delhi. The research participants lived predominantly in the slum (Jhuggi and Bastis) and slum rehabilitated areas (J. J. Colony) such as Karol Bagh, Mandoli, Nandnagari, Loni, Seelampur, Pratapvihar, Shadipur, Palam, Jahangir Puri, Mandir Marg, Gole Market, Dwarka Mor, Kashmere Gate, Pushta No-2 New Usmanpur Shahdara and Buradi. Most of these spaces are stigmatised as spaces of poverty and ghettos of historically marginalised communities. Some spaces were also explicitly identified as 'Harijan Basti' densely populated by Balmikis. The bastis were also identified as 'informal' and 'illegal settlements' in the city and grappled with constant fear of State-sponsored demolition.

Participants' prior permission to record the interview was sought. The interviews were audio-recorded, and the participants gave oral consent. However, in interviews where the researcher and the research associate did not get consent, the interviews were noted. In the study, the researcher followed the research ethics and maintained the anonymity of all the research participants.

This study draws on interviews with 30 mothers from the Balmiki community with various working statuses such as government, private and informal. Interviews with mothers were semi-

structured. It touched upon various emerging issues and decisions on children's education, choice of school and higher education, such as care arrangements, the relationship between career and parenting, choice between paid work and staying at home. However, the researcher also stumbled upon issues that were not planned and were mainly guided in the field. A large number of interviews have taken place in the research participants' own homes. All the interviews were conducted in Hindi. Each interview lasted from 35 minutes to one and a half hours. Some of the interviews were long. The researcher also met some of the research participants more than one time.

### **Research Findings**

#### **Mothers' perception: Space will make their daughters both vulnerable and disadvantaged**

Scholars have argued that women and young girls in disadvantaged and poor urban areas are vulnerable to gender-based sexual violence in public spaces such as streets. Some studies have been conducted on male participants from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, locations, and age groups. They primarily explored their perceptions of and engagement as a sexual harasser. In the qualitative study, Zietz & Das (2017) investigated the attitudes and perceptions of adolescent boys and young men on sexual harassment in the Mumbai slum. One hundred three young males in two Indian urban slums (predominantly migrants from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, primarily Muslim and Dalits) participated in the study. The participants revealed that Chamdi (a Mumbai slang word) referred to sexual harassment in public areas and girls having sexual relationships with boys. They admitted to being involved in a range of actions of sexual harassment such as stalking, following, standing on their regular route, whistling, catcalling, taunting, and offering money or commodities in return for sexual favours from young girls. Similar studies on male research participants also revealed identical findings where male participants confessed to sexually harassing women (Hebert et al., 2019). Guided by the qualitative research design, in the focus group discussion, boys collectively identified markets, dumping sites, public toilets, bars, restaurants, and schools as possible spaces where women and young girls are vulnerable to sexual harassment (Zietz & Das, 2017). Disagreements were found among male research participants on exercising the female agency against sexual harassment. Some boys believe girls must raise their voices against abuse; otherwise, they will be misinterpreted by the harasser. The other male research participants contradict this perception and think girls' resistance may encourage further harassment (Zietz & Das, 2017).

This study has also resonated with the studies on youth and education in Balmiki communities, where most youth succumb to the same fate. Young girls in the Balmiki community become vulnerable to sexual abuse due to living in an environment where the usage of drugs and alcohol is rampant. Mothers feel threatened by the stories and rumours of molestation and rape of young girls. They were anxious for their young daughters. This study found similarities with other studies exploring youth living in disadvantaged localities. As a result, mothers constantly evaluated and changed their strategies while ensuring their daughters' safety as they grew older. Safety matters started emerging in different spaces such as schools, homes and neighbourhoods.

Their narratives are filled with the numerous accounts of danger they flagged during the interview. Meenu's narrative sums up this issue. She said

‘Wo ilake main to ladkiyon ke balatkar ho jate the. Ladkiya bina biyah kiye bacche de deti thi. Mothers felt threatened with the news of molestation, rape threats, gang rape, abduction, young girls being pushed into prostitution, and romantically engaged with boys or married men. That is why this was central to the thinking of the mothers. Living in such a space makes them vulnerable, especially disadvantaged. Therefore, mothers’ perceptions of their surroundings influenced and shaped their mothering practices.

### **Mothering strategies to avoid/manage the risk**

Carefully organising the Everyday routine and care work- Here, I will elaborate on how mothers have consciously organised their everyday keeping in mind the safety of their daughters

Komal (52, temporary/contractual employee, a sweeper in MCD, studied class-4, daughter pursuing under-graduation in B Tech from a government college, Delhi) narrated how she managed her daughter’s schooling and balanced work and child care.

I wake up at 5 a.m....then prepare breakfast for everyone. I came to the workplace at 6 a.m. to give my attendance. After that, I ran back home to prepare my children for school. I also prepared their lunch box for school. After that I used to ran back to my workplace at 8 am to start my work. At 12 noon, again I had to rush back to pick up my children from school.

Kartar (52, government employee, UDC)

I used to wake up at 4’o clock and do all the household work. At that time, I didn’t have a fridge washing machine. I bought them afterwards. She took care of her younger sister. Sometimes, my mother used to take care of her. My husband sometimes came home around 11-12 o’clock from duty. He used to rest for one or one and a half hour. I used to give him some refreshments. Then we took the fridge first in our locality. Then I used to store all the food in the fridge. I went to work in the morning, returned, and did all the work at home. I used to wash clothes earlier, but we bought a washing machine later.

Shanti (40, 5th pass, domestic help, three daughters and one son studied from government school)

Khana dene Jaati thi Jab Majnu ke tile per rahti thi na, to jaldi -jadli kya nashta Banaya Chhote the bache na, to lunch Bhi Le Jana Hota tha to bahut kam Hote the Sari jimmevari mere upar thi na, ghar ka kapde dhona, bartan manjana. Fir lunch ke time inki chuti hoti thi na school me to tiffin Dekh Kar Aati Thi inhen School me.

Shilpa’s garbage collecting woman (Illiterate, 40, Garbade collector in a private colony, one daughter and a son studying at government school) shared her routine

Madam main 4.30 baje uthti hun. Baccho ka nashta, tiffin, ghar ka khana and safai karti hun subah subah. Bitiya aur bete ko ready kiya aur school chod kar aati hun. Unhe school chodne ke baad main siddha yahan aake kuda ikatha karti hun. Phir baccho ki chutti hone se pehle kaam khatam karke ghar jati hun, naha dhokar saph kapde pehnakar unhe lene school jati hun. Aise hota tha.

The above four narratives of working mothers gave a quick view of their routine activities when their daughters studied in schools. Mothers who were housewives had to straddle between their household work and their children's education. Mothers working as permanent, contractual or domestic workers had to balance the paid labour, household chores and childcare. Limited support from extended family members left them with pressure on themselves.

### **Labelling others (neighbours) as inferior and unsafe**

Differentiating as 'they' vs 'us'

One of the strategies was to restrict and monitor daughters' social interactions with their neighbours. Some mothers consciously felt that they must be less social with their neighbours, particularly by those mothers who indulged in paid employment and unable to keep an eye on their daughters' outside movements. They monitored their movement by controlling their peer interactions. Kartar shared,

No! My daughters never roamed around. They used to play within their home only. They went out. (On asking how she used to keep her daughters safe in her absence), they never go. I never allowed them to go. They have only played inside the home. Even if someone used to call them to play outside, I never allowed them to go.

Kartar feared that her daughters might ruin their academic hunger and grades in the company of educationally deprived girls whose parents are not concerned about their education. Since she was working and could not completely monitor her daughters' actions, she had to exercise physical violence to discipline their daughters and restrict their friendly conversations with peers Kartar felt were inappropriate. Segregation was created by labelling themselves as 'they versus us'. The differentiation is also created to position themselves as different, educated and civil compared to others. For mothers, social distancing becomes essential to keep their daughters from the influence of academically low-graded and stigmatised peers (Ganguly, 2018).

Unlike Kartar, Geeta had other concerns. There were primarily male peers residing in their neighbourhood. She consciously disconnected interactions with them. She shared,

No, I do not interact. Even if I have time, then also. My children will be spoiled if I maintain social interaction with them. Now, in my lane, there are four boys. In front of my house, only boys. All the neighbours nearby have only boys. So whatever homes we have, all have 2-2, 3-3, 4-4 boys (emphasising on the last word). None of them have daughters. That is why I do not keep any relation with them. So, I have told my daughter to be at home.

Seema gave her daughters general advice to avoid interacting with strangers. She said,

After that, I also made my daughters understand that if someone comes begging or any other stranger, you are not supposed to open the doors. You have to stay inside the home. Even now, my daughters keep the house doors latched from the inside. If someone comes to the doors, they would ask them to leave and say that mother is not at home.

Seema has also intentionally kept a dog to ensure her daughter's safety at home in her absence.

To keep daughters safe, mothers also stigmatised girls living in the neighbourhood who were vulnerable to sexual violence and educational opportunities. Meenu shared

We used to stand with our children and tell them to look at the girl and what she was doing. She is setting the customer. Only those young boys and girls feel their parents have done nothing for them. This is a theory. We are open with our children. There is not a single thing that their parents would like to hide. One should not veil such things with kids. Not to restrict. Only guide them. Making the children understand the situation. The problem is in the parents, not in the children. We tell them that they are forced to do this due to poverty or other reasons. Restrictions were never imposed. Do not do this. Do not go in the night. Do not talk to the boys or only talk to the girls. We have not said this so far. We knew that soon they would go to college. There would be boys. We never restricted them.

### **Maintaining friendly conversations**

Mothers try to maintain friendly conversations with their adolescent daughters to make them understand the need to be safe. In most of their friendly conversation, mothers made them realise to refrain from their social interaction with the community people, especially with labelled girls.

(We) talk to them like a friend (stretching the last word).

Mothers were proud as well as confident in their upbringing that their daughters would never bring a bad name for themselves, and they repeatedly expressed their views in front of their daughters. Shanti shared

No, we never felt like that because we were always right. I myself have done nothing wrong....Never thought about negative thoughts about my daughters. Because my children were good. They have studied with boys in the school. They have never done anything wrong.

Mothers kept giving moral education to their daughters to follow their instructions and abstain from interacting with boys. Shilpa's mother shared that

Yes, I always live in fear, but I trust my daughters. I tell them not to break my trust. Come straight to home after school. You will get everything, but do not talk to outsiders. Especially, violence is happening with girls nowadays.

### **Avoiding giving rooms to single/bachelor male tenants on rent**

Not only restricting peer interactions administered, but mothers also paid careful calculation to keep their private spaces free from young men. Mothers having their own houses were careful on this. When Meenu's daughters reached puberty, she decided not to rent her rooms to the bachelor or single labourer. She consciously decided to find a way to protect her daughters from falling in love or indulging in an affair. She shared,

I have kept the surroundings of my daughters safe. When we constructed our house, I started putting them on rent. Since I had daughters, we had never given room on rent to the bachelor men. Then, there was an NGO that was working on girls' education. They also used to teach them stitching. So then I had rented a room to them. Through this, my children remain in good company. So this is the way I kept my children safe from this world.

Not only did Meenu stop giving her room on rent to the bachelor men, but she simultaneously looked for an alternative, safe and educational arrangement. So that her family would earn money through rent and, at the same time, her daughters also remain protected. Connecting with the organisation in the development field was an excellent option to create a positive environment for their daughter. This shows Mother's futuristic and progressive thinking in planning daughters' education.

### **Travelling together**

In contrast to other mothers, some mothers used different strategies. They enrolled their daughters close to their workplace and decided to travel together. Shikha's workplace was far away from her home. She used to collect garbage in the north-campus Mohalla. She aspired for her daughters to get higher education and become financially independent. However, she was also aware that she might be unable to protect her young daughters from the neighbours in her absence and decided to enrol her daughters in a government school near her workplace. Her husband was a government class-IV employee, but Shikha's mother was the family's primary earner. Her husband contributed limited resources to meet the household expenditure, including their children's education. She prepared her daughters for school in the early morning, and they all started together. Although it was a long and tiring process, it was considered the best. Shanti also followed a similar strategy to make the existing disadvantage environment redundant for her young daughters. They all used to come back home together in the evening. This was becoming difficult and tiring. Shikha's mother got a Servant quarter near her workplace. She relocated her family from Burari, where they lived in a joint family, to the North campus. She shared,

I used to work at Moris Nagar. I got a servant's room. We all have started to live there. Because it was a joint family in Burari. So daily up-down was a great trouble for us. Travelling through the bus was a great difficulty. I used to work and, in between, go to bring daughters from school. So working in other's houses, preparing lunch for the kids, making them ready for the school, dropping them to school and bringing them back. All these were on my shoulders.

Shanti started working as a domestic help when her kids were too young. Her husband never financially supported her and was indifferent towards his responsibilities as a father. He was an alcoholic and often drank with his fellow men at home. One day, Shanti fought with her husband, took the children to her maternal house, and enrolled them in the nearby school. To support her children, her mother helped Shanti to find work nearby. She worked for long hours to earn her livelihood and used to come back in the late evening. Meanwhile, Shanti's mother used to look after the daughters. After one year, Shanti returned to stay with her husband. However, she consciously decided to continue her daughters' education in the same school. She did not want to leave her workplace either. At the same time, she was afraid to keep her daughters alone once they were back home. She found a way. She taught her daughters to travel by public transport, such as a bus. In the morning, before going to work, Shanti used to drop her three daughters at their school via bus and go to her workplace. After her daughters' school, she used to bring them back to her workplace. The process continued for one year. After that, her daughters learned the route and developed the confidence to travel independently. They all

used to go and come back together. Meanwhile, Shanti had also trained her daughters to keep themselves safe while travelling alone. She shared,

For a whole year, I taught them how to navigate and travel. Taught them where to get down and how to come. After dropping them to school, I used to go back to my workplace. After school, my daughters used to get down and return to my workplace. By then, they had understood how to travel. They used to play in the park while I was working. Then we used to come back together home. My children were good.

### **Conclusion**

To summarise, the in-depth interviews of the Balmiki mothers living in the disadvantaged urban neighbourhood in Delhi show that mothers flagged concerns over the risks their young daughters may encounter are overwhelmingly social in nature. They highlighted the risks associated with the people living in the neighbourhood, such as peers, anti-social people, toxic relatives and violent husbands. Mothers strongly felt that their moral values and aspirations were not shared by the people living in the neighbourhood. Thus, in most of these narratives, the primary strategy of mothers was never to leave their daughters unguarded and alone. This also included not trusting their husbands, extended family members, relatives and neighbours. Mother's nightmare was also constructed by the surroundings where they were dwelling. Mostly, they lived in impoverished locations where petty crimes and violence against women, especially young girls, were quite common. Thus, these strategies created differentiation and social segregation while living in the same surroundings. In general, Balmiki mothers living in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods focused on preventive strategies in comparison to mothers living in middle-class and affluent spaces. This was done mainly to moderate the neighbourhood effect on young minds. Apart from prevention strategies, mothers also used promotive strategies (Jarrett, 1997). They aimed and explored the spaces (other than their vicinity) relatively safer for their daughters. This includes using the informal social resources inside and outside the neighbourhood to protect their daughters from the negative neighbourhood spaces such as enrolling their daughters in the government school near their workplace.

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**Societal Development Of Azerbaijan In The Era Of President Heydar Aliyev**

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**Abstract**

President Heydar Aliyev has an enormous role in modernizing Azerbaijan. The term flourish has been used to realize Azerbaijan's prosperity in education, science and technology, and culture. The worth of all countries depends on someone who is a nationwide leader, such as Ataturk of Türkiye and Heydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan. They were national leaders, along with their international reputation, who was born for revolution, influenced their countries and became a leader through their adaptation and formal and informal adaptive leadership. Their contribution to their countries is enormous. Heydar Aliyev remarked that the country's level depends on its knowledge level. His remark indicated a modern Azerbaijan and its society filled with the development of science and technology, education, and culture. President Aliyev believed in a modern nation-state and its progressive community. It can only be possible when a country is sustainably intellectual through science, technology, education, and culture. He believed in global citizenship through which a global scenario could be made in Azerbaijan for its international acceptance, where everyone was equal, prosperous, and advanced in socio-cultural and academic perspectives. He was an educationist who went to school at age six and became interested in all subjects he took for his studies. His interest was in literature and writing poems. He was a member of a dramatical circle where he acted as a king. He was a king who had adaptive leadership, and thus, he made Azerbaijan a prosperous country for all. He had a talent for painting. His art representation of Fizuli (Mirzoyeva, 2018) won an art competition at school. This is how his art helped him to be admitted to the faculty of architecture of the Azerbaijan Industrial Institute even though he did not complete his architecture studies due to the World War in 1941. The paper aims to discuss the prosperity of the society of Azerbaijan through science and technology, education, and preserving its culture. The paper's methodology has been conducted through documentary analysis and a qualitative approach. The paper's outcome will be a knowledge sector through which the golden era of President Aliyev and Azeri society will be focused for the audience. The feature question is, what are those narratives behind the development of Azerbaijan that helped to prosper Azeri society throughout its formation to its standing in the global arena? What are the steps for establishing a free, democratized society in Azerbaijan?

**Keywords:** Education, History, Adaptive Leadership, Socio-culture, Value, Rational, Liberalization, Construction of Preschool, Educational Repairment and Development, Government Scholarship, Aid, Global Citizenship, International Education, Educational Flexibility, Early Learning, Teachers Training, Teacher Education, Value, Dignity, Nationalism, National Interest, Heydar Aliyev an Ideal President in the Global Scenario, Democratization of Azeri Society.

## **Introduction**

Heydar Aliyev<sup>1</sup> Is a renowned and prominent statesman and influential formal and informal adaptive leader who played a vital role in establishing independent Azerbaijan. He accepted the power as the country's President when Azerbaijan faced <sup>2</sup>Civil war and state collapse. Therefore, his visionary approach was to settle peace, progress, solidarity, dignity, and stability among the citizens, modernization of Azerbaijan, and social inclusivity for an understanding and establishment among the people about brotherhood and harmony, thus making Azerbaijan a solid and prosperous country. As a President and a prominent educator, he focused on educational development, social solidarity, and cultural inclusion among the community, as well as building the nation-state. The economy is always a critical factor in building a nation's backbone, but there are many other narratives for prosperity. President Aliyev was thus focusing on socio-cultural civility in Azerbaijan, where everyone is accepted for building the nations and shared prosperity among them as an outcome. Aliyev's approaches were based on secularism, multiculturalism, collectiveness, and pluralism. These terms brought the mainstream and ethnic people of Azerbaijan together to build the nation in the country's earlier period. It was a unity in diversity for the steps of prosperity. Multiculturalism and plurality refer to the President's desire for everyone to unite to build the nation-state. In this context, a secular environment where everyone is equal socio-culturally, politically, and economically helped to campaign for equality and similarity; socially, the ethnic community of Azerbaijan felt secure in every kind for sharing their experience and knowledge for nation-building. President Aliyev remarked that education is the backbone of every country. Education can help people transform for better moments in life. <sup>3</sup>Beyond the economic solidarity, he hosted an international forum called <sup>4</sup>'Restoration of the Great Silk Road' in 1998, through which he was approaching Baku, the capital city of Azerbaijan, as a center of the region for power, knowledge and development, and social inclusivity where people can live peacefully and together. Internationally, he created fostered relations with Russia, the United States, Europe, and Japan for the benefit of the people. His <sup>5</sup>Internationalism thus worked to make the country peaceful globally. His contribution to demolishing terrorism, peace negotiation of the Karabagh conflict, and campaign for foreign investment bolstered Azerbaijan's position in the world scenario. A leader can be a visionary and adaptive like President Heydar Aliyev, who followed modern Turkey's founder Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and Dr. Martin Luther King of the United States for similar ways of modernizing the country and the prosperity of the Azeri population. He loved Azerbaijan as his homeland and for the well-being of the citizens and the country. His approach was to make Azerbaijan a developed, oil-rich country as fast as possible from its independence. He, therefore, installed a sense of patriotism in the orientation of his country to the global stage, and he distributed this sense to the youth and citizens of Azerbaijan. His vision worked to establish Azerbaijan as a prosperous industrial country quickly, which made it possible to control and approach his people through a mechanism and discipline, such as patriotism and love for Azerbaijan. He thus

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<sup>1</sup> Heydar Aliyev is a visionary leader and architect of Azerbaijan's development. Paragraph 1<sup>st</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Heydar Aliy is a visionary leaderer anarchitectct of Azerbaijan'developmentnt. Paragraph 1<sup>st</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Heydar Aliyev is a visionary leader and architect of Azerbaijan's development—paragraph 4<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Heydar Aliyev is a visionary leader and architect of Azerbaijan's development—paragraph 4<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Heydar Aliyev is a visionary leader and architect of Azerbaijan's development—paragraph 4<sup>th</sup>.

established a spirituality for the fond of the motherland in which everyone participated to look at their country as developed. A fundamental change had occurred throughout this formulation over the country initially by President Aliyev, which was recognized as positive for entire activities such as amalgamation of the community from the mainstream to the ethnic mass for the building of the nation and made the base stronger for a future bold expectation, and presence in the region and the global stage. Throughout the transformation of education, he brought language revolution and its development. Language is the identity of every nation. Aliyev brought the Azeri language instead of the inauguration of the Russian language as Azerbaijani's national language, making his youth strong in phonology, classics, and linguistics. <sup>6</sup> Aliyev's name will forever be entwined with the history of Azerbaijan due to his progressive and adaptive formal and informal leadership to the people and his commitment to regional stability. Thus, he deserved to be a trustworthy global personality who founded Azerbaijan boldly. <sup>7</sup> Under his leadership, Azerbaijan was able to secure its position as a respective country and its continual prosperity in social and economic development. <sup>8</sup> He was recognized as a modern leader of democratic Eurasia. The independence of Azerbaijan was a dedicated role of an adaptive leader of Azerbaijan, Heydar Aliyev, and his commitment to freedom from the Soviet Union. An extreme image of negativism and fundamentalism was seen by the people, as well as Azerbaijan as a nation, through a massacre of an estimated 147 civilians and several wounded Azerbaijani people. In return, they enjoyed glimpses of freedom, which was the best part of the nation after a long political turmoil and struggle.

Literature Review: <sup>9</sup> "Our path is clear... the system of government and style of society we are developing in Azerbaijan is based on Western values, including democratic pluralism, the free market economy, and a secular republic that respect (sic) universal human rights." The quote of President Aliyev reflects terms like universalism, human rights, pluralism as ideology, secularism, Westernization, ethics and values, democracy, and economy. These are all critical terms for a broader understanding but an idea of the President's think-tank. It is a moral rationalization of a pathway of a country like Azerbaijan. It is only possible if the policy maker is a philosopher, teacher, highly motivated, and hopeful about their nation. President Aliyev was an educator, philosopher, pioneer, anchor of social solidarity, and political ambassador. However, he shaped himself as a moderator of social science beyond all power but an extremely educated personality. Otherwise, politics is not everything, but education, morality, values, and ethics are primary aspects of lifestyle. Today, Azerbaijan is a prosperous nation due to the vision of <sup>10</sup>Aliyev's philosophy of Azerbaijanis, also known as <sup>11</sup> "Alevism." His philosophy was a formation of history, culture, and national identity that provided national independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. The philosophy also formed national unity, diversity, economic development, and excellent governance focused on social justice, equality, humanity, internationalism, and indigenous civilization. The "Heydar Alevism" exists in Azerbaijan's

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<sup>6</sup> Heydar Aliyev is a visionary leader and architect of Azerbaijan's development—paragraph 4<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Heydar Aliyev is a visionary leader and architect of Azerbaijan's development—paragraph 8<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Heydar Aliy is a visionary leader and architect of Azerbaijan's development—paragraph 10<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> The Heydar Aliyev Era ends in Azerbaijan Not with a Bang but a Whisper—Paragraph 1<sup>st</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Heydar Aliyev: A man who must be remembered in Human History. Paragraph 9<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Heydar Aliyev: A man who must be remembered in Human History. Paragraph 9<sup>th</sup>.

administration. During his tenure, there was an industrial revolution in the Azerbaijan economy through doubled and tripled production quantities. Agricultural production increased by an estimated 270 percent. This economic boom was his policy realization through which suitable and sustained policies made the country happy. Because of the financial stability and prosperity, society was also stable, and unity and diversity were an actual image in the Azerbaijani community. Thus, Social inclusivity is established as an image of economic stability and societal proximity. Social inclusiveness functions through the sharing of national productivity income among all. The foundation of Azerbaijan is strong throughout its social care, cultural closeness, and economic development. Heydar Aliyev was criticized as an authoritarian leader who controlled the society and the youth in the name of national patriotism. It has been said that people are governed by his policies, which is a matter of natural evolution—a genuine change in the sense that a country can automatically become prosperous when it goes long. It is also a fact that the era of President Aliyev was not a smooth environment in Azerbaijan. It needed strong leadership for the reformation. Therefore, President Aliyev’s long-term tenure in power made Azerbaijan meaningful by defeating harmful activities.

**Methodology:** The paper has been assumed through subordinate sources of data. Subordinate sources of data include academic articles, websites, etc. The description of sources has taken the method of writing the essay, reading, gathering in-depth insights on topics, exploring ideas, summarizing, interpreting, and mainly expressing in words (documentary analysis through qualitative approach). The paper is about the role of President Heydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan, which has focused on social and cultural inclusiveness in the community. This paper also discussed economic transformation for the prosperity of society overall. Various terms have been used, like multicultural, pluralism, collectivism, and serialism, for the understanding of the pulse of Azerbaijan. Multiculturalism in communities is essential for the improvement and encouragement of the minority in every country, which ensures everyone’s equality. Therefore, multiculturalism is an encouraging term for the soil attachment of these indigenous communities. This paper mainly focuses on the social inclusivity of Azerbaijan. It is a powerful country but was chaotic earlier. Therefore, community unification and modernization were necessary to build this nation in a new way where everyone is equal. After their identification for global representation, Azerbaijani nationals’ social and cultural proliferation is their foremost notion. It is, therefore, a bold idea and value of Azerbaijan’s history and civilization as its fabulous social and cultural fabric.

**Discussion:** Azerbaijan steeped into an essential and fateful stage of its history at the end of the 20th century with the collapse of the Soviet Union<sup>12</sup> When the entire world was watching considerable socio-cultural and mainly political changes in the region that were enough to impact the world entirely, even with turbulent situations and challenges, Azerbaijan’s people escaped from everything, becoming a prosperous nation in socioeconomic, cultural, and political environments and moving forward to a bright future. In the present day, Azerbaijan can realize its long history, going back 30 years, what happened in the socioeconomic and political scenarios of the nation-state, and what they achieved from all these experiences. It was

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<sup>12</sup> Great Leader Heydar Aliyev’s strategy of national state building and modern development. Paragraph 1<sup>st</sup>.

because of a solid political leadership behind the progressiveness of Azerbaijan as a prosperous state nation that the founder of modern Azerbaijan, Heydar Aliyev, could assess the nature of complicated processes going on in the country and direct those processes to the way required by national interest. Therefore, the citizens of Azerbaijan can realize by going back to the 1990s the hope realities of the present-day scenarios of the country and thinking about the scale of services of <sup>13</sup>National Leader Heydar Aliyev to the state of Azerbaijan. His generous character left deep traces in the minds of the country's people. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the world changed politically, and superpowers were altered and have been seen in those countries detached from the Society of the Soviet Republic. They were trying to capture and impact those newly born countries and have them in a shorter time frame to accept the <sup>14</sup>Western ideology of complete capitalism and an open economy. Heydar Aliev was ensuring the country's safety and security from that turmoil and the changes in global politics, which could change the Azerbaijani scenarios immediately, as was expected by the West. Azerbaijan was going through a new emergency from within its new structure after the detachment from the Soviet Union, and everything was in disaster as a new form of country which was completely strange and unique, without a man in a system like the Russian government. Civil war and other disaster activities continued in the region due to the fall of the main continental structure through the College of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic. Azerbaijan was alone and helpless like other Soviet former states. In this challenging environment, <sup>15</sup> Heydar Aliyev came as an informal and adaptive leader of the nation by the calling of the people of Azerbaijan for their existence as a new form of the county as well as their socioeconomic and cultural entity in the region. He immediately launched some formations like socio-political stability, economic growth for a striving economy, modern society building, sovereignty and the restoration of territorial integrity, integration into the new system and letting the people know to use the latest independent system, even a challenging feeling after a long-time habit to pursue the Soviet system, becoming a friend of the international world. He put Azerbaijan into the system of internationalization, adherence to national tradition and historic routes by calling for ethical integrity and the unification of the country's stream, yet the fall of the Soviet Union. Social development of the state of Azerbaijan exists in its political, economic, cultural, and educational formation of the system, as these are all linked to the growth of a newly independent country through building a solid base of the country and its continuous measurement through building and innovation. The ideology of Azerbaijan and the restoration of territorial integrity were based on many implementations guided by national interest, preventing trends of separatism and decentralization, building a stable and secure country, and forming a modern state administration. <sup>16</sup> It was also dependent on positive public relationships via the implementation of institutional reformations such as educational reformation through the new systemization of the Azerbaijani language. It influenced its youth who were going to post-secondary education. <sup>17</sup> Heydar Aliyev was taking care of the country's ethics and values, national ideas from the

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<sup>13</sup> Great Leader Heydar Aliyev's strategy of national state building and modern development. Paragraph 2<sup>nd</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Great Leader Heydar Aliyev's strategy of national state building and modern development. Paragraph 3<sup>rd</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Great Leader Heydar Aliyev's strategy of national state building and modern development. Paragraph 4<sup>th</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Great Leader Heydar Aliyev's strategy of national state building and modern development. Paragraph 6<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Great Leader Heydar Aliyev's strategy of national state building and modern development. Paragraph 6<sup>th</sup>

people, and public confidence in his initiatives, concepts, and proposals for building the nation's administrative system and written documents. Therefore, his efforts of both political and philosophical essence of the salvation of Azerbaijan are because of a social-academic and cultural revolution that has equipped the economy, place, and national integrity.<sup>18</sup> The New Constitution of Azerbaijan in 1995 was implemented through people's recognition and their advice and suggestions from within the country based on people's wishes as a people's constitution with a multiple political system, pluralism of thought and freedom of expression. For economic growth, market economic policy has been adopted by observing the global order for the availability of resources and global support for forming new strategies for the Azerbaijani state for its existence in the global scenario and support by every nation's state. The turmoil of the 1990s era was a global political disaster after the collapse of the Soviet Union, through which a global political balance and ideologies like socialism were disrupted. The world was facing a crisis throughout a unipolar world led by the United States. It was also because of the elimination of cultural and technological beliefs of the global scenario led by the West. Therefore, a hegemonistic world order had already been created, and the Western world was supremely independent due to the absence of the Soviet Republic in the world order.<sup>19</sup> President Heydar Aliyev created a friendship bridge between the East and the West through the amalgamation of Azerbaijan with everyone through his constitutional liberal and democratic policies by adapting the current world order and the ideologies, which was his practical and sharp brilliancy for the structure of the national initial. He signed a significant energy project called.<sup>20</sup> 'The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline,' which was his significant political, economic, and social contribution to Azerbaijan's development and the programmes of the Caucasian region. During speaking at the 1st Congress of the World Azerbaijanis on ten years of economic development, he said, "We have resolved many severe and difficult problems of Azerbaijan, and we can see well the horizons ahead. Azerbaijan's immense natural resources, favourable geographical and strategic position, strong economic and intellectual potential, and high cultural level of Azerbaijanis will ensure our country has a pleased and prosperous future. You can be sure that this road and the horizons and prospects ahead are quite real. As a result of our economic policy, Azerbaijan will become one of the richest countries in several years." His terms, such as happiness, intellectuality, culture, and intervention in society, were his announcements on social ties with communities through development. It was his vision as an educator beyond his power into a real pathway for reforming society. An educator with high intellectual brilliance can think like that for the enrichment of the people of the state of Azerbaijan.<sup>21</sup> The ideology of Azerbaijanis is based on the principle of independence, sovereignty, restoration of national and moral values and continuous development for the country's growth. Azerbaijan has been built by the ideologies of the great leader Heydar Aliyev based on 'Azerbaijanis,'<sup>22</sup> Which is the pride of the citizens of Azerbaijan and the world of

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<sup>18</sup> Great Leader Heydar Aliyev's strategy of national state building and modern development. Paragraph 9<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Great Leader Heydar Aliyev's strategy of national state building and modern development. Paragraph 8<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Great Leader Heydar Aliyev's strategy of national state building and modern development. Paragraph 8<sup>th</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Great Leader Heydar Aliyev's strategy of federal state building and modern development. Paragraph 23<sup>rd</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Great Leader Heydar Aliyev's strategy of federal state building and modern development. Paragraph 23<sup>rd</sup>.

Azerbaijanis. President Aliyev said over the national interest and political solidarity,<sup>23</sup> “There is no Karabakh without Shusha; there is no Azerbaijan without Karabakh at all.” His sharp intuition was unification, friendliness, and national solidarity with others. It is also a sign of co-existence in the region for establishing peace and negotiation and its continuation for regional peace and stability. President Aliyev also said, “We will leave these difficult days behind, the independent Republic of Azerbaijan will take its worthy place in the world community, and every Azerbaijani citizen will declare with a feeling of great pride that he or she belongs to this independent state.” This shows his wisdom and pragmatic solution to the challenges in the region that he faced and controlled through dynamic ways, which were accepting everyone as a friend of Azerbaijan. The world community means that he supported internationalization as a global citizen throughout his fabulous academic career in many places and his political career in the Soviet Union and Azerbaijan. His commitment to world leaders was also a sign of his declaration of a<sup>24</sup> “global community connected with global solidarity as a great respect and dignity.” His social transformation was through educational reformation, as he believed in educational acknowledgement. Because of his talent and significant achievement in studying art and science, he implemented policies on educational development for a social renaissance of the country. He thought that a developed society is always expected to be renovated in mind and be peace-loving without any extremism. This is why he called for unification within the country among all communities, including all ethnic Azerbaijanis. The university in Azerbaijan (Majumdar, 2023) adopts the curriculum of Bologna, through which university students must go through some credits and pass for further education. Aliyev’s mission and vision was to implement international educational standards in the country for a global competition through which students from Azerbaijan could reach global education and be successful in admission to a global university. Implementation of Bologna’s educational system was possible due to his liberal policy implementation in the form of a country system as well as educational reformation. It was a part of his globalization policy throughout Azerbaijani’s study around the world to achieve global institutional citizenship by academia in universities. The new generation of Azerbaijan is grateful to President Aliyev for this international exchange of education, as well as in the preschool educational system at the beginning of educational life throughout many ways, such as the formation of the elementary educational system, preschool educational system by allowing students to use post’s multimedia disks, board games, free school bags for each student and additional miscellaneous provided by the government etc. President Aliyev said, “Cultures enrich nations with the best examples gathered by humanity” (Majumdar, 2023). He mentioned culture and humanity through his quote, the best example of societal practice to become a developed nation educationally and culturally to accept everyone. This is how a plural society can exist, and the President has proved that he established a plural society based on collective distribution and function. Aliyev’s multiculturalism refers to his thoughts about amalgamation with every community on a universal concept. Therefore, multiculturalism and universities, which are alternatives to each other, have been established as the state’s social structure of Azerbaijan.<sup>25</sup> Today, the Republic of Azerbaijan is tolerant and

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<sup>23</sup> Great Leader Heydar Aliyev’s strategy of federal state building and modern development. Paragraph 24<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Great Leader Heydar Aliyev’s strategy of federal state building and modern development. Paragraph 24<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Heydar Aliyev is a Founder of National Multiculturalism at the State Level. Introduction. Paragraph 1<sup>st</sup>.



multicultural with deep multicultural values (Abilova, 2020), spirituality, and rich culture. This is how a country has been recognized as a secular country where not only Azerbaijanis, but several ethnic groups are living in the city of Baku.<sup>26</sup> They are all equal based on their rights, according to Article 69 of the Constitution. Foreign citizens and stateless persons have been restored under the constitution entitled.<sup>27</sup> “Rights of Foreign Citizens and Stateless Persons.” President Aliyev protected the rights and ethical cultures of Azerbaijan through constitutional documentation. It was under the formation tiles component of the culture of the country.<sup>28</sup> Multiculturalism is a unique phenomenon that helps to achieve a peaceful existence between communities, counties, religions, cultures, and nations. It is a term that has a connection with tolerance. During President Aliyev’s, Azerbaijan implemented the term multiculturalism to coexist with the rest of the world by allowing everyone to be unique without following an orthodox religious faith. President Aliyev said,<sup>29</sup> “I consider that the Azerbaijani people, by their nature and character, have a high sense of tolerance.” It is a statement by the President through which messages have been reached to the world that Azerbaijan respects every nationality regardless of religion, race, etc. Moreover, they prefer global values and ethics throughout a social and cultural solution. Azerbaijan thus made a country for everyone from around the world who can still live, work, and study peacefully, regardless of religion, race, or ethnicity. During the 4th Baku Humanitarian International Forum, current president Ilham Aliyev, son of former President Heydar Aliyev, stated that multiculturalism is a way of life in Azerbaijan. It may be a relatively new term, but Azerbaijan has had a multicultural society for centuries. Clear evidence of this is the friendship and solidarity among people. We are still committed to ensuring our initiatives positively impact the region and world processes” (Abilova, 2020). This notion of multiculturalism has been reinforced and continued by the son of Heydar Aliyev as a national policy declared by his father, former President Heydar Aliyev, for co-existence, tolerance, respect, and dignity for humanity.

## **Conclusion**

The feature question is, what are those narratives behind the development of Azerbaijan that helped to prosper Azeri society throughout its formation to its standing in the global arena? What are the steps for establishing a free, democratized society in Azerbaijan? The narratives are social, economic, and cultural development. Narratives like collectivism, pluralism, secularism, tolerance and multiculturalism, collaboration and co-existence with everyone, globalism, internationalism, regionalism, nationalism, patriotism, leadership, institutionalism, preservation of culture and history, ethnic preservation formed Azerbaijan into a prosperous Eurasian country after the independence from a Soviet state to an independent nation. The formation was inaccessible due to regional consulates and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

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<sup>26</sup> Heydar Aliyev is a Founder of National Multiculturalism at the State Level. Presentation of the man material. Paragraph 1<sup>st</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Heydar Aliyev is a Founder of National Multiculturalism at the State Level. Presentation of the man material. Paragraph 1<sup>st</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Heydar Aliyev is a Founder of National Multiculturalism at the State Level. Presentation of the man material. Paragraph 2<sup>nd</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Heydar Aliyev is a Founder of National Multiculturalism at the State Level. Presentation of the man material. Paragraph 2<sup>nd</sup>.

Still, the wisdom of the founding President, Heydar Aliyev, made it possible to make Azerbaijan a prosperous formative country with global peace and a foundation with everyone. The success was behind the tourism of friendship and tolerance that Azerbaijan showed by the adaptive leadership of Heydar Aliyev. The formation of state policy through the advice of the country's people as the people's constitution was the pathway for constitutional democracy. An open economy enhances an open society for everything. 2016 President Ilham Aliyev declared<sup>30</sup> "The Year of Multiculturalism" (Abilova, 2020). President Ilham Aliyev said,<sup>31</sup> "Azerbaijan is known worldwide as a country of national, religious, and ethnic tolerance and brotherhood. This is already a reality, especially in the present circumstances, when stand-offs exist in various parts of the world. There are wars on religious and ethnic grounds. Azerbaijan is showing an example in this area as well." This is how success wrote for the formation of Azerbaijan under the leadership of the founding President Heydar Aliyev, whose wideness and brilliance were able to unite Azerbaijan and the ethnic communities for the development of Azerbaijan. Culturally accepted multiculturalism funded by the President as<sup>32</sup> "Azerbaijani multiculturalism." President Aliyev initiated a ground for preserving Azerbaijan's history, customs, and traditions of maternal minorities. Multiculturalism is, therefore, not only a correct and social fabric of Azerbaijan but one of the articles of the Constitution of the Azerbaijan Republic that former president Heyday Aliyev enacted. According to article 25 (Abilova, 2020) 'right for equality' (Abilova, 2020) has been settled through commitments like all people are equal concerning the law and law cunt, Men and women possess equal rights and liberties, the status guarantees equality of rights and freedom for everyone regardless their race ethnicity, religion, sex, colour etc. no one may be harmed, granted allowances and privileges etc. equal rights should be provided to everyone in relationship to the state institutions (Abilova, 2020). Those rights preserved the freedom of conscience and social development for a more significant outcome that Azerbaijan is currently enjoying under the leadership of Ilham Aliyev. Azerbaijan is a unique place with different ethnic communities and religions. The history of Azerbaijan does not know about classic with the ethical minorities of Azerbaijan or any discrimination in the case of religion. Therefore, the people of Azerbaijan are developing their culture, religion, language, identities, and efforts without any obstacles from state policy. It is freedom to practice one religion anytime, anywhere in Azerbaijan.

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<sup>30</sup> Heydar Aliyev is a Founder of National Multiculturalism at the State Level. Presentation of the man material. Paragraph 3<sup>rd</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Heydar Aliyev is a Founder of National Multiculturalism at the State Level. Presentation of the man material. Paragraph 3<sup>rd</sup>

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**Disembodied communication, Empowered Identity in Toni Morrison' s The Bluest Eye**

**Dr. Hayfa MOHDHI**

**Tunusia**

**Abstract**

This article focuses on the representation, the fashioning and re-fashioning of the absent/present body of a female child when enmeshed in the swirl of an all-encompassing normative society. It argues that communication in *The Bluest Eye* disembodies through reducing or negating the black body and creating an irreparable disjuncture between the non-normative body and "its" bluest eyes. Insofar as inadvertent or self-conscious illusion, a split occurs separating the silent/ silenced body from its narrating eyes. It exposes the way the disembodied communication of the blue-eyed Pecola succeeds into subverting the hegemonic tradition of a silent girl and enables the traumatized subject, oft-silenced- to reconstruct her identity. The article shows first that the body medium – whether blackened, whitened, or (dis)abled- is particularly germane for the success or the failure of communication and consequently pertains to or veers from the main stream. The second part focuses on disembodied communication as a form of liberation of: first the voice from the body and then the submissive identity from its hegemonic discourse through the destruction and fragmentation of the norm itself. The marginalized body is opposed to the overwhelming presence of the narrating voice, which itself culminates into a dramaturgy of voices without a body.

**Keywords:** Disembodied communication, identity, body, voice, norm

**Introduction**

The quest of one's voice has emerged as a main theme in Toni Morrison's . Women's racial identity, gruesome conditions, and their vacillation between two disparate and conflicting discourses testify to the dual attitude they proffer towards expressing a sense of identity. By virtue of their dark skin, 'inferior' gender black women in Morrison's *Bluest Eye* are impelled at once by the resilient desire to slough off the enforced identity that the white orthodoxy has inscribed upon their bodies, and the concomitant need to peremptory aver their own Black identity that strays apart from the long-established influences of the White culture. Yet, due to the heavy influence of their past history, they turn to be somatically conditioned. They develop, accordingly, their own identity, bodies, and means to subvert hegemony. A crisis of being a black and female emanates, thereby, turning them into an absent present subject. Whilst a Black woman has to face the problems of being black in a white society, the female child is forced to face the double jeopardy of being Black and female and voiceless in a white patriarchal society.

The somatic figuration of black bodies abounds both as sites of power and subject to power. Whether racialized, gendered or disabled, the body stands as a metaphor since it is culturally constructed. Predominantly, such metaphorical figurations construct the body as a by-product of the pre-determined mainstream order which delineates and determines the body's inclusion/exclusion. Indeed, the inclusion/exclusion of a body is determined by virtue of its conformity to the norm. Problematizing the somatic figurations of the body, this article probes the way both the discourses on disability, race and gender intertwine with performativity to pinpoint to the instability of a disabled body.

The first part of this article aims at honing the concepts of race, gender and disability as testaments of power. It explores the notions of gender and race through Butler's ground breaking theory, tracing, accordingly, the process through which the powerful gaze constructs the gendered identity. The process of construction turns to be closely invigilated by the compulsory white and masculine orthodoxy. From this analytic stance, it tends to show that the somatic figuration of the body and racial apartness silence the voice of the non-normative body making it a paradigm of deviancy against which the voicelessness of the Black female characters is validated. The second part is to herald the possibility for subversion within the limits of the patriarchal and racial community. It analyses Pecola; the black female child's means through which she deflects the long-held beliefs. It explores the concepts of disembodied communication as the trope by which the overwhelming mighty orthodoxy is cracked. Once these insurgencies have been unleashed, the process of self-reconstruction, self-affirming is concomitantly launched paving the path for the bluest eye to subvert hegemony.

### **Fashioning the Absent-present Black Female: The Invisible Pecola**

Unstable is the process of somatic figuration of Pecola Breedlove. The body turns into a political site where her racialized gendered identity is inscribed as silenced, then re-inscribed as voiced. Indeed, Pecola is to be studied as inexorably engaged with the Other be it the white male or the black (fe)male. Enmeshed in the intricate web of the familiar and the unfamiliar, the centered and the marginalized, the Other emerges as a locus around which the entanglement of subjugation and empowerment, subjection and abjection is woven. Indeed, singled out in realm of the misfit, evoking fear and dread, Pecola is constructed as the master trope of alterity, according to the gaze of the hegemonic society. The latter prove to be different in its similarity for it exhibits uniqueness and affinity in their disparate experiences. In spite of the gender and racial limitation, the focus on issues of Black female [self-]identification permits a thorough exploration of the multifarious forms of disability. The somatic figuration of Pecola is maintained by the horrendous experiences she undergoes eventually providing an insight on the horror of living within a remarkably black female and invisible body. This chapter tends to depict the interface between disability and the tropes of gender and race, within the characters' experiences particularly governed by scripts of pre-dominantly masculine and White gaze. One of the overarching interests of this analysis is a conviction that somatic figuration of the non-normative body is mirrored on the construction of one's identity. This chapter aims at exploring the notion of disabling gaze and culturally constructed disability as it pursues the tragic experiences of Morrison's characters.

Applying Judith Butler's theory of performativity in its relation to constructing identities, race is deemed as a performative act: it is both performatively producing and produced by the norm. Performativity is defined by Butler as "neither free play nor theatrical self-presentation; nor can it be simply equated with performance. Moreover, constraint is not necessarily that which sets a limit to performativity; constraint is, rather, that which impels and sustains performativity". Although often adduced as utterances that creates reality or perceived reality, performativity is, nonetheless, a process through which the individual undergoes a metamorphosis from the state of abjection to subjectivity. In this vein, race – a performative act – is delineated as the site of norms, discourses, and subsequently power. Butler defines it as the locus by which identities are annihilated, fashioned and re-fashioned. She contends:

gender [or race] is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceed; rather, it is an identity tenuously constituted in time– an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts. Further, gender instituted through the stylisation of the body and hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self (Gender Trouble, 519).

Race, like gender, is performed. Whiteness and Blackness turn, hence, to be a mere product of actions, performative acts, and utterances. Through the accumulation of long-held, well-maintained norms, a performative act is endorsed as real. The seamless repetition of racial norms renders them "real", and bestows upon the process of creating the race, an illusion of naturalness. Akin to gender, race has often been deemed to be biological, natural, and a fixed construct. Yet, Butler's account of gender as a social performance scathingly strays apart from the view that was popularized and sustained by early second wave feminists. She lucidly avows in her Gender Trouble, because gender is not a fact, the various acts of gender creates the idea of gender, and without those acts, there would be no gender at all [...] The authors of gender become entranced by their own fictions whereby construction compels one's belief in its necessity and naturalness.

By association, race operates as a performative act, and is reproduced through various black /white acts, practices and power institutions that belittle the insurgent by virtue of his/her dermal pigmentation and hail at the same time the White. The repetition of socially constructed norms sustains and perpetuates the (re)production of Whiteness and Blackness. Inevitably, the significations of black, white, and ugly rely heavily on the rigid stricture of the hegemonic white regime. The way in which the subject abysmally contends or submissively abides to racial norms radically differs depending on the gaze.

The instability and repetitiveness of norms opens the possibility of transgression as Butler avows "what is shaped can be reshaped". As norms are constantly being remade, there is space for opposition. Butler argues,

"If the ground of gender identity is the stylized repetition of acts through time, and not a seemingly seamless identity, then the possibilities of gender transformation are to be found in the arbitrary relation between such acts, in the possibility of a different sort of repeating, in the breaking or subversive repetition of that style (Butler, Performative Acts, 33).

Since it is a fluid concept, race is, thus, deprived from both its ontological reality and its true essence. This notion potentially and sporadically separates the dermal pigmentation from its subjects: Whiteness from White bodies and Blackness from Black bodies. The ensuing unfaithful reproduced acts are corporeal testaments of the flexible characteristic of race. Relying on Butler's idea that subjects' identities are shaped through a seamless process of discourse formation, this analysis attempts to depict gender, race, and body as product ripe for construction and deconstruction by the mere act of what Louis Althusser coined as "interpellation". Such an assumption repudiates the definition of behaviors or characteristics as inherently or innately inscribed on any particular group. Within this vein, Chadderton comments, A further implication of understanding identities which are perceived as fixed and innate, such as gender and race, as performatives, is that this implies that there is no "normal", there is no authentic, original identity. Identities are not actually fixed to bodies, they are just perceived to be fixed to them. Thus, conforming to the limited definition of an authentic, racial identity culminates to scrutinize one's own identities and gaze at the Othered's behavior. Being born Blacker or Whiter than others is always skewed for it operates as a representation that purposefully lacerate one's alterity.

From the Foucauldian analytical stance, this part intends to examine the discursive construction of Pecola's racial identity under the close scrutiny of the rigid patriarchal and White regulations. Creating Pecola's self-image is determined by the gaze which is pertinent to a sanctioned norm and is a foundational pre-requisite for identity formation. The process of identity formation is entrapped within a swirl of being and perceiving: a seamless process that is deeply anchored in the ideology within which it is produced and received. No matter how caustically it criticizes the constructive gaze, the formation of the 'I' exposes the hideous reality of power structure. Edward Said credibly asserts within this vein, that cultures "spin out a dialectic of self and other, the subject 'I' who is native, authentic, at home, and the object 'it' or 'you,' who is foreign, perhaps threatening, different, out there." (Edward Said,40). Granted, then, the ability or power to represent, the white heteronormative blatantly skews the portrait of the other for such figuration —operates as representations usually do, for a purpose, according to a tendency, in a specific historical, intellectual, and even economic setting".

Enmeshed within this network of material and aesthetic practices, the Black is purposefully Othered, disempowered, marginalized, and ultimately erased. Within this analytical framework, the social expediencies of racial purity in the American society bracket the normality of Pecola Breedlove and make it/her a paradigm of deviancy against which the standardized Whiteness is validated. "Mama had told us two days earlier that a 'case' was coming" (The Bluest Eye, 9). By the use of the term the 'case', Pecola is ruthlessly stripped of her human distinctive features. Not only does this term mark the racial aspect of the process of interpellation, but also its class distinction. Indeed, Pecola's state of invisibility is thereby, controlled by interpellation. It is promulgated and reinforced through the hegemonic sexuality, race and class. Implicit in Mrs. Macteer's 'case' is an equal tendency to pinpoint to the disempowered Other.

"My mother's voice drones on. She is not talking to me. She is talking to the puke, but she is calling it my name: Claudia." (Ibid, 7)

“Frieda and I were not introduced to him—merely pointed out. Like, here is the bathroom; the clothes closet is here; and these are my kids, Frieda and Claudia; watch out for this window; it don’t open all the way.”(Ibid, 12)

The portrayal of the Black girl as depicted by those who incarcerate “discursive authority” is woven around a blatant set of pictures that the displaced into the realm of objectification. Whether “pointed” to, “not talk to”, or conceptualized as a “bathroom”, “window” or even “puke”, the recurrent alignment with non-human and even humiliating references has supplanted the Black girl with images that push her beyond boundaries and hence she is, and at some point does, metamorphose(d) into an object.

Entrapped within the destructive and dehumanizing entourage, Pecola is infected by a set of formal operations that the community she acquaints imposes. The desperate attempts to be included in a society that cyclically expurgates her reverberate in her manifestations, for “owning them [Blue eyes] made her part of the world, and the world a part of her”(ibid, 63). The blue eyes that the wretched character yearns for stand for the norms that the reigning orthodoxy posits. Ann Folwell Stanford probes the crucial role of vision and seeing “as a fact of Black life” (ibid, 65). Borrowing Foucault’s words, it is the gaze that renders Pecola a victim. Mustafa Zeki Çıraklı notes that, “in *The Bluest Eye*, the characters are obsessed with their appearance. They are traumatized with the lack of so-called beauty and infected by the image in the eyes of others” (*Disabled Vision*,15). Longing to be included, loved, or even looked at, the central character wishes for blue eyes: one of the standards of beauty at that time. These standards are deeply, in fact, nestled in the dominant ideology discursively promoted by not only the victimizer but also the victim.

The dermal pigmentation and physiological differences are, as depicted, a mere cultural construction of the gaze. The determination of race subsumes biology in a process of assimilation through which selfhood and otherness are perceived through hegemonic eyes. The differences between the central ‘I’ and the Othered ‘you’ is an utter percolation of the gaze rather than biology. Even though some of the characters succeed into sloughing off their former submissive selves, Pecola remains a prey to the disabling/disempowering gaze. “She would see only what there was to see: the eyes of other people” (*The Bluest Eye*, 65). She vacillates between acknowledging the sustained gaze of the dominant orthodoxy and denying the denuding/disabling gaze of her inner self. Identifying with the somatic figuration that the community creates for and imposes on her, the child treats her own self as the Other.

You looked at them and wondered why they were so ugly; you looked closely and could not find the source. Then you realized that it came from conviction, their conviction. It was as though some mysterious all-knowing master had given each one a cloak of ugliness to wear, and they had each accepted it without question (Ibid, 58)

Pondering over the Breedloves, Çıraklı notices that she does not “create” an “other” to discover herself, rather, the other, which is associated with “the bluest eyes”, is taken for granted as a standard source of and ultimate reference to “beauty”.

Tangled in a society governed by strict sets of norms that glorify White beauty and stigmatize differences, Pecola receives allegations of abnormality/grotesqueness since her birth. The



mother's reaction toward the new-born baby lacerates her deviation from the norm. "Eyes all soft and wet. A cross between a puppy and a dying man. But I knowed she was ugly. Head full of pretty hair, but Lord she was ugly" (ibid, 58). Like the bulk of Black people, Pecola is deprived not only from beauty but also from humanity; she is caught in the realm of in-betweenness, tossed between bestiality and callousness. Indeed, the propagated, oft-utilized image of black as savage or brute sets them apart from the mighty white's lifestyle. As sense of instability, insecurity and misplacement urges the former to have their own houses. Thus, "[P]roperly Black people spent all their energies, all their love, on their nests. Like frenzied, desperate birds, they over decorated everything" (ibid, 18). The simile associates Black people to Birds. Yet, straying apart from the predominantly positive connotation of freedom and knowledge that birds are endowed with, the words "frenzied, desperate" trigger the image of anxious, and rapidly-moving birds in a frantic attempt to create the perfect nest egg to contain their families. Such a picture, nonetheless, is apposed with that of the Breedloves whose rented house bespeaks their careless and perfunctory attitude in treating their children.

Marred by these repulsive yet appalling traits, Pecola is treated as bringer of death and chaos. She is the odd whose "ugliness was unique". "Like flies they hovered; like flies they settled. And this one had settled in her house". When Geraldine finds the dark-skinned Pecola in her living room, she deems what both White and Black communities and Pecola herself see—an ugly and disheveled black girl deprived of class or propriety. A simile is, hence, engendered, associating Pecola to a nasty, little, bothersome and mostly unwanted vermin, hovering then settling, Pecola-standing for the Black skin she carries- turns to be a suffocating nightmare that slowly, slightly and nervously hovers. Her absent presence reflects a sinister atmosphere of rejection, mockery and bullying which exacerbates her plight. Moreover, her dermal pigmentation and her deformed somatic figuration bring her condemning gaze which stand in fact, as an irrefutable proof of her subversive nature and grotesque feature.

Controlling vision means controlling what one sees how one defines the world. Visual power brings about political power to those who determine what is seen/how is seen, determine what exists. Pecola appears in her society only to be lost into oblivion. "She hid behind hers [Ugliness]. Concealed, veiled, eclipsed—peeping out from behind the shroud very seldom, and then only to yearn for the return of her mask" (ibid, 36). The swiftness of inclusion and exclusion illuminates the fragility of the construction of identities and the limits of agency in doing one's body, for as Butler affirmatively states in her *Excitable Speech*, "one comes to exist by virtue of this fundamental dependency on the address of Other, one 'exists' only by virtue of being recognized, but in prior sense, by being recognizable" (Butler, 363).

Not only is the protagonist subject to the Law of the Father, she has, also, to abide to the overwhelming norms of the racial hegemonic discourse. As well as foregrounding the pervasiveness of a race-biased power system, the community sketches out the deformed child whose body is now disabled due to the flow of invectives emanating from the black-skinned towards the 'blacker' ones. The confining and systematically disabling gaze of the powerful white male, and ultimately the society which encompasses both the White and Black, male and female holds in its fold a lack of recognition of, and a failure to discern the other. Pecola's encounter with Mr. Yacobowski, the shopkeeper, testifies to the effects such a disabling gaze

entails. Morrison's insightfully characterizes the structure of the white gaze that the non-white embrace revealing its power to objectify. The child is transformed from a human being into an "object" shrouded with invisibility. The objectification of Pecola and the deprivation of her human traits are mirrored when she enters Mr. Yacobowski's candy store:

The gray head of Mr. Yacobowski looms up over the counter. He urges his eyes out of his thoughts to encounter her. Blue eyes. Blear-dropped. Slowly, like Indian summer moving imperceptibly toward fall, he looks toward her. Somewhere between retina and object, between vision and view, his eyes draw back, hesitate, and hover. At some fixed point in time and space he senses that he need not waste the effort of a glance. He does not see her, because for him there is nothing to see. How can a fifty-two-year-old White immigrant storekeeper with the taste of potatoes and beer in his mouth, his mind honed on the doe-eyed Virgin Mary, his sensibilities blunted by a permanent awareness of loss, 'see' a little black girl? Nothing in his life even suggested that the feat was possible, not to say desirable or necessary. "'Yeah?'

"She looks up at him and sees the vacuum where curiosity ought to lodge. And something more. The total absence of human recognition--the glazed separateness. Perhaps because he is grown, or a man, and she a little girl. But she has seen interest, disgust, even anger in grown male eyes. Yet this vacuum is not new to her. It has an edge; somewhere in the bottom lid is the distaste. She has seen it lurking in the eyes of all white people. So. The distaste must be for her, her Blackness. All things in her are flux and anticipation. But her blackness is static and dread. And it is the blackness that accounts for, that creates, the vacuum edged with distaste in white eyes (ibid).

The verb "looms up" enunciates both dominance and dismissal. Yet, as Yacobowski's gaze is thoroughly explored, its deficiency is put in bold. Indeed, Mr. Yacobowski's "blindness", the inability to "see" Pecola has been transferred into a disabling gaze that fixes the Black girl and strips her of her own existence, she is simply invisible. It indiscriminately points to the hegemony as well as the weakened/weakening, debilitated/debilitating state of the male white gaze. Morrison underscores the binaries of subject/object, see/unsee, to the "pattern of thinking about racialism in terms of its consequences on the victim – of always defining it asymmetrically." (Morrison, *Playing in the Dark*, 53).

The encounter illustrates the aesthetics of displacement as the Othered "subject" is compelled to embark upon a process of abjection when forced to silence at the presence of the omnipresent, all-powerful Whitemale who embodies what Lanser calls in her discussion of the "Feminist Poetics of Narrative Voice" discursive authority. Indeed, by virtue of his three-folded prerogative (race, gender, and class), Yacobowski is endowed with discursive authority that of the white, educated men of hegemonic ideology. One major constituent of narrative authority, therefore, is the extent to which a narrator's status conforms to this dominant social power. "Furthermore, such encounter between the uncannily black female and the White man marks the authoritarianism and the traumatizing despise of the White man in power. It is justified by projecting the subaltern as a sort of 'quintessence evil'" (Frantz Fanon, 32). In his relentless attempt to derogate the black and her effort to be accepted, the white man resorts into effacing her, eradicating her existence. The psychological impact it blemishes convinces the Blacks,

Pecola more specifically, that if the hegemonic power is to withdraw, they would succumb deeper into oblivion. The abysmal experience that Pecola undergoes, illustrates the cultural friction that marks the American society at that time and generates a fictionalized racial separateness that occludes the inclusion of the inferior and overlooks the transparent imbrications of his/her identity. The dominant discourse, represented by Mr. Yacobwoski, figures the Black as an inassimilable body exorbitantly marred by his morphs and threatening the corporate integrity. Nonetheless, unlike the speaking relations which are confined, looking relations are caught in the web of reciprocity despite the imbalance in power.

Throughout the interplay of seeing/unseeing, Morrison foregrounds and reconfigures the power relations that lurks within this encounter. The inferior-superior binary/trial was further fortified by the spatial disparity that the opposite verbs connote, for when the black girl “looks up”, the White male’s gaze “falls”. The objectification of Pecola Breedlove is felicitous for it enables the dominant viewer to eradicate the Black, the deformed’s identity and transform her into a flexible construct ripe for molding. The power transforming the powerless, othering the marginalized, and re-shaping her fortifies the hegemonic institutions and widens the gap between the powerful and the powerless. Disabling as it may seem, the gaze “fixes” immobilizes and freezes its “object” as Sartre persuasively argues. Indeed, following the Foucauldian concept of the “panopticon”, the power of the eye is highlighted for it succeeds in instilling a sense of self-objectification in the rearing of the black subjects while maintaining power relation.

Indeed, since “she would see only what there was to see: the eyes of other people” (The Bluest Eye,35), Pecola submissively accepts and absorbs the state of objectification. She culminates associating herself with the ugly, undesirable plant. “The dandelions at the base of the telephone pole. Why, she wonders, do people call them weeds? She thought they were pretty. But grown-ups say, —Miss Dunion keeps her yard so nice. Not a dandelion anywhere.[...] Nobody loves the head of a dandelion. Maybe because they are so many, strong, and soon” (Ibid, 35). The contrast between what the Other says, lays bare and what she “believes”, keeps inside, testifies to the preordained dominance of the mighty Other who acquires by virtue of his privileged position the voice while stripping the displaced of her own.

Although the narrative explicitly portrays the somatic deformation and the consequent psychological fall down of Pecola, the text “pecks away”, according to Morrison, “at the gaze that condemned her” makes her a mere black, invisible body. Indeed, Morrison aims at unveiling the secret behind her ugliness by pointing at the “constructing activities of Whiteness”. Heavily relying on Antonio Gramsci’s theory on hegemony, George Yancy explains that Pecola is “a product of the historical process to date which has deposited...an infinity of traces without leaving an inventory” (Yancy, 313). Locked in under the reigning gaze, Pecola is left with atrocious markers on her body. It is this assumption that the powerful, all-encompassing gaze is never absent, always threatening, which is fundamental to understand the predicament that Pecola, on the surface level, and the bulk of the Black community, at a larger scale, undergo. There is no longer an insider an outsider, a private and public. There is conversely an all-encompassing overwhelming crushing power that burdens the misfit,

occludes its existence, and limits him/her within the frame of a normalizing regime. Under such a regime one ceases to be, one is rather gazed at.

As she loses possession of her agency and her own body, her own self along with her visibility have been dispossessed. She turned into a “bitch”, “black emo”. Such relational dynamics of the self and other are, states Abdenebi Ben Baya “decisively of the type revealed by Sartre’s analysis, an analysis which appropriately explains the nature of [the White ] power in terms of the self’s unavoidable subjugation of to the other”. The domination expressed in *The Bluest Eye* is tantamount to Sartre’s notion of the ‘regard’ and Foucault’s gaze that entails subsequent psychological impact on those observed soon diagnosed confined and then trapped within the inescapable web of power. For Pecola to be watched, diagnosed /scrutinized by all elements of her society without being able to return the gaze is certainly a devastating experience, and consequently a disabling one that deprives her of her visibility, her voice and ultimately her agency.

“They had stared at her with great uncomprehending eyes. Eyes that questioned nothing and asked everything. Unblinking and unabashed, they stared up at her. The end of the world lay in their eyes, and the beginning, and all the waste in between” (*The Bluest Eye*, 98). Under the disabling gaze of the personified, all-knowing, yet “uncomprehending eyes”, she loses the ability to represent herself and becomes thereby an item in the ocular field of the observer, a part of the Whitespace that she can neither penetrate nor gaze back at it. The Whitespace is hidden, (in)visible, mystical, from which no one can avert its disabling, destructive gaze.

### **The Speaking Eye/I: Disembodied Communication**

The bulk of Morrison’s females are marked by a shattered identity. Indeed, as she undergoes a traumatic past, the black woman -often figured as a subaltern- experiences a critical psychic disintegration. The different states of dementia that trauma conjures are highlighted which, as Clifton Spargo asserts, “has come to function for many critics as a trope of access to more difficult histories, providing us with entry into a world inhabited by the victims of extraordinary social violence, those perspectives so often left out of rational, progressive narratives of history” (36). Within this theoretical framework, Pecola: the dissociated “subject”, is usually confronted with her black roots and not only the portrait her black people have been associated with, but also the one that they bear for themselves. Linda Koolish observes that such a misrepresentation “is frequently the consequence of the confrontation between the Blacks’ own definition of themselves and slavery’s misrepresentation of African Americans as sub-humans”. Yet, Morrison’s concerns widen to encompass forms of resistance which are the outcome of emotionally scarring situations,

Dramatic and harrowing is the depiction of a destructed woman’s self and desperate and unyielding is her struggle for psychic wholeness when enmeshed in a hostile world. The female lays bare a vulnerable identity which holds in its fold a terrible ordeal that of an oft-marginalized self in a relentless quest to cope with the mainstream. In fact, by virtue of her gender, race and class, Pecola the black child grows fragile, prone to become a victim to a well-regulated normative discourse. As discussed earlier, trauma proves intrinsically important in fashioning the black woman’s selfhood. Pecola is traumatized, poignantly withstanding such a

macabre impact. Whereas the dissociation of Pecola's identity stems instilling the standards of white beauty in black women's rearing, which triggers self-hatred. The bluest eye version emerges as a coping strategy, a means of survival in rather a hostile environment that cyclically expurgates the misfit. In spite of the apparently striking difference, both females are delineated as victims of their disembodiment, ostracism and social victimization.

As she delves deeper into the world of fantasy, she openly rejects the real world that has, ironically, recurrently singled her out. Pecola succumbs into insanity in an urgent and unyielding endeavor to subvert the main orthodoxy and, so she seeks the help of Soaphead Church, a pedophile magician, who in a god-like manner, "grants" Pecola her wish for blue eyes, "[He] gave her the eyes. [He] gave her the blue, blue, two blue eyes. Cobalt blue. A streak of it right out of your own blue heaven. No one else will see her blue eyes. But she will. And she will live happily ever after" (ibid,145). The encounter with Soaphead can be seen as a moment where Pecola recedes into herself. She desperately yearns for blue eyes, for a way to see the world and be seen differently. Poisoning the ugly dog unavoidably pertains under the beauty/ugliness dichotomy, in which Pecola's craving for beauty is only fulfilled through the death of/break up with ugliness (the dog). Immoral as it may seem the death of the dog marks instead Pecola's psychotic break.

Sexual abuse triggers Pecola's complete identity fragmentation. When her father rapes her for the second time, she falls into a mental breakdown and resorts to a fantasy world, a safe universe, where her blue eyes grant her freedom, love and acceptance, more importantly voice. The bluest eyes turn into a survival method as Claudia states, "which protected her from us". In such an alternative world, Pecola denies the excruciating experiences she underwent rebuffing the incestuous rape "He just tried, see? He didn't do anything. You hear me?" (ibid, 219). In doing so the blue eyed Pecola restores the image of the ideal father, the white father, her own self and body.

Disembodied communication is premised on separating the narrating eyes from the black body. She keeps interrogating her image self about her eyes: "are they blue enough? Are they the bluest ones in the whole world." Trudier Harris highlights, "Pecola's society has taught her not merely to want to be beautiful but to be the most beautiful of all, for only in such supremacy can she erase the lack of affection, the constant lack of approval" (Fiction and Folklore, 42). Claudia discerns the way both adults and themselves abandon the black female which contributes to the scapegoating and victimization of the latter, hence, "All of our waste which we dumped on her and which she absorbed" (ibid, 220). Such avowal testifies to Claudia's slippage to the realm of adulthood for she envisions at last the power mechanism that has been lurking underneath the harmonious surface.

Pecola Breedlove stands as the replica of narrative delirium, since "the delirium [...] assumes vast proportions", which culminates into fathomable perception on the work and impact of disembodied communication. As the voiceless Pecola manages to retrospectively tell her own story, it is eventually revealed that bluest-eyed Pecola is a figment of the ugly Pecola's imagination; a sheer manifestation of a multiple personality disorder. The story is recalled with all events seemingly pertaining the: Cholly Breedlove and the Pecola's sexual encounter is truly

presented, faithfully summoned, yet with distinct characters that display distinct traits. Within the fictional world, Pecola acquires “truly, blue eyes” that only aggravate her sense of repulsion, while Cholly emerges as the one whose presence is encumbering. In fact, the forced sexual encounter triggers Pecola’s identity fragmentation. In fact, the concept of narrative identity insinuates an inexorable link between the past, present and future. This trope is mainly premised on the ability to fuse the paradoxical aspects and tendencies one exhumes into a coherent, overarching view of oneself. Pecola’s psychological disorder is manifested in her incapacity to relate her traumatic past to the present she faces. She openly glides from one present to parallel other.

“You scared they[the blue eyes] might go away.

Of course not. How can they go away?

The others went away.” (ibid, 218)

Instead of regression and loss, Pecola’s means of defense consists mainly in a temporal splitting of the self that excludes past and embodies a present bereft from bonding, commitment, responsibility and guilt

The father, who epitomizes security, protection and is the emblem of stability, Cholly Breedlove turns out to be Pecola’s sexual abuser. Doris Brothers advocates, in this context, “psychic trauma can only be fully understood as the betrayal of trust in the self-object relationships on which selfhood depends” (66). As he rapes Pecola for the second time, Pecola succumbs and delves deeper into a mentally distorted realm. Whether purposefully or unintentionally, Pecola ‘chooses’ to withdraw into a fictitious world: a safe, distant, world woven around her blue eyes. “This eleven-year-old girl” Madonne M. Miner states, “steps across commonly accepted borders of reason and speech to enter her own personal world of silence and madness. Pecola’s self’ becomes so crazed, so fragmented, that it conducts conversation with itself “and with no one else”. Nonetheless, the ‘bestowed’ blue eyes fail to insufflate upon the frail, subjugated Pecola the freedom that would grant her power, respect and love. Any critics staunchly adhere to the state of schizophrenia in which Pecola is entangled. Melvin Dixon asserts that a “devastating inertia [which] prevents her from achieving the flight she thought would come with the blue eyes”.

Here was an ugly little girl asking for beauty....A little black girl who wanted to rise up out of the pit of her Black ness and see the world with blue eyes (The Bluest Eye, 189).

Writhing in pain and undergoing a frustratingly traumatic life, Pecola is found secure when immersed into the state of schizophrenia: a shelter, a fantasy world, a means to survive. The imaginary friend turns to be a survival strategy that she “didn’t need [...] before”. Absurd in its unfolding, yet rather earnest in its implication, the conversation between Pecola and her friend intends to deny the excruciating experiences she has undergone. Bernaerts pinpoints “[g]radually, the reader notices the cracks in the architecture of the fictional world”. A crack that is gradually widened to the extent that the character’s multiple personality disorder is laid bare, culminating into the self-destruction of the entire story world:

Oh. Don’t leave me. Yes. I am. Why? Are you mad at me? Yes.

Because my eyes aren't blue enough? Because I don't have the bluest eyes? (ibid, 154).

Following this conversation between Pecola and her imaginary friend, the reader is forced to reminisce the traumatic past, ponder over the meaning, and re-envision the story world. The use of double negation while providing herself her friend's reason fortifies Pecola's insistence to speaking for herself. Letting out the voice of the voiceless Pecola helps unveil the embedded clues and appreciate the intricacy and complexity of a narrative structure that manages to both conceal and support the inclusion/exclusion patterns. Seeing the world through the voiceless perspective through the bluest eyes/lenses shapes a disparate world, a world in which her presence is encumbering, yet in a different way.

Everybody's jealous. Every time I look at somebody, they look off. Is that why nobody has told you how pretty they are?

Sure it is. Can you imagine? Something like that happening to a person, and nobody but nobody saying anything about it? They all try to pretend they don't see them. Isn't that funny? . . . I said, isn't that funny? (ibid, 195).

The narrator expresses her desire to be accepted, included and loved, a desire that would come to surface only through the blue eyes, It had occurred to Pecola some time ago that if her eyes, those eyes that held the pictures, and knew the sights—if those eyes of hers were different, that is to say, beautiful, she herself would be different. Her teeth were good, and at least her nose was not big and flat like some of those who were thought so cute. If she looked different, beautiful, maybe Cholly would be different, and Mrs. Breedlove too. Maybe they'd say, "Why, look at pretty-eyed Pecola. We mustn't do bad things in front of those pretty eyes".

Such an urgent desire simultaneously entices Pecola's pathological background and her ordeal which widens and fortifies her detachment from reality, yet at the same time sharpens an awareness of it. Indeed, Pecola's relentless yearning for a pair of blue eyes marks at the same time her delusion, a delusion premised on sharp awareness of the normative racial structure that hails the white and despises the non-White .In this vein, Harris contends, "Pecola's society has taught her not merely to want to be beautiful but to be the most beautiful of all, for only in such supremacy can she erase the lack of affection, the constant lack of approval" (42). The detachment is fossilized throughout the narrative through the abundant use of textual clues, and intentional semantics. Pecola has been de-centered in her own story, pushed towards the fringes of civic life while her narrative position has been compelled to the periphery. As her character defers to bluest-eyed Pecola, the protagonist displays a new kind of repulsion; one that is premised on jealousy, envy and mutual hatred meted out on her body and inner self.

I told you, I don't know. Why don't you look at me when you say that? You're looking drop-eyed like Mrs. Breedlove. Mrs. Breedlove look drop-eyed at you? Yes. Now she does. Ever since I got my blue eyes, she look away from me all of the time. Do you suppose she's jealous too? Could be. They are pretty, you know. I know. He really did a good job. Everybody's jealous. Every time I look at somebody, they look off. Is that why nobody has told you how pretty they are? (ibid, 46).

Through the recurrent and heavy use of the verb look in its multifarious variation “look away”, “look off”, “look at”, “look drop-eyed”, Morrison employs a metaphor of vision to determine the way identity is re-constructed; by skin and color. Pecola is able now to make other’s “see” her eyes, her skin, her story. She takes, subsequently, control of both the visual realm and its interpretation. Even though visual control is not, clearly, the child’s answer to racist oppression, the blue-eyed Pecola looks back, overthrows white dominance, and voices the physical and psychological violence inflicted upon her body. She thus manages to display a self that can withstand the destructive power of the gaze, remolding it into a source of strength. In “looking” instead of “look[ing] away”, the blue-eyed Pecola establishes and dominates a rhetoric of sight, ensuring that her black body remain both powerfully visible and threatening.

Resigned to conformity and comfort in her safe secure, disparate realm, Pecola’s identity flourishes as a powerful, self-sufficient black female. The bluer/bluest-eyed Pecola’s identity drastically changes. It emerges as the alternative version of the ugly Pecola’s frail, powerless and subsumed character. The slide from the actual world towards the possible world is concomitant to a deferment from a self-despising, powerless repulsively ugly Pecola to the self-empowered, self-admiring bluest-eyed one. This admiration holds in its fold power that she has long yearned for. It pinpoints, eventually, to the moments read as clues that the world of the bluest-eyed Pecola is an alternative of many possible worlds, a world where she is insufflated upon power and love, a world where she is centered. Pecola’s voice is allowed freer reign. She dominates the conversation with her imaginary friend and does not allow him to speak for her. A comparison is set favoring Pecola’s blue eyes to the once-centered characters like Maureen Peal, Joanna Michelena, Alice-and Jerry.

### **Conclusion**

The body is depicted to be a site for conflicting powers. It is a space that may be observed, explored, charted and finally subjugated under the control of the gazer. The somatic figuration of the Black female protagonists depicts a seamless and unswerving struggle for survival in the White socio-cultural context. As pain inscribes its scars on the frail body, the Black female protagonists manage to profess their black identity and, thereby, voice their deep repressed protest against both the White and Black oppressors. Through the portrait of Pecola, the subdued Black female child, Morrison ponders over the effects emanating from instilling the beauty standards of the dominant culture on the self-image of Black girls. Along with the discrepancies promoted and fossilized by racism and sexism, The Bluest Eye tackles the theme of disability. It pinpoints the horrendous comeuppances of facing the values of a White culture that both physically and socially disables them. The novel traces the hardships and sufferings of the Black, ugly, voiceless Pecola, who desperately yearns for a pair of blue eyes with the poignant hope that it would bestow upon her the love she lacks.

Disembodied communication attempts to deconstruct the binary opposition between the black body and its bluest eyes. Reformed, refined, the blue-eyed Pecola is allowed a voice. The narrating bluest eye are finally seized by the Othered as a desperate attempt to be included into the mainstream. Hence, her subversive identity manages to circumvent the all-encompassing,



constructive oppressor's gaze. They turn out to be a means to protect her against the insurgencies of the reigning orthodoxy.

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**The Turnout of Special Needs Children to E-learning: An Attempt to Reinforce Inclusion Through Educational Technology**

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**Abstract**

This endeavour is devoted to reinforcing language tuition and maintaining digital inclusion among children with neurodevelopmental conditions. Since the dawn of techno-pedagogy facilities, it has become challenging to teach children with disabilities. Therefore, our work aims to uncover the challenges that children with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD), their parents, and even pathologists face in the learning process. With the increasing number of children diagnosed with a spectrum disorder, it is crucial to address this growing population. To proceed, ASD children are exposed to different language learning tasks using technological devices with the supervision of the institution's pathologists and speech therapists, it aims to encourage them improve their first language and shift from acquisition to learning. In the literature review, researchers insist on the possible turn-out for online educational apps, though not all tasks were expected to be accomplished; they are still used to minimize monotony and distraction. Given the growing population of children with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD), it is essential to adopt the most effective approaches for enhancing their social and academic abilities. Collaboration with therapists is necessary due to the absence of adequate training in academic professional settings. Consequently, the scarcity of qualified educators capable of effectively supporting developmental disabilities persists.

**Keywords:** Autism Spectrum Disorder; Educational inclusion; Neurodevelopmental condition; Professional setting.

**Introduction**

As technology progresses worldwide, new opportunities for innovative and inclusive learning environments have arisen. As educational technology has been integrated into mainstream education, various student populations have been given opportunities, including those with special needs. In the era of online learning, it is compulsory to ensure the integration of children with special needs and explore how e-technology could improve their inclusion. A commitment to meeting the diverse learning needs and styles of every child has distinguished inclusive education. As part of this commitment, we embrace technological progress that provides accessibility to a personalized learning environment. In parallel, there are many challenges involved in integrating special education with technology, which necessitates a comprehensive understanding of the two overlapping areas. In this paper, we will explore the elements that

highlight inclusive e-learning for children with special needs, including aspects such as adaptive technologies, teachers' readiness, parental involvement/ participation, and the importance of personalized learning for children with special needs. These key elements will be examined in order to provide insights and strategies that can be used to revolutionize education in a way that embodies diversity and inclusion.

### **Addressing Autism Spectrum Disorder Challenges**

Children possess inherent qualities of innocence, trust, and hopefulness. This period should be a time of joy and love, during which individuals gradually mature by acquiring new experiences throughout their lifespan. Hence, every child is unique, and their future can be positively or negatively influenced depending on the social experiences they have been through during their early years (Cermak et al, 2010). In fact, the future of a society depends on the well-being of its children, and parents should ensure that their kids have a strong foundation for their future. It is worth noting that Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) is more common in boys more than girls. Globally, it is estimated that one in every 160 children is affected by ASD. However, the prevalence of ASD in many low- and middle-income countries is still unknown (Yadav, 2020).

In fact, Autism is a severe developmental disorder that typically manifests either at birth or within the first two-and-a-half years of life. While some autistic children may appear similar to their peers, their unusual behaviour often confuses and upsets their entourage, setting them apart from typical children. This pervasive developmental disorder is characterized by an unusual or impaired development that becomes visible before the age of two-and-a-half and presents a distinct pattern of atypical functioning across three areas, mainly, daily life interaction, interpersonal communication, and restricted repetitive behaviour (Manti et al., 2013; Howgego, Miles & Myers, 2014). Unfortunately, despite efforts, it is still unpredictable when exactly a child will acquire essential self-care abilities.

Realizing that a child is diagnosed with autism is a profound moment that impacts the parents' life. Abruptly, everything may appear significantly different from what they had previously envisioned. The parents' primary concern will naturally shift towards their children and what techniques should be involved to minimize the effect of the impairment on their learning. Additionally, parents find themselves pre-occupied with how they will adapt to this new situation in the years to come as much as they experience a range of uncomfortable emotions. The day-to-day challenges of looking after an autistic child are a source of concern. This decisive moment marks the beginning of a journey that demands the utmost attention, care, understanding and patience. Therefore, it is essential to approach this situation with a professional mind-set, seeking assistance from experts in the field, and be equipped with the knowledge and procedures needed to control the special circumstances ahead (Yadav, 2020).

During this challenging time, it is not uncommon to go through periods of denial or refusal to accept that this is truly happening to your child. In such moments, it may become difficult to grasp the fact about your child's condition. Denial serves as a coping mechanism, allowing you to navigate through this sensitive period. However, it is crucial to acknowledge the possibility of experiencing denial, so as not to hinder the process of making thoughtful decisions regarding your child's treatment. However, this impairment could help them be creative in different tasks

if an early professional intervention will take place. As explained by Manti, Scholte, & Van Berckelaer-Onnes (2013).

A vast majority of children with ASD who are provided with appropriate education show improvements not only in academic learning and functional language but also in socialization, adaptive skills and communication, while many of them can take better advantage of their abilities and skills, in this respect that they can use them in a more productive and generalised way (Quoted in Murray, 2015: 68).

A disability is a permanent or lifelong factor that may lead to educational exclusion (Truesdale & Brown, 2017). In fact, it may represent an everlasting obstacle for the largest group of males and females to attend school (Howgego, Miles & Myers, 2014). Inclusive learning, as an educational approach, aims not only to make learning accessible to all learners, but also to encourage classroom engagement for students with different social backgrounds, abilities and disabilities. This approach prioritizes the needs of learners and recognizes the drawbacks of school organization, curriculum planning, and assessment methods (Thomas & May, 2010). However, this new approach of collaborative work among teachers may create dilemmas and tensions within their profession especially in crowded classrooms (Frangieh, Mérini & Thomazet, 2014, Souders et al., 2017). Unfortunately, some gaps still exist regarding the students' needs, resulting in a teaching environment that primarily focuses on general learning standards rather than the individuals' learning styles and needs (Mohsin & Zakaria, 2017). Therapies and interventions for enhancing language production in people with disabilities usually involve speech pathology techniques that concentrate on ameliorating articulation, oral-motor exercises, word recall, sentence formation, word order and cognitive abilities. The goal of rehabilitation is to facilitate better communication and language expression by using intact language comprehension skills while also working on enhancing language production capacities.

### **Educational Technology for ASD Children**

To ensure the provision of effective support for children diagnosed with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD), it is crucial to implement interventions alongside comprehensive initiatives aimed at enhancing physical, social, and attitudinal environments to make them more accessible, inclusive, and supportive (Shabani et al., 2002; Posar & Visconti, 2018). It is essential to take instrumental measures to enable children with ASD to flourish and achieve their maximum capabilities. By acknowledging the importance of early childhood experiences and prioritizing the welfare of our children, we can lay the foundation for a more promising future for both individuals and society as a whole.

Children who are diagnosed with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) have a number of shared traits, such as repetitive behaviours, stereotyped movements, limited interest, resistance to change, and unpredictable reactions to stimuli. These aforementioned signs, regardless of their intensity, greatly affect their daily lives interactions. Furthermore, compared to their same-age peers with developmental disabilities, including ASD, many students frequently encounter challenges with their academic skills resulting in lower levels of achievement. In this regard,

individuals with ASD may need pathologists' intervention and support to improve their social and academic skills (Arslan et al. 2022).

Extensive research has been conducted to support individuals with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) in enhancing their communicative and academic abilities through the use of digital technologies (Markram et al. 2007; Howlin et al. 2009; Fleury et al. 2014; Souders et al. 2017; Yadav, 2020). These technologies, such as computers, tablets, smart-phone devices, videos, and a wide range of software applications, are used in various intervention settings. The potential of technology to captivate the attention of children with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) surpasses that of non-digital objects (toys, wooden blocks, puzzles or books). This is due to its ability to create controlled and predictable environments as well as providing visual and multisensory stimulation that aids in motivation and reinforcement, in this context, the learning styles and preferences of children are met.

Additionally, technology plays a crucial role in supporting the education of students with ASD by maintaining their focus and minimizing frustration. In today's world, it is increasingly common to meet individuals with ASD engaging with computing devices more than participating in other leisure activities. These technologies offer valuable opportunities to address the special needs of students with ASD, enabling parents and professionals to initiate interventions at an early stage. In fact, early interventions have proven to enhance social, communication, and life skills, providing numerous benefits throughout the lifespan of individuals with ASD. Recent studies focusing on technology-based interventions consistently demonstrate the positive impact of technology on ASD education (Jacklin et al., 2005; Shane & Albert, 2008; Azeem et al., 2016; Valencia et al., 2019; Arslan et al., 2022) Their findings highlight the potential of technology to revolutionize the educational landscape for individuals with ASD, offering them greater challenges for growth and development.

### **Inclusive Learning**

Scholars as Lovas et al. (1976); Mottron et al. (2006), and Corps, Ceralli, & Boisseau (2012) assert that every classroom is inherently diverse in terms of social and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, the integration of students from different backgrounds is important to boost their engagement and enhance their performance. In certain cases, teachers may encounter learners with disabilities in their classrooms, which require a different approach compared to typical learners. The teaching methods usually used for regular learners may not be suitable for those with special needs, as their specific requirements necessitate a tailored approach.

Inclusive education, therefore, is a process that aims to encourage all students to actively participate and engage in their learning while reducing exclusion. It recognizes and addresses the unique needs of each learner, taking into account their individual teaching and learning styles and preferences, as well as social and personal needs. Soriano, Watkins, & Ebersold (2017) further argue that inclusive education is based on innovative approaches and practices developed for the education of people with disabilities. Its ultimate goal is to design effective and equitable education systems that benefit all learners throughout their lifelong educational journey. In this vein, inclusive education is a compulsory aspect of creating an environment where all students can thrive. By embracing diversity and tailoring teaching methods to meet

the specific needs of each learner, we can foster engagement, enhance performance, and reduce exclusion. It is through this approach that we can build equitable education systems that benefit all learners, regardless of their autism spectrum condition.

### **Recommendations**

Incorporate socio-effective learning strategies by encouraging collaborative work among peers.

The incorporation of social skills apps.

The creation of an environment for social scenarios and interaction by means of video modeling, and AAC communication programs (Augmentative and Alternative Communication Devices)

Engage learners with disabilities in tasks or texts that are relevant to their specific disability, and encourage open discussion about it in the classroom.

The use of self-reflection or progress journals or reports for these learners is effective to control their progress.

Using online peer interaction platforms as a supervised digital space for interaction.

Establish an institution equipped with technological tools and educational apps.

Reconsidering the strengths and weaknesses of each child with disabilities to foster their capability and scaffold the activities.

Adopting Virtual Reality (VR) and Augmented Reality (AR) as educational technologies (Software).

Embrace and accept special differences throughout the creation of an inclusive environment where every member has the opportunity to learn and develop their potential.

It is preferable to provide ASD children with their own classrooms that are equipped to accommodate their pervasive needs.

Integrate ASD children into group work and assign them with activities and assignments based on their abilities (onsite and online)

Assisting children with sensory integration tools, interactive whiteboards and wearable devices.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, strengthening language instruction, social skills and promoting educational inclusivity for children with disorders, particularly those with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD), requires an adoption of an inclusive approach. As emphasized throughout this endeavour, the challenges faced by ASD children, and even their families, or professionals in the learning process are complex and challenging. The use of digital tools -guided by pathologists- emerges as a promising avenue, aiming not only at language development, but also at fostering social and professional growth. Nevertheless, it is evident that addressing the educational needs of children with ASD necessitates persistent collaboration, continuous research of modern approaches, and an increase in trained professionals in academic settings. With the prevalence of developmental disabilities on the rise, nurturing the abilities and

potential of these young learners remains an enduring task, demanding concerted efforts, innovation, and an unwavering commitment to inclusive education.

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## **Narrative Control and Marginalized Voices in J.M. Coetzee's *Foe***

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### **Abstract**

This paper examines J.M. Coetzee's *Foe* novel's theme of narrative control and its effects on underrepresented voices. It explores how colonial discourse and power dynamics affect the representation and agency of minority characters through a close reading of the text. The study provides insights into how narrative control affects the voices of those on the periphery of society in Coetzee's work and illuminates the intricate interplay between storytelling, identity, and authority.

**Keywords:** Coetzee, Post-Colonialism, Silence, Language, Narrative strategy."

The work *Foe* by J.M. Coetzee adeptly manoeuvres through the intricacies of narrative control, clarifying the consequences for the portrayal and autonomy of underrepresented perspectives. The novel, which is set against a backdrop of colonialism and power conflicts, emphasizes the finer points of storytelling that marginalize some individuals and prevent their stories from becoming widely known. This essay critically examines the ways in which Coetzee uses narrative techniques to highlight the influence of prevailing voices on those who are silenced or unheard. Through text analysis, the research seeks to uncover the complex interplay of language, narrative authority, and the representation of marginalized voices in the book. *Foe* by J.M. Coetzee is a potent story that explores the complex levels of narrative control and highlights how these layers affect minority voices.

In *Foe*, Coetzee painstakingly crafts a story that reflects the hierarchical power systems that were common in colonial America. The influence of colonial language is made clear by Susan Barton's struggles to express her experiences and her encounters with Friday and Cruso. Being a female character, Susan struggles with her own exclusion from the story. The dominant presence of other characters, particularly the title character Foe, who appropriates and dominates her narrative, continually thwarts her attempts to tell her tale. The indigenous character Friday represents the voice that is muted in the narrative. The colonizer's linguistic hegemony suppresses disadvantaged voices, as seen by his inability to speak directly owing to language limitations. Coetzee deftly uses language as a weapon to illustrate power relations, in which the imposition of a dominant language functions as a tool of oppression and helps to silence those who are disadvantaged.

In *Foe*, the idea of narrative control functions as a dominant force that shapes how characters are portrayed, especially those who are marginalized by the colonial power structure. One of

the main characters in the story is a female castaway named Susan Barton, whose voice is muffled and warped by the dominant male characters. Friday's silence and Mr. Foe's commanding voice undermine her attempts to express her experiences and assert her agency. Coetzee skillfully intertwines a story within a story to emphasize the conflict over narrative authority and how it affects underrepresented voices. "Coetzee is able to demonstrate the pernicious political role of texts in the ongoing oppression of Blacks and hence the importance of their dismantling," claims Madhok, "because of the complicity between narrative mode and political oppression, specifically the cryptic associations of historicism and realism in European and South African white settler's narrative" (28). In order to involve the reader in the ideological decoding of meaning and to explore the role of language in the colonial process as well as the more general issue of representation, Coetzee employs a variety of narrative patterns, the concepts of voice and silence, and metafiction in *Foe*. The book connects writing to power in addition to addressing popular discourses on colonialism and feminism. found in the male author-figure's theft of the narrative from a female narrator.

Coetzee looks into the issue of whether it is possible to give the other person "voice" without enforcing a colonizing power. One of the main issues in postcolonial writing has been how to relate authorship and authority. But the liberal, white writers of South Africa have made it more difficult by challenging the canonical authority. Coetzee acknowledges the possibility of reestablishing the same authority while writing back to the canonical text in *Foe*. It is believed that authorship is a colonizing activity that is evident when a male author-figure appropriates a female narrator's story.

Coetzee emphasizes the marginalized voices' silencing through a variety of narrative techniques. The fact that Foe manipulated Susan's story and that Friday refrained from making a direct statement highlight how ubiquitous narrative control is. Coetzee challenges the veracity and authenticity of the narratives offered by raising awareness of the manufactured nature of storytelling through the use of metafictional devices. The fractured identities and suppressed narratives of the marginalized characters are reflected in the novel's disjointed and fragmented narrative structure. The struggle for agency and representation that people on the margins of society face is made more apparent by Coetzee's thoughtful narrative decisions. Friday, a character who is notably silent for a large portion of the book, represents the voices of the oppressed and colonized that are silenced. His silence is a symbol of the colonists' willful erasure of indigenous stories. Coetzee employs a tactful use of silence to highlight the power relationships at work in the story. Friday's quiet is a purposeful act of defiance against the powerful forces attempting to shape his narrative and identity, not just a lack of speech.

Madhok claims that Friday and the oppressive force, which is symbolized by Susan and Foe, are also involved in the narrative power struggle between them. Friday is a silent character in the book. The idea of language-based appropriation has been connected to Susan and Foe's attempts to give meaning to that silence (Kossev 162). Susan characterizes the quiet on Friday as akin to a "button hole, expertly stitched around, yet vacant, anticipating the button" (*Foe* 121). Here, the "button" alludes to Susan's reading of his quiet. According to her, Friday lacks verbal command and is thus powerless to stop herself from being changed daily to suit the whims of others. "I say he is a cannibal, and he becomes a cannibal; I say he is a laundry man

and he becomes a laundry man. What is the truth of Friday? You will respond: he is neither cannibal nor laundry man, they are mere names, they do not touch his essence, he is a substantial body, he is himself, and Friday is Friday. But that is not so. No matter what he is to himself (is he anything to himself? -how can he tell us?), what he is to the world is what I make of him” (emphasis added, *Foe* 121-122). Susan is aware that she can manipulate Friday because of his adamant silence. He occupies the positionality she dictates for him.

Coetzee challenges authority and conventional storytelling by utilizing complex narrative techniques, such as metafictional elements. The conflict over narrative control is reflected in the novel's structure, which makes it difficult to distinguish between fact and fiction. Coetzee asks readers to consider whose stories are judged worthy of being told and who has the power to control these narratives by highlighting the agency of the marginalized characters through these literary devices.

Language becomes clear as a crucial factor affecting narrative control and how marginalized voices are portrayed in *Foe*. Characters like Friday, whose native tongue is suppressed and seen as inferior, are further marginalized by the imposition of English as the primary language of communication. Coetzee emphasizes the ingrained biases in the linguistic structures imposed by the colonial powers, exposing the limitations of language in expressing the complex identities and experiences of the marginalized.

Susan acknowledges that Friday has been denied speech or language in literary form and is prohibited from expressing “urgings of his heart”. She recognizes Friday’s “unmanning” as authorial appropriation just as her story has been appropriated by Foe. In Barton’s opinion Friday’s apparent mutilation implies a more atrocious mutilation: “Whether by a dumb slave I was to understand a slave unmanned” (*Foe* 119). Lewis Macleod argues that the novel lacks “proof that Friday has no tongue” (*Foe* 7). In the same vein, Susan’s description of Friday’s apparent castration is vague and unclear: “What had been hidden from me was revealed I saw; or, I should say, my eyes were open to what was present to them” (*Foe* 119). Susan’s fascination with the idea of Friday’s possible castration conveys her acceptance of patriarchy. Inquiring into the ‘facts’ of his tongue and his genitals, she correlates the two. From her patriarchal view, a person’s genitalia inform the authority of a speaker or non-speaker. She classifies Friday as being a non-male and thus explains why Friday, a male character does not tell his own story or possess greater authority. The scene represents the confluence of post-colonial and feminist discourse in the novel. However, she sees her subjection as different from Friday’s and contrasts her own silence as deliberate. “Therefore, the silence of Friday is a helpless silence. He is child of his silence, a child unborn, a child waiting to be born that cannot be born. Whereas, silence I keep regarding Bahia and other matters is chosen and purposeful, it is my own silence” (*Foe* 121-122).

As was previously mentioned, Susan disagrees with Foe regarding the organization of her story. She gets obsessed with sharing or even knowing the tale of how Friday lost his tongue, but she is unable to do so since the mute Friday—whose tongue, according to Cruso, was amputated by slavers—is unable to narrate his own tale. As Susan says: “The story of Friday’s tongue is a story unable to be told, or unable to be told by me. That is to say, many stories can be told of

Friday's tongue, but the true story is buried within Friday, who is mute. The true story will not be heard till by art we have found a new means of giving voice to Friday" (118).

The loss of Friday's tongue is the deconstructive gap in her story, which she hopes to fill through creative means. Susan can't stop telling the story of Friday. Because of the similarities in their histories of oppression, her story and Friday's become inextricably linked. But even in her attempt to narrate Friday's story, Susan is speaking for Friday and participating in his oppression. The subaltern is subjected to a form of epistemic violence through the hegemonic discourse. Conversely, remaining silent is just as detrimental as speaking in a foreign language or following the master's discourse's guidelines. Both rob people of their agency and have the potential to objectify. Friday does not provide a credible account, so his story lacks the authority of the legitimating subject. Moreover, it is challenging to determine whether Friday chooses not to speak or is merely incapable of doing so due to the ambiguous nature of Friday's lost tongue. There is a discernible distinction between a resolute choice to remain silent and a passive one. In a sense, Friday represents the silent native who has been colonized. The issue of "linguistic imperialism" at the level of language and communication is highlighted by the fact that he is tongue-less. If Friday remains silent, then who can speak or act on his behalf without endorsing his subjugation? The novel addresses this problem by suggesting that Susan is treating Friday in a similar manner to Cruso. Susan, for instance, feels obligated to look after him, educate him, and assist in getting him back to his native Africa. The other is Friday, for which she bears ethical responsibility. However, she confesses that: "There are times when benevolence deserts me and I use words only as the shortest way to subject him to my will" (60). As she begins to try to teach him more words in Foe's home, she is aware of her potential complicity in Friday's oppression in language: "At such times I understand why Cruso preferred not to disturb his muteness. I understand, that is to say, why a man will choose to be a slaveholder" (60-61).

In this sense, Susan is complicit in the colonizer's actions, as language is an effective tool in their hands. Thus, layers of oppression exist. Friday becomes the target of two different forms of oppression. Susan, on the other hand, shows herself to be both an oppressor and a victim. As an oppressor, she is also aware of the discursive violence that words can cause: Friday lacks the ability to control her language, which leaves her defenceless against being constantly changed to fit the needs of others. Susan gripes that Friday is paradoxically reduced to a linguistic construct or fictive status by his silence, which lacks a story. It's likely that Coetzee wants us to be conscious of the possibility that we are contributing to the oppression of the oppressed. Furthermore, Coetzee makes a strong contrast between Susan Barton's own marginalization and voice-seeking and Friday's silence.

The development of one's identity and the assertion of control over one's narrative become major themes in *Foe*. The external forces controlling the narrative undermine the characters' attempts to use storytelling to express who they are. Susan's journey to find her voice again and share her own story becomes a symbol for the larger fight against hegemonic narratives that determine whose stories are accepted as legitimate and should be shared.

Coetzee deftly examines the issue of narrative control in *Foe*, highlighting how it affects marginalized voices and illuminating the complex interplay between authority, identity, and storytelling. Coetzee highlights the difficulties underrepresented people have in establishing their voices in dominant discourses by experimenting with language and narrative techniques. This research sheds light on the power dynamics at play in storytelling and calls for a critical re-examination of whose stories are given priority and recognition in literary contexts. The examination of marginalized voices and narrative control in *Foe* offers a moving critique of the effects of colonialism on representation and storytelling. By tearing apart established power structures that are ingrained in stories, the book unveils the complexity of language, identity, and authority. Coetzee challenges readers to consider the effects of stifling marginalized voices by analysing the hardships of characters like Susan Barton and Friday. She also emphasizes the significance of recognizing and elevating these stories within the larger conversation.

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**Entanglements of Body, Nature, Identity in D.H Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*: An Ecofeminist Reading**

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**Abstract**

An important aspect of our existence and self-identity, that often goes unacknowledged, is the intricately entangled dependence upon the natural world. D. H. Lawrence's last novel, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928) offers opportunity with the representation of the industrial, post-World War I world of England, the natural environments of English Midlands and 'broken' human's search for their identities. This paper reads the novel through the theoretical perspectives of Ecofeminism to explore the various crisis of identity present and the important role that nature plays.

**Keywords:** Early 20th Century England, Nature, War, Identity, Ecofeminism

Often neglected in dominant western rationality philosophy which supports patriarchy is the importance of the celebration of the body. In a dualistic relation, body has always been opposed by the predominance and celebration of the mind. Rene Descartes argued for the indispensability of the mind over the body. The industrial culture triumphed the advancements brought by the human mind over the body. Many ecological thinkers find the mind and body dualism to lie at the basis of ecological injustice by denying the flourishing and importance of body. Ecofeminist Val Plumwood in *Environmental Culture* (2002) elaborates on what she calls as the "rationalist commodity culture" (16) about the western civilization's scientific and industrial pursuits as an opposite of an environmental, ecologically viable culture. Plumwood while criticizing cartesian dualism mentions a series of dualistic relations that are interconnected. While man came to be associated with the mind, women, nature, and other marginalised beings came to be clubbed together as body (*Environmental Culture* 19). Any embodied experience came to be devalued, "contrasted and reduced sphere" (Plumwood, *Environmental Culture* 5). Freedom meant release from the influence of the body. Therefore, culture and nature came to be the opposite ends of the human society.

In England, the industrial revolution, the gradual overtaking by capitalism had broadened the gap between culture and nature, mind, and body and so on. On the other hand, by the time the First World War took place people suffered from disillusionment and searched for the old order of life and identity of the country that existed before the stifling mechanical order of existence. Although debated, the industries also struggled to survive the turmoil that arose due to the war (Greasley and Oxley 82).

D.H Lawrence born in the English Midlands in the late nineteenth century had experience of living in close proximity of collieries where his father was employed. At the same time Eastwood where they resided lacked the grim associated with industrial areas. Rather, the rural landscape boasted of lush green. Lawrence was attached to Nottinghamshire, the simple life and did not wish to leave until it became necessary. Although born amidst the already industrialised Victorian world, he was interested in nature which is reflected in his works. Roger Ebbatson in the book, *Lawrence and the Nature Tradition: A Theme in English Fiction 1859-1914* notes that in his works the “abiding presence in Nature is constantly stressed” (31) and in his thought a “sense of man as a part of a greater organism” (Ebbatson 29). This came with the promotion of preference for what could be called as traditional, old England embedded in life that appreciates the old oak trees and preservation of ancient woods. His short story, “England, My England” explores the connections of a human self with the organic world of old England and his sufferings in the new, modern, and mechanical England.

Recognised widely for its overtly sexual descriptions, D.H. Lawrence’s last novel *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* (1928; referred as *LCL* in parenthesis) contains certain sentiments that are present in the mentioned short story. The novel is filled with relevant issues built on acknowledgement of the entwined, entangled nature of our existence and shows a preference for identities, sense of self that are built on interactions with the natural world as nature does not simply feature as a background.

The novel is set in the English Midland years following the end of the first World War. A world crippled by its after effects and the soaring industrial pursuits. The English agricultural conditions had also declined by the end of the Victorian period. The Romantics in the early years of nineteenth century had shown fear for the loss of the organic connections due to the gradual turn to anthropocentric attitude towards the natural world. By the end of the century, the reality presented horror and disillusionments with the mechanical turn of not only the English economy but also the turn of the people as mentioned in the novel degraded as “beastliness” “labour-insects” (*LCL* 241).

The novel addresses two important aspects together. The mechanical order is contrasted with the traditional order of life in England that existed before the madness of industrial pursuit and economic gains. Another contrast is shown between the physical and the mental. The traditional order of life and the acceptance of one’s body over mind is shown to be organic against the mechanical order of things.

The story explores Lawrence’s preference for the Old England, its values associated with nature and land along with prioritising of the body, identities associated with it in a world where such relations were severed.

The work revolves around three main characters. Clifford Chatterley, a paralysed war veteran and a landowner, his wife Constance Chatterley or Connie, and the gamekeeper at Wragby, Oliver Mellors also an ex-army man. Along with representing different strata of the society, these characters are rejects, the marginalised- a crippled paralysed landowner and colliery owner, a once free modern woman limited to a role of a wife, bound to the class she represents, and a poor game keeper battered by the past of his life. Due to circumstances, all of them are

forced to suppress themselves, forced to not explore their choices affecting the realization of their true identity.

Before Connie's marriage to Clifford and their move to Wragby Hall from their urban living after his paralysis as an aftermath of the World War, brought up with liberal, socialist belief by her father, Connie had an outwardly disposition of a soft female of the rural world but a modern, free woman having extensively travelled European nations. She is "at once cosmopolitan and provincial" (*LCL* 4) having excursed into forests and explored a sense of freedom. Clifford unlike his soon to be wife is a novice in many ways despite being an aristocrat. Their differences of character that would ultimately lead to their conflict and separation is hinted in the earlier part of the novel when the narrator states Connie was "so much more mistress of herself in the outer world of Chaos than" Clifford "was a master of himself" (*LCL* 8). Their love for England also varies, Clifford having experienced the Midlands, he loves the old woods believing that it is what is the 'heart' of the what England used to be. For Connie 'England' stood for "Kensington or the scotch hills or the Sussex downs" (*LCL* 12). While it is mentioned that Connie's sense of freedom came from her physical freedom, Clifford did not share the same. Instead, the meaning of intimacy for him even after their marriage was the interaction of their intellect, the use of their minds. After his paralysis, the physical connection further severed among the couple, Clifford's interest having shifted to writing stories, he involves Connie in his work but is not interested in serving what she wants in their relation. With the war, the paralysis and the shock received further does not let him have a sense of self even for himself. The war having left a sense of nothingness. Having left him physically paralysed, Clifford continues to represent mind. However, even in his pursuing of writing stories about people, he wrote without any personal connection with them. In real life, he shares similar disconnection with his wife making her feel her life to be mechanical with no organic warmth or vitality. Clifford's distancing from everything becomes evident in the way he deals with his role. Before going to war, he was learning different technical ways of coal mining, yet, frightened of the classes below himself. His thought is also reflected in the way Wragby Hall is disconnected with Tevershall village where he is supposed to be the master. An absent landowner at first, his home is cut off from the life of the industrial Midlands. There existed no connection between the home of the landowner and the village. Clifford feels indifference towards the people dependent upon him. He rather felt them to be as "objects rather than men" (*LCL* 15). His interactions with the old wood are also from the perspective of an owner whose work is to preserve or destroy the resources. Further, his willingness to protect the ancient trees seems to be so because he hated what his father had done to the woods by clearing and cutting them off just as he plucked people out of the Tevershall village to send to the war along with Clifford.

Conversations on the mind and the body appears in the novel at different points. At one point in a discussion on life, the balance of the both is said to be "the organic connexion" (*LCL* 39) and prioritising of only the mind breaks the organic nature of existence.

Connie on the other hand shares a different relation with the woods. Now limited to her home at Wragby, surrounded by the vast woods which contrasts and protects the home from the harsh reality of industrial English Midland life, she tries to escape from the bindings of mechanical duty at home. Having lost her sense of self and what she identifies with, she excurses across the



park, into the woods which represent old, traditional, ancient England. It opens space for Connie to explore her own self through practice of attentive interaction with nature and her diversity. Stephanie Lahar in “Roots: Rejoining Natural and Social History” states her belief similar to the deep ecologists that we are transformed by different “natural features of the area in which... [we] live” (91). The organic interactions with the ancient wood soothe her, the inwardness of the remaining forested area helps her to connect with herself, away from the properness of aristocracy. Wragby turns to be “an awful place” (LCL 234), “wretched place” (LCL 81) due to the confines of domesticity of an unfulfilled marriage, restricted life, and the disgust she feels by living in the filth of the industrial area. She finds this place with the collieries like an ‘underground.’ She felt disgusted at the “soulless ugliness of the coal and iron Midlands,” “the stench of... sulphurous combustion of the earth’s excrement” (LCL 12). The woods at Wragby becomes her only way of escape out of her life, she relished “the solitude and mystery” (LCL 18) of the organic nature of the woods.

It is only with the entry of the gamekeeper, Oliver Mellors, in her life that she starts feeling the way she is naturally supposed to be; she begins to find her own self. Once having lost vitality of herself by falling sick due to her confinement by serving as a caretaker for Clifford’s selfish attention, she begins to gain control over her life. The once overlooked acknowledgement of the body reappears organically. She speaks of gaining back her autonomy, claim of her democracy of identity through the “resurrection of her body” (LCL 80).

Val Plumwood in *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature* (1993) identifies that crisis of identity for a woman in a relationship with a man comes from the fact that “power forms identity, one which distorts both sides of what it splits apart, ... the masculine and the feminine, human and nature” (32; emphasis added). The powerlessness of the woman, the hindrance to form her identity by identifying her true self comes from the constant, if not always visible, control of the “white, largely male elite... [who form] the master model” (Plumwood 1993: 23). Connie sees a husband’s position as “lord and master” (LCL 259) to whom she is a captive to meet their end of needs. The differences of masculine and feminine space in relation to nature is also visible through the roles Connie and Clifford are supposed to play at home. It is the duty of Clifford to maintain the old trees and it is the work of Connie to maintain the domesticated, designed garden. Connies escapades to the wild woods, her excited visitations and attention to wild flowers and claiming of her identity through control of her body over Clifford’s claim over her mind shows her rebellion to bring about change in her own life.

Her interactions with Mellors, both physical and sharing opinions among the non-judgmental space of nature helps them to develop a mutual relationship. Connie sees her and Mellor’s bonded, controlled lives as making them “battered warriors” (LCL 224). They search for a life and a world which Jonathan Bate in *The Song of the Earth* (2000) notes about the older times when in the early nineteenth century without much change brought by industrialization, the world represented “a lost world of elegance” (1). Like Connie, Mellor says “everybody...all frantically killing off the last human feeling, the last bit of their intuition, the last healthy instinct” (LCL 238) although having born and having lived in the collieries where his father and himself had worked briefly. Mellor who despises the madness of “industrial epoch” (LCL 241) over accumulation of monetary wealth begs to Connie “let’s drop the whole industrial life an’

go back. The least little bit o' money'll do. For everybody, me an' you, bosses an' masters, even th' king" (LCL 240). The statement points out not only Mellor's choice of closeness to organic way of life, it also shows that the organic does not comply with power centred capitalist practice.

Their uninhabited sexual interactions of passion, while embracing of nature's diversity and appreciation of flowers together in their minute observation of the organic life, they are able of finding themselves among the madness of the mechanical world's gradual loss of human self in a primitive sense of human existence. That once existed before the advent of human society and a culture which prioritises matters of the mind by numbing the matters of the body. In Mellor she finds a partner who understands tenderness. Tenderness has been associated with the female but a self-assured man who acknowledges the female and their want and agency in a world maddened by monetary pursuits is what wins Connie who affirms "It's the courage of your own tenderness" (LCL 303). Another interesting aspect of Mellor that shows his tenderness is how he perceives nature and her diversity. At the end of the novel, Mellor who always had a natural inkling towards taking care of horses when he was younger, he takes work at a farm, peacefully caring, tending and looking after animals and the land after being ridiculed and ousted from Wragby for listening not to his mind but to his body and soul.

While Connie's relationship with Mellors is shown to be substituent for the mechanical, replacing with an organic unity with no gain in mind but a relation only formed due to instinctual attraction. Her relation, as discussed earlier, with Clifford is quite different. When she clears to him who she loves and is ready to sacrifice everything, she is ridiculed by him. Clifford mentions to Connie that answering to the physical needs is a sign of 'animality' therefore making this woman disinterested in things of the mind, such statement exposes the duality which the ecofeminists speak of in their critical thinking. Earlier in the novel, in a conversation held between Clifford and Connie their differences of preferences become visible. While Clifford like the works of Proust, she finds his works to reflect too much "sophistication" and "self-important mentalities" (LCL 212) and Clifford taunts her if she like "animalities" (LCL 213) more. Much later, when Clifford finds that Connie does not anymore participate or enjoy the sole reason of their intimate closeness, i.e., reading and writing, he declares "the life of the body...is just the life of the animals" (LCL 257) to which Connie states that it was the likes of the Greeks, Plato and Aristotle who have buried the importance of the embracing the body. This statement is quite interesting conversation as ecofeminists, Carolyn Merchant in *The Death of Nature* and Val Plumwood in *Feminism and The Mastery of Nature* have noted that in the works of Aristotle and Plato a dualistic approach in which females are devalued as bodies, and nature lie at the basis of western thought.

Tim Christian Myers in "Identity, Difference, and Agency in Feminism and Ecofeminism" quite interestingly brings together the questions of identity and agency. He states that traditionally, adapting oneself to the norms naturalised for the male ensures both identity and agency. However, such idea maintains dualism at its basis. Ecofeminists such as Plumwood call for identity based on recognition of the difference. Clifford tries to create identity and agency of Connie by moulding her according to his interests and choices which only concentrates on the mind and rejects identity and agency that can be formed by acknowledging the body.

Although Connie is able to find her values and create for herself her own sense of freedom, identity in her embodied interactions within the woods, she is denied agency by Clifford, ridiculing for what she identifies herself with and by not allowing her to bring changes to her life which would alter lives of other people including himself. He exploits his position as a man who represents aristocratic civility and power due to his economic capacity. His stubborn attitude of denying cooperation, acceptance of her differences is beyond the thought of mutuality in relationships that eco-thinkers promote. He is disappointed in Connie for choosing the call of freedom by embracing her body instead of staying with him.

Both Mellor and Connie, however, choose their choices and proudly embrace their identities as they wait to unite and honour their organic relation which flourished in a harsh, mechanical world that has corrupted and reduced humanity to follow the prevalent culture.

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**The Distorted Body and Self in the Wake of Partition: A Discussion of Manto's "Toba Tek Singh" and Manik Bandhopadhyas "The Final Solution"**

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**Abstract**

The stories of partition critique the violence and bloodshed that accompanies partition. My paper "The Distorted Body and Self in the Wake of Partition: A Discussion of Manto's "Toba Tek Singh" and Manik Bandhopadhyas "The Final Solution" will try to show how individual identities became fraught with the confliction national identities in the wake of independence. Set at the backdrop of partition, both the narratives become representation of social condition and the insanity that was overflowing among people as both the spellbinding stories explore the effects of this inhuman barbarity and chaos in the physic of the protagonists—Toba Tek Singh and Mallika.

**Keywords:** Partition, violence, identity, trauma

Alok Bhalla in his 'Introduction' to a collection of Partition stories in English translation thinks that with respect to partition of India, there is not only dearth of 'great' literature but also history. If this is true in any way, it may be because Indian history has placed more emphasis on independence than on Partition, and more emphasis on nationalism's unifying power than on the factors that tore the country apart in 1947. According to Ayesha Jalal and Sugata Bose's South Asian history book, "The colossal human tragedy of the partition and its continuing aftermath has been better conveyed by the more sensitive creative writers and artists—for example in Saadat Hasan Manto's short stories and Ritwik Ghatak's films—than by historians". Thus, writers and artists have played a major role in recreating the gruesome history of partition of India in their works. Partition in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh was not only a political but also a social and psychological upheaval due to the literary response it received, which ranged from Saadat Hasan Manto to Bapsi Sidhwa, from Rahi Masoom Reza to Kamleshwar, and from Khushwant Singh to Shashi Tharoor at regular intervals throughout the last millennium. The intricate methods in which the politics of Partition filtered into people's consciousness are uncovered, along with the manner in which the Pakistan movement divided families along ideological lines and stoked anxieties. The nostalgia and exile that permeate these stories on both sides of the border effectively convey the problems of refugees brought about by Partition as well as the displacement and suffering of the women who are kidnapped and/or raped. My paper "The Distorted Body and Self in the Wake of Partition: A Discussion of Manto's "Toba Tek Singh" and Manik Bandhopadhyas "The Final Solution" will discuss how individual identities became fraught with the confliction national identities in the wake of independence. Set at the backdrop of partition, both the narratives become representation of

social condition and the insanity that was overflowing among people as both the spellbinding stories explore the effects of this inhuman barbarity and chaos in the physic of the protagonists—Toba Tek Singh and Mallika.

Both “Toba Tek Singh” and “Thanda Ghost” by Manto serve as powerful testaments to the psychological suffering that individuals endured during the partition. Partition discourse frequently returns to the metaphor of madness and the issue of identity-crisis. Manto's "Toba Tek Singh" effectively uses madness as a metaphor in his post-Partition fiction, depicting the exchange of Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh lunatics between Pakistan and India. In the story the metaphor of madness is intricately woven into the narrative, primarily through the character of Bishan Singh, who resides in a lunatic asylum. The madness in this story symbolizes the insanity of the partition between India and Pakistan and the absurdity of the divisions imposed on people. For the last fifteen years, the principal figure Bishan Singh, has been detained in an asylum in Pakistan. He hasn't taken a nap or laid down in this period, and all he can say is a repetitive, stupid Punjabi refrain, "O pardi girgir axe di bedhiana di moongdi dal di laltain." Toba Tek Singh is a Pakistani village that is home to Bishan Singh. But in the run-up to Partition, asylum patients are unsure of which nation will accept them. The authorities never provide Bishan Singh with clear answers when he asks where Toba Tek Singh is. His bewilderment is increased when he is informed that it is in Hindustan sometimes and Pakistan other times. The family of Bishan Singh eventually moves to India, including his cherished daughter Roop Kaur. The governments of Pakistan and India decide a few years later to move their insane people from one nation to the other. Bishan Singh boards a truck to be sent to the border with all the other Sikhs and Hindus in the asylum. At last, Bishan Singh learns that his village is in Pakistan when he is being processed at the Wagah boundary. Bishan Singh discovers his village is in Pakistan and refuses to leave, planting himself in the no man's land between the two countries. He cries aloud “Toba Tek Singh is here! Right here where I'm standing!” he cried. Guards attempt to force him across the border, but Bishan Singh remains there all day and night. Just before dawn, he screams and falls down dead. Bishan Singh's madness mirrors the chaos and disorientation experienced by individuals amidst the political upheaval and the forced migration during partition. His refusal to recognize the border between India and Pakistan in the no man's land of Toba Tek Singh encapsulates the lunacy of dividing people based on geographical boundaries. The asylum itself becomes a microcosm of the fragmented society, representing the nonsensical divisions imposed by politics and power struggles. Bishan Singh's tragic end, when he collapses and dies between the two barbed wires marking the border, signifies the insanity and futility of these imposed separations. Manto ends the story with the enigmatic lines “On one side behind him stood the lunatics of Hindustan and on the other side across the road, lunatics of Pakistan. Between them on the no-man' s land Toba Tek Singh lay stretched” (Manto 58).

When he penned "Toba Tek Singh," Manto most likely drew from his own personal life. He was sent to a mental asylum in 1952 for his acute alcoholism. In the story “Toba Tek Singh” Manto approaches insanity from an atypically pragmatic approach. According to him, it is a reality, a sign of a type of widespread insanity brought on by Partition as well as the paranoia of the individual character. Manto has the chance to indulge in the brand of dark satire that is

his signature through the representation of the asylum and its residents. He uses the insane antics of the lunatics as a tool to criticize the politics and religious dogmatism of the day. Manto reflects the inherent madness that was driving the society due to partition outside the mental walls with their frantic yelling of slogans, uncontrolled conduct, and stripping off of garments of the inmates of the asylum. This reality inversion, in which the individuals inside the asylum play the roles of those outside and the people outside act inhumanely and irrationally, emphasises the irony that permeates Manto's writing so heavily. The political and social turmoil of Partition, with all of its inescapable ambiguities, is defined by the totally relative adjective "madness." Boundaries and walls become meaningless, and a figure like Bishan Singh personifies the ambivalence and conflicting allegiances felt by individuals who were uprooted on either side.

A key plot point is the protagonist's name being confused with the village's name. Manto addresses Bishan Singh as Toba Tek Singh on multiple occasions, and this becomes the nickname that the asylum residents use to refer to him. (All Sikhs bear the surname Singh.) Manto highlights the connection between a person's identity and his place of residence by alternating the names of the character and the location, the person and the land. Additionally, he emphasises the dislocated ego, the warped allegiances, and the sensation of alienation by playing on the main character's insanity. In addition to representing the mental instability of the individual, Manto employs the metaphor of madness to highlight the folly and communal craziness of the division, when humankind itself appeared to lose its reason in the face of political choices. In the title "Toba Tek Singh," a town that turns become a border between Pakistan and India is mentioned. The limbo that befalls those who are uprooted and caught between opposing identities and allegiances is reflected in this physical location.

The sadness of partition is shown in Manto's story, which also highlights the foolishness of partitioning a country and act of pointless violence and suffering. Acting as a mirror to the communal trauma and craziness that gripped the populace, it highlights the human cost of political choices and the sensation of displacement that innumerable people went through. Through "Toba Tek Singh," Manto presents a striking depiction of the profound psychological wounds caused by partition, evoking a melancholic resonance that speaks to the tragedies and complexity of history.

The insanity, the turmoil and the pandemonium created with partition did not just end with it. The turbulences continued even after that. The new nation states were now challenged with the refugee problems. The separation of East and West Pakistan further escalated the refugee problems. Maik Bandopadhyay's short story "The Final Solution," captures what happened among the general populace when the boundaries were established as he narrates the tale of a family forced to relocate to West Bengal due to Bengal's 1905 division. The account of how humanity declined in such trying times and how women were forced into prostitution to support their families and make ends meet is incredibly thought-provoking and leaves one to question if it was all truly worthwhile.

The narrative captures a slice of the tumultuous time when men human beings tuned vultures were trying to feed on female bodies and exploit them. Some people approach distressed

individuals and families with the intention of assisting them, but in reality, they are just taking advantage of these migratory families. Mallika who is the lead character in the story "The Final Solution" becomes a victim of one of Pramatha's schemes. In return for being able to support their families, these people forced women into prostitution. Partition set the right mood for these types of criminals to show up in the scene. They were the dominant group among women, and they appropriated women's bodies as valuable resources. In exchange for food and shelter, Pramatha promised Mallika a job in the story "The Final Solution." She was initially unsure of the type of work, but over time, she understands. She found out that Pramatha employs refugee women who are defenceless to trick him into becoming prostitutes. She accepts Pramatha's offer even though she knows everything about him because there is no other option for her to save her child. Mallika travels to Pramatha's residence in a forlorn attempt to save her sick husband and child after failing to avoid paying such a visit. In contrast, Pramatha generates revenue by leasing cars and rooms to women who work as prostitutes. Mallika claims that she will do anything to protect her child. She proceeds to the location where Ramlochan, Pramatha's helper, drove her. She briefly felt joyful after receiving a room and food for her infant, but this did not last long. Pramatha desires to be amused by her. He needs her to get some tea right now. However, his true intention was to first use her for his own sexual gain before enlisting her as a prostitute. But Mallika could not bear Pramatha's suggestion. When she thought she would get the chance to attack, she turned into a tigress and stared at him. To illustrate the aggressive side of human personalities, the author has employed animal imagery. According to one account of Mallika's irate expression, "To Pramatha her emaciated hungry looks took on the form of a human tigress as she kept fidgeting." Her head raised as she gave him a direct stare gave the impression that she was going to bite into his skin.(43). This is a perspective that treats people like animals. As a result of partition, people actually became savage and lost their human ideals. When the most of the ladies were prepared to give in to the circumstances, Mallika took a stand to refuse to be exploited. She developed bravery and grew powerful and manly.

Mallika confronts Pramatha at his home, where she experiences psychological trauma and confronts him about his sexual exploitation. Mallika uses a soda bottle as a weapon to strike Pramatha, causing him to become unconscious. She kills him with a sari noose, taking away all the money in his pocket. This incredible fight demonstrates Mallika's courage and fortitude against patriarchal power, which engulfed women who became homeless, were abducted, and tortured after partition. Mallika's persona stands for the tenacity and fortitude of women in the face of hardship. It also clarifies the manner in which women are disproportionately impacted by displacement and conflict. Mallika's experiences following the Partition serve as further evidence. The partition's impact on women was profound and multifaceted, with long-lasting effects on their lives and the social fabric of the regions involved. The experiences varied widely depending on geographical location, socio-economic status, and community affiliation. of how vulnerable women are during times of unrest and conflict. Because of the chaos and anarchy that follow the Partition, she is the target of sexual harassment and attack by males. Mallika's body bear testimony of the psychological and physical scars that almost all women bore both pre and post partition.

The effects of 1947 are still felt more strongly than they were on the subcontinent today. In actuality, the subcontinent has never really healed from the trauma of partition. For more than sixty years, Indian-English fiction has consistently featured the Partition as a repeating theme that never fails to make an impression. These works of fiction try to bridge the gap and long silences in history that historiographers have failed to surface.

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**Interpreting Bharati Mukherjee And Jahnvi Barua in the Context of  
Northeast India: The Question of Identity**

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**Abstract**

‘Anything could be true...’ - George Orwell, 1984

This paper negotiates with the reflections of 'Post-Truth' in Northeast India by using the readings of Bharati Mukherjee's fictional and non-fictional works and JahnviBarua's novel, *Undertow*. It attempts to present the pregnable condition of Northeast India through the writings of the two prolific writers.

The incident of bloodshed in Manipur, the indigenous split, has piloted the state into a post-truth wherein the masses' views are formed less by facts and more by uncorroborated truths that ensemble societies' emotions and dogmas. The significance of post-truth is the expression of the failure of the institutions of 'truth-telling' (Kamei, 2023). In Manipur, the emergence of post-truth can be attributed to the failure of the governments and news media. However, through the lens of Bharati Mukherjee and JahnviBarua, we can decipher the identity crisis of the Northeast, clearing the haze of post-truth.

**Keywords:** Immigration, Rootlessness, Subaltern, Identity-Crisis, Socio-Cultural Conflicts, Violence, Post-truth.

**Context**

Anything could be true...’ - George Orwell, 1984

This paper negotiates with the reflections of 'Post-Truth' in Northeast India by using the readings of Bharati Mukherjee's fictional and non-fictional works and JahnviBarua's novel, *Undertow*. It attempts to present the pregnable condition of Northeast India through the writings of the two prolific writers.

The incident of bloodshed in Manipur, the indigenous split, has piloted the state into a post-truth wherein the masses' views are formed less by facts and more by uncorroborated truths that ensemble societies' emotions and dogmas. The significance of post-truth is the expression of the failure of the institutions of 'truth-telling' (Kamei, 2023). In Manipur, the emergence of post-truth can be attributed to the failure of the governments and news media. However, through the lens of Bharati Mukherjee and JahnviBarua, we can decipher the identity crisis of the Northeast, clearing the haze of post-truth.

## **Introduction**

**Post-truth**, the 21st-century term, has extensive records of disputes regarding public truth. Oxford Dictionary has declared "post-truth" as its 2016 international word of the year. It relates to situations where dispassionate realities are less significant in influencing public view than emotional calls. Friedrich Nietzsche, a 19th-century German philosopher, is sometimes mentioned in this context. He is stated as the precursor to post-truth. He claims that individuals build the ideas through which they outline the moral and the just, thereby switching the concept of truth with the concept of value and building truth in the human will. In 'Truth and Lying in an Extra-Moral Sense', 1873, Nietzsche says that individuals construct truth about the world through their use of 'metaphor, myth, and poetry'. "Truth is a kind of error without which a certain kind of living creature would not be able to live". (The Will to Power, KGW VII, 34 [253].)

Hannah Arendt, critical theorist and continental philosopher, is considered as a post-truth resource person. She tried to theorize factual instability instead of concentrating on the nature of truth itself. Thus, Post-Truth is 'falsifying facts'. Post-truth politics came to the forefront with the election of 2014 in India (Joshi, 27.06.23). First, extracting black money from Swiss banks was a significant poll assurance.

Second, comes the demonetisation attempt (Ibid.).

Third, the extensive propaganda regarding the Balakot airstrike in February 2019 stunned fellow citizens again. These fairy tale episodes were highlighted in the election campaign for the 17th Lok Sabha held in April-May 2019. These were archetypal cases of Post-truth incidents (Ibid.).

Northeast India (officially North Eastern Region, NER) denotes the easternmost region of the Republic of India. Universally known as the "Land of Seven Sisters", it is located in the easternmost area of our country. Today, Northeast India comprises of 8 states: Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura - often called "The Seven Sisters", and Sikkim - referred to as the "Brother" to the seven states. It is thought that the names of the states were given due to their interdependence on each other. Northeast India is the integral body of the North Eastern Council (NEC), founded in 1971 for the betterment of the Northeastern states.

North East India is sickly connected to the Indian mainland by a trivial strip – Siliguri Corridor (also known as Chicken Neck – with a narrow width of only 23 kilometres). Guwahati in Assam is considered the "Gateway to the Northeast" (Kakati, 2021). Housed with rich natural resources, history, culture, and traditions, Northeast India has a long history and is regarded as a land of one of the most enchanting diversity. North Eastern India has been facing problems of various natures of insurgency for nearly five decades. In this region, various groups reside together. As a result, tension and conflict arise within the communities. The region is again constantly afflicted with extremist movements aggravated by nationalist-nativist clashes. The people of the Northeast region feel as if they are disconnected from the greater part of India. They rigorously go through the dilemma of being ignored and isolated.

Nagaland, Manipur, Assam and Tripura have witnessed conflict since 1950-60.

The Manipur uproar in May 2023 shook the nation. Thousands of people were banished and executed from the region. The Prime Minister of our country was deeply moved by the violent incidents that followed in Manipur. He addressed the nation and emphasized that the women of our country should be protected (Jha, 2023). People of Manipur have no faith in their government as they feel it has done nothing for the state. To understand the violence in Northeast India and Manipur, one should recognize the complex and ethnic crisis in the past.

Northeast India is populated with various tribal groups attached to different socio-political organisations. Conflicts emerged between the leaderships because, although there was peace, there was a lack of governance and coordination—moreover, a substantial colonial impact led to later conflicts and insurgency. Additionally, the issues of land rights and migration aggravated the situation. The Meitei group is a prosperous community rather than the Kuki and Naga group. 'The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act', 2006, intensified the gaps between the indigenous groups, migrants and the state. The Manipur Peoples Bill produced threats in the hills (Baker, 2023)

In 2015, the mission for independence boiled in the minds of the Manipur people, leading to a confrontation between the state government and the hill tribes. The government then announced three contentious Bills to stop the movement. These Bills faced severe protests from the hill people, leading to conflicts between the state and the hill communities. The protests lasted for over six hundred days and stopped after the intermediation of the centre. In the year 2021, the Northeast witnessed a roaring demand for autonomy. The Hill Areas Committee's (HAC) longing for sovereignty again gave fresh air to the District Councils Act 1971. Nevertheless, the State Government did not pay any heed to the demand of the HAC as a result of the All-Tribal Students Union Manipur (ATSUM) developed. The difference between conventional tribal supremacy and the modern state has kindled conflicts and sowed seeds for independence and self-government.

The International Narcotics Control Board and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) regard Myanmar as Asia's leading home for the prohibited production of methamphetamine and heroin. Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram are very close to Myanmar. As a result, drug trafficking across the borders happens effortlessly. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime stated that drug trafficking in Northeast India occurs in moderate quantities in its neighbouring countries. Relentlessly, the governments of Assam and Tripura are trying to make drug-free states (Dutta, 2023).

Northeast India faces with the problems of migration, poverty, unemployment and human trafficking. It is regarded as the den for human trafficking. Assam stands first in human trafficking cases, Meghalaya ranks first in child trafficking cases, and Manipur has developed as 'the new transit route' for the traffickers (Mir, Nov 2023).

The Northeast region is a place that is a corridor for various neighbouring countries, which is giving space to host insurgent activities in the state (Upadhyay, 2006). Thus, these are a few false discourses regarding Manipur and the rest of Northeast India.

The incident of bloodshed in Manipur, the indigenous split, has piloted the state into a post-truth wherein the masses' views are formed less by facts and more by uncorroborated truths that ensemble societies' emotions and dogmas. The significance of post-truth is the expression of the failure of the institutions of 'truth-telling' (Kamei, 2023). In Manipur, the emergence of post-truth can be attributed to the failure of the governments and news media. Our paper tries to portray the dominant issues of violence, rootlessness, and nostalgia about the past and the problem of identity of the two different cultures of the people of Northeast India (nationalist and indigenous) and tries to explicate their disconnect to the readers through the writings of Bharati Mukherjee and JahnviBarua. Through the lens of Bharati Mukherjee and JahnviBarua, we can decipher the identity crisis of the Northeast, clearing the haze of post-truth. JahnviBarua's novel *Undertow* will be engaged in the paper to highlight directly the feeling of pain, dislocation and alienation faced by the Northeast citizens, and simultaneously, it will add a comparative dimension to the paper. The novel was published in 2020. Her works and the novel *Undertow* highlight the population's discontent due to a huge economic disparity. Moreover, the region has failed to serve the people's basic needs, which is driving them to take arms. The Brahmaputra river comes repeatedly in her novels as she is always searching for identity.

### **Objectives Of The Paper**

The paper revolves around the following objectives. They are the following.

1. This paper is an explanation of the multiple crises Northeast India suffers from. It tries to bring out the elements of violence, rootlessness and identity crisis of the state's immigrants and indigenous people.
2. Bharati Mukherjee's works are helping us connect with the turbulent and volatile conditions of Northeast India. This vulnerable condition of Northeast India could be understood and analyzed using Bharati Mukherjee's writings. In her novels, Bharati Mukherjee realistically shows how her characters are moving forward and backward around the ambit of identity crisis and rootlessness.
3. The paper has also engaged the novel *Undertow* by JahnviBarua, a contemporary Northeast writer who invokes the idea of identity and rootlessness with a different dimension, enabling us to comprehend a comparative dimension to the paper.

### **Methodology**

1. While framing this paper, the author will study the history of Northeast India to develop an insight into the contemporary socio-political scenario of the region. While doing so, she will go through the writings of literary critics to write this paper. The insightful history of Northeast India will enable the readers to understand the region's current vulnerable condition and crisis. This paper will, thus, illustrate the rudiments of violence, rootlessness and identity crisis of the immigrants of the state.
2. The present study will unravel the different complexities unfolded in Bharati Mukherjee's and JahnviBarua's works. The two novelists realistically showcase an insight

into how the characters are moving forward and backward around the ambit of identity crisis and rootlessness, sometimes leading to violence.

3. To understand the botched situation of Northeast India, the researcher will continuously study the present socio-political condition of the zone and delve deep into understanding how the two novelists have beautifully crafted their protagonists in their novels to represent the crisis of the time and how these works could be used to understand the situation in the Northeast. Moreover, the inclusion of Jahnabi Barua's novel *Undertow* will add a comparative dimension to the paper.

4. Additionally, the framework of the study will be such that all the writings of Bharati Mukherjee and Jahnabi Barua's novel *Undertow* will be taken together to delve deep into the issue of what displaced persons face and what they go through and try to understand more beyond what is already known.

5. Lastly, the researcher will go through the writings of a host of literary critics to better understand Bharati Mukherjee and Jahnabi Barua and, thereby, the inherent crisis of Northeast India. Thus, the authors would try to understand the reality of the Northeast beyond the haze of Post-truth.

### **Conclusion**

Both the writers, Bharati Mukherjee and Jahnabi Barua, have excelled in highlighting the problem of identity crisis in their works. Their fictional world reflects their concern for the cultural conflicts and the changed cultures which result from the influence of the past or the present. Their success in universalizing the individual and social predicament through their writings has added a worldwide appeal. Both writers have enriched the tradition of Indian English literature in innovative ways. Their characters experience the crisis of the expatriates and narrate their tales innovatively. The experience the characters gain and the experience of the writers, who witnessed and went through the tough times of being an immigrant, make their readers realize the glitches. Their writings offer a plethora of social and psychological conditions. It gives an insight into how the characters feel and undergo these estranged socio-economic and political conditions.

'Truth is what truth'- Post-truth discourse is ultimately a discourse of power. Post-truth is the term of a novel political and epistemological model categorized by "fake news", "alternative facts", conspiracy theories and the thoughtful proliferation of distortion. Truth is either influenced or entirely avoided by politicians and bureaucrats. Nowadays, Scholars are using the ideas 'post-truth' and 'fake news' to describe the cocktail of disinformation and devaluation of facts' (Harjuniemi, 2021).

*Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, a 1975 book by French philosopher Michel Foucault, explores the social and conjectural mechanisms behind the changes in Western penal systems during the modern age based on historical documents from France. The main concepts of *Discipline and Punish* can be clustered into four parts: 'torture, punishment, discipline, and prison'. Later, in 'Security, Territory, Population', Foucault confessed that he was somewhat fanatical in his argument and revised and industrialized his prior notions (Wikipedia). Foucault

said that there may be no universal truth. There is always a tussle with any historical time or treatise, and to arrange the best treatise what is true because we make our rules and resolutions on that basis. So, the relationship between truth and reality often changes. For example, what is true in India is not the same in England.

Homi Bhabha's celebrated speech in the 1990s, that 'magical realism is the language of the emergent postcolonial world', and recommended that, in the twenty-first century, magical realism is the language of the developing Post-Truth world. Post-truth techniques are used in novels such as García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*, Mo Yan's *Big Breasts and Wide Hips* and Murakami's *1Q84*. Magical realism teaches the general public how to read and decode politicians' speeches to become an advanced protector of truth (Hart, 2021). Thus, the Post-truth element is a postcolonial aspect which the writers of prominence have illustrated, and Bharati Mukherjee and Jahnvi Barua are not exception.

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**Distance Education is an Introduction to a Modern Educational Environment in Algerian Universities**

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**Abstract**

The combination in the dissemination of digital technologies based on encryption with digits zero and one for all kinds of information as research techniques evolve have created a tangle of information, communication and audiovisual media to provide us with a modern economy of knowledge

The development in informatics in its various branches and the wide spread of integrated systems that include a wide range of equipment, software and means of networking have led to thinking about ways to synergize these means to perform the goal they seek to achieve. The technical revolution in the field of information and communication affected all aspects of life, and the educational process was greatly and clearly affected by the scientific and technical progress that took place, this progress not only led to the modernization of the educational process, but also led to a revolution in all areas of the educational process.

Where educational methods and systems, curricula, methods, means, quality, structure and techniques have changed. This has resulted in a new learning technique, which is called E-learning.

Pattern, using modern educational techniques and advanced means of communication to communicate information to the learner as quickly and less expensive as possible. This study is designed to learn about the nature of distance education in Algerian universities and how the professor deals with this modern pattern, and the future of this pattern from their point of view.

The development of informatics in its various branches and the widespread dissemination of integrated systems regulated by a wide range of hardware, software and networking means have led to reflection on ways in which these tools support the fulfillment of the goal they seek. The technical revolution in the field of information and communications has affected all aspects of life, and the educational process has been significantly and clearly influenced by scientific and technical advances. This progress has not only modernized the educational process but has revolutionized all areas of the educational process

## **Introduction**

Laurent Kohn-Jaconi, who specializes in communication, says that mating in the dissemination of digital technologies based on the encryption of zero-one for all kinds of information as research techniques evolve: has created the entanglement of both information, communication and audiovisual media to make us an updated economy of knowledge<sup>1</sup>.

The development of information in its various branches and the widespread dissemination of integrated information systems, which are regulated by a wide range of configurations, software and networking means to think in ways that support the performance of the goal that it seeks to achieve. The ICT (technological revolution) revolution has affected all walks of life, and the educational process has been significantly and visibly affected by scientific and technical advances. This progress has not only led to the modernization of the educational process but has revolutionized all areas of the educational process.

There has been a comprehensive revolution in the methods, systems, approaches, methods, means, type, structure, and technologies of learning. This has resulted in a new learning technique that has been called virtual learning<sup>2</sup>.

### **Electronic and automated remoteness towards embodying the concept of E- learning and other similar concepts:**

E-learning is a modern learning pattern, using modern learning technologies, and means

Advanced communication to communicate information to the learner as quickly and less expensive. Use e-learning in direct and remote learning.<sup>3</sup>

E-Learning: a learning, learning attitude in which available means of communication are used to overcome the problem of dimension spatial between teacher and learner<sup>4</sup>.

Virtual learning is defined by **Steve David** as: a method that enables an individual to embody highly complex data in the computer environment in a sense and interacting with it interactively to generate images and sounds and other sensory conferences that together constitute a virtual world that does not exist on the ground<sup>5</sup>. It is also intended to provide the individual who uses the Internet and the Internet with the knowledge needed in various selected materials, for the purpose of raising the scientific level or for the purpose of qualification by using video audio, multimedia, e-books and e-mail, chat and discussion groups<sup>6</sup>.

**Virtual society:** It is a new form of human interaction that consists remotely of a group of individuals who use the computer and the Internet in their different locations and affiliations.

**Virtual University:** A real university that uses the style of e-learning, grants its graduates all degrees. The difference between it and the University of Tradition is the e-learning method, using e-learning techniques fully and most important of which is the Internet<sup>7</sup>.

### **E-learning and the reasons for its spread:**

The term « e-learning » appeared in the late 1990s, expressing a third generation of e-learning generations, which began in the early 1980s, is a more extensive and more comprehensive kind of learning than the previous two generations.

Developed countries have begun to pay special and significant attention to e-learning by increasing the use of the Internet in education, and using it in the pursuit of university and higher studies. This interest seems to be evident in the world's tendency to hold international conferences on e-learning. An international conference was held in May 2005 in Berlin City, Germany, under the theme « Problems and solutions of virtual learning in the twenty-first century », in which 350 international experts and university professors from most of the world participated. The discussion at the conference focused on five important themes and a chair related to e-learning: e-learning institutions, e-learning technologies, modern concepts and frameworks for interaction and cooperation to change its forms, e-curricula, and the impact of the reality of developing and evolving societies on its spread. The American Association of Deans of Admissions and Enrolment in American Universities had organized the first international e-learning conference in August 1997, followed by a summit of e-learning officials in 1998. At both the conference and the summit, presidents of universities and deans in the most important institutions of American's e-learning and other countries were attended. The most important recommendations of the conference called for the need to promote the dissemination and dissemination of e-learning in all its means to acquire learners the skills needed for the future. The recommendations considered that e-learning was a promising solution to meet the needs of future students with new prospects for learners. Although the recommendations called for and focused on the need to apply e-learning and benefit from its advantages and benefits, at the same time they called for not losing sight of the traditional educational reality.

**E-learning is a real learning:**

e-learning teaches my truth like normal learning, but it adopts the electronic environment, its technologies, and its multiple mediums in the educational process. In this area, Dobbs and Philip say, « An electronic learner is a real learner, but in an electronic environment he learns. » This is an indication that virtual learning is real, and the results of this kind of learning can undoubtedly govern it as real learning. These educational institutions are registered via various means of communication, and via e-mail, especially, as exams are often conducted using the network, within specialized and accredited centres or in the cultural centres of the countries to which the educational institution follows.

Today, the trend towards providing virtual learning services to a number of educational institutions is increasing, especially after the Internet's spread, as a tool and a way of demonstrating in the educational process. Individuals of different categories and ages are seeking refuge for this type of learning for different motivations, including:

-The convenience and flexibility of scheduling school times. \_ is the perfect solution for learning geographically distanced individuals. \_ Low costs and earning time for non-mobility. - Distinguishing it with the richness and diversity of learning materials, from regular and bifurcated texts, static images, audio and video files, and video conferences, chat and discussion groups.

**Remote Learning Mechanism:**

The Remote Learning System mechanism is based on the availability of a system of interactive tools that enable both teacher and student to control the distance learning process. How can a teacher in this system teaching from presenting lectures, discussing students, answering their queries, and developing tests in a synchronized interactive manner. After completion of the simultaneous lecture, the educational materials are placed as resources for the student to be consulted and synchronized interaction with them easily and at any time.

**Synchronized interaction method (online):**

Synchronous interaction is done through live contact between the teacher and students through audio-visual and writing conversations using the interactive board. Live lectures are presented to students through a two-way simultaneous interaction method from the Internet. The student enters the lecture according to the predetermined schedule using his password, thus enabling him to interact live with the lecture galaxies, so that he can ask questions, obtain data, view photos, and other supplies. Questions posed by students during the lecture appear immediately on the screen to be shared by all members of the group in the virtual classroom, which organizes the lecture by preventing interference questions and repetitions to be answered by the lecturers at the end of the lecture.

**Asynchronous Interaction Method:**

The method of asynchronous interaction relates to students who cannot participate in live lectures. The non-simultaneous interaction takes place by entering the student's website for the targeted subject, so that the lecture which we have previously stored in a private field can be found as a lecture library. Students are also able to ask questions and store them. The lecturer will later answer them. This method will be communicated through panel discussions (forums) and e-mail. The Virtual Learning Examination Systems are designed to have a special, well-known system of e-studies based on the specific response time. This approaches the system of exams in programmed learning, and the student gets the result immediately after the end of the exam when the answers are corrected electronically.

**Distance Learning Environment:**

E-learning environments vary depending on the degree of autonomy these environments provide to the learner referring to three types of e-learning environments:

**1- Online Learning:**

This environment is characterized by the fact that educational content is fully valued through the Internet network.

**2- Belended learning:**

In this environment, the process of integrating the e-learning environment and the traditional learning environment is done by becoming complementary and complementary. This environment facilitates learning in an integrated manner with conventional learning.

### **3- Enhanced Learning:**

This environment refers to the use of the network in communicating educational content and scheduled costs to learners and using various information sources available on the network.

Advances in ICT have encouraged education to use the online learning environment as a learning environment suited to this progress. The virtual learning environment has been the result of educational research that has helped to create the potential to use a number of effective tools through the Internet.

### **Virtual Education Extension for e-Learning:**

E-learning is an educational pattern in which modern technologies such as computer, Internet and multimedia is used with the aim of communicating information to the student in a way that enables the effective management of the learning on ways to control, measure and evaluate performance. In higher learning institutions, the shift towards e-learning is to disseminate educational content, publish the educational plan, evaluate students and other educational tasks, so that e-learning is a link to virtual learning, and the process of integrating it and conventional learning.

While Virtual (e-learning) is a new learning model based on the use of e-learning methods, which is the third generation for its purposes. The first generation of e-learning began in the early 1980s as a remote learning development process, where CD-ROMs began to be used as a receptacle for educational content delivered to student in traditional methods. the CD-ROM became a substitute for paper book for certain learning materials, and continued learning. The second generation began with the use of the Internet, thus developing the method of communicating the educational content of the student via the Internet, improving the content and developing the management of the educational process while remaining on the use of conventional means. As the Internet evolved in the late 1990s, multimedia technologies, virtual reality and triple dimensions evolved, the third generation of e-learning emerging from virtual learning, which is accomplished through a virtual learning environment that mimics the epidemic of imitative learning, uses the space to open up electronic media and emulate it:

### **1- Virtual Teacher:**

This technology represents a significant advance in the field of virtual learning, and it is advanced technology through which a teacher is embodied through the Internet in front of students, in its natural size, in the form of a three-dimensional hologram. Through this technique, one teacher can teach several classes in different and spaced places at the same time. They are also useful in the field of learning rare study subjects that the turnout is low, such as Latino and Greek languages, advanced sports, and it is difficult for some schools and universities to secure. They are also useful in reducing scarcity in some disciplines.

The tasks of the virtual teacher are the tasks that the teacher assumes in conventional education, where the virtual teacher explains and uses educational methods, conducts experiments and supervises them, manages dialogue with students, asks and answers students' questions and attests to what students write on electronics. Students are assigned duties such as pre-preparation of the subject.

## **2- Virtual Chapter:**

It is a new concept in e-learning, and it is one of the fundamental means in interactive virtual learning, and it is a similar model of conventional separation that is not different from the idea and composition. The virtual classroom contains all the elements and components available in the classroom with a hypothetical learner, in addition to the virtual teacher and audiovisual learning content, and all the requirements of the process. Comparing hypothetical classrooms with their conventional ideals, we find that classrooms Hypothetical outperformance outperforms tradition in several areas, most important of which are:

**a- Cost:** Significant reduction in the cost of the default separation in the classroom.

**b- Flexibility of assimilation:** Virtual class accommodates a large number of students from several geographical areas and at different times.

**c- Learning Resources:** The virtual chapter is linked to a large number of learning sources and knowledge bases used for virtual halls from libraries, search encyclopedia and web search centers.

**3- Virtual Classroom Students:** They are a homogeneous group of students who teach the same specialty, and attending lectures directly online is considered compulsory, and lagging lectures affects the student's grades. The rules governing virtual segregation are the same as those governing conventional segregation.

## **4- Virtual laboratory:**

The virtual laboratory is an interactive learning medium or environment through which various scientific experiments are created and conducted remotely in a way that mimics real laboratory experiments, so that the user or learner feels that they are in the laboratory by controlling the devices as if they are on the site of the experiment.

## **5-Virtual Library:**

The virtual library is a modern term: "The library in which information is processed and stored retrieved by modern electronic means ". It also relies on the principle of sharing, searching for, accessing and visualizing desired information to benefit from all library materials.

## **Conventional Learning and E-learning:**

Both conventional learning and e-learning environments are similar in shape, and differ in substance in: material components, educational environment, tools, educational means, tests and methods of assessment. Differences between conventional and e-learning are:

**1- Material ingredients:** Remote learning does not need material ingredients as in conventional learning. All what is material in traditional learning is hypothetical in this type of learning. The teacher is hypothetical as well as the learner, the book, the educational means, the study stone, the blackboard. In all, distance learning is linked to all things electronic through information networks and means of communication.

**2- Media Environment:** The tele-learning environment resembles the conventional learning environment. The difference lies between the two environments, that it is in conventional

education is a realistic meeting in the material class room, and communication and interaction between all parties is done actually live, in remote learning it is a virtual encounter in a virtual classroom.

**3- Tools and Learning Methods:** conventional learning needs means on the ground and the same for e-learning, It needs the same means but hypothetically.

**4- Tests:** Tests are carried out in the imitative environment directly, in the department and in the presence of observers in perso, and by default in the virtual they are carried in the virtual classroom and the presence of the teacher via the network.

**For e-Learning Several Advantages:**

Taking advantage of technological advances, information and modern means of communication enabled a qualitative shift in the field of education and develop learning patterns that help overcome the challenges faced by conventional learning:

- \* Provide and invest teacher and learner's time.
- \* democratization of education.
- \* provide knowledge space.
- \* easy access to information and limited time and effort.
- \*to covercome scarcity in some disciplines.
- \* contributing to raising the educational level in developing countries.

Although virtual learning has advantages, this does not mean that there are no negatives such as:

- \*Strip education of its human character.
- \*Fear about the future of the Professor of Tradition.
- \*Not trusting this kind of education for the well-established idea of the presence of the educational environment on the ground.

**E-learning in Algeria:**

Algeria, like many other countries of the world, has been concerned with digitization and facilitates communication in various fields, especially in the recent period, which has witnessed some health crises such as the coronavirus epidemic, which have brought them to a new period bades on digitization for presence and communication.

Connectivity and tolerance in the corona period led to the closure of various economic and social entities, which led the authorities to open up prospects for distance learning to continue studying and learning to spread knowledge and reduce costs and expenses. Education ", some public institutions such as Education and Telemedicine, which concerned the intermediate and secondary level of learning, Some institutions have become well known as the site of my study of tutoring, especially third-year secondary students, to explain the annual program in scientific subjects such as physics, natural sciences and mathematics<sup>8</sup>. It also resorted to mobile telephone



treatment to include various groups of society. I was accredited with the website **imadrassa** accredited by Djeezy Company, which is dedicated to various exercises and lessons according to the school program and which is supervised by a group of retired professors<sup>9</sup>. As for the use and accreditation of e-learning at the Algerian University is still inadequate because of some people's belief that reliance on remote formation is painful and no effective because of inexperience and misplacement Therefore, the method of composition and learning has been through the following stages:

- \* Improve the level of learning and prepare visual lectures to ensure the awareness of the highest number of students and researchers.

- \*Pedagogical use of technologically developed media such as doors or virtual pages

Or remote learning platforms.

- \*Achieving balance and integration in e-learning using forums and channels to generalize them and not only confine them to the university community.

E-learning in Algeria relies on educational networks for visual civilizations and distance learning for various university or institutional educational institutions and structures.

**\* Obstacles to remote learning in Algeria:**

E- learning in Algeria has had a visible impact on the educational system from one side and the university system from another, especially when it comes to facilitating tasks for the student to receive information and knowledge, but he has encountered a series of obstacles that have prevented most classes of society from learning as follows:

- \* Lack of communal spirit in learning and teaching due to the individual's preoccupation with the functioning of the computer or mobile phone, and the virtual interaction with some prevented direct contact of the group.

- \* Shortcut and limited information.

- \* Isolation and isolation among students and researchers led to a lack of teamwork and a spirit of perseverance.

- \* Virtual assessments of the web methods prevented authenticity and thus the absence of scientific honesty.

- \* The absence of collective competition led to a lack of motivation.

- \* Unavailability of educational centres and institutions on devices that facilitate distance learning, in addition to the low per capita purchasing capacity prevented the availability of student study space.

These are some of the obstacles that prevent the continuation of distance learning or adaptation to it according to the foundations and approaches that contribute to the development of the university system.

## **Conclusion**

E-learning is the educational pattern in which modern means of communication are required, with the aim of achieving the widest communication and universalization of education at the same time. This creates flexibility in learning with different human groups and facilitates the nature of access to information from one teacher to many geographically distanced students. E-learning also helps reduce the cost of education after becoming more hypothetical than present. This is what Algeria's educational system sought, especially after the coronavirus pandemic threatened the world as a whole, including Algeria, which used various methods and means to make distance or virtual education work. However, despite the efforts made, this process continued to be threatened by many obstacles that had the effect of duplicating education between attendance and distance or virtual education.

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**Being ‘World Class’ And ‘Global’ in Higher Education: Entrepreneurship  
in Indian Private Universities**

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**Abstract**

Ideas like ‘world-class’ and ‘global’ entered the higher education discourses in India as the state attempted to embrace globalisation during the 1990s. Using these terms in different government documents and conversations became frequent during that time. The process gathered further momentum in 2005 when the Government of India announced its intention to sanction a large financial grant to an existing state-funded premiere institution in science and technology to initiate the process of creating world-class universities. Continuation of such strategies may be found in the more recent attempt by the Universities Grants Commission to start the Institution of Eminence award to “establish twenty ‘institutions of eminence’ to achieve world-class status, from amongst the existing government/private institutions and new institutions from the private sector”.

While the Government of India did not specify what it meant by the term ‘world-class’, over time, it has primarily been understood in terms of the rank of a university in different reputed international frameworks of institutional ranking and, therefore, the criteria set by the ranking frameworks have emerged as critical. This possibility to demonstrate ‘world-class’ status through ranking has created a market value for global recognition, particularly among private educational institutions. Contrary to the earlier imagination that private-funding in higher education implies poor quality, this new perspective of educational investment in higher education has motivated a handful of private universities to invest substantially in quality development. It is essential to understand the operation of these private universities to comprehend the operationalisation of terms like ‘world-class’ and ‘global’ today in private higher education.

This paper is based on in-depth interview data from a small group of faculty members at three such private universities in India. Based on this data, this paper seeks to understand the entrepreneurial initiatives these universities took in interpreting its global orientation in terms of the nature of knowledge transacted, investment in the development of international collaborations, orientation towards international students, recruitment of faculty members, and newer imaginations about potential students. Given the paucity of field-based research on private universities in India, this research is expected to contribute significantly to developing an in-depth understanding of the transformation of the discourses in higher education.

**Keywords:** Private University, Higher Education, Institutional Collaboration, Globalisation And Higher Education, Institutional Ranking

India witnessed a sudden spurt in private universities from the 1990s, particularly since the second half of the 2000s. Legislatively, Indian private universities have been set up through either of the two broad routes. Initial private universities were primarily set up as deemed universities approved by the University Grants Commission (UGC). As per the All India Survey of Higher Education (AISHE) 2020-21, there are about 80 private deemed universities. More private universities were established later on under the legislation of different state governments. According to the UGC, there are as many as 453 state-government-legislated private universities today. The number of private universities has come quite close to that of public universities in India within a short period. It is also important to note that the sudden rise in private universities is not specific to India. It is possible to witness similar developments in different countries, particularly those located in South-East Asia, East Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe (see Oketch, 2003; Nicolescu, 2005; Wilkinson and Yussof, 2005; Ishengoma, 2007; Ahmed, 2016).

Going by AISHE 2020-21 data, enrolment at private universities is still much less than at public universities. However, considering the rapid increase in private universities and enrolment therein, it is clear that a particular section of society is now visualising private universities as a space that can meet their hitherto unmet educational demands. While, as per policy, India does not permit the establishment of for-profit educational institutions, the existence of private-funded educational institutions creates the possibility of embracing a much more market-oriented approach in education.

Considering the need for self-finance and the identification of student fees as the most sustainable mode of finance for private-funded institutions, it is not a surprise that the cost of pursuing education at private universities is much higher than that at public-funded universities. While the cost varies across institutions, it is substantial even in institutions that charge relatively less. Therefore, deciding to study at a private university involves considerable planning and analysis by the students and/or their families to make the most out of it, thereby making the pursuit of education somewhat similar to an investment decision. While such calculations have been part of higher educational decision-making ever since private capital investments began in professional education, the educational process has recently become much more complex with the entry of private universities.

This complexity results from diverse transformations, including the attainment of autonomy by private capital in higher education and its use for bringing dynamism to learning in and outside the classroom. On the other hand, a culture of competition has developed among private institutions due to the rising significance of ranking frameworks and accreditation systems, thereby pushing educational institutions to engage in continuous innovations. Contributing towards enhancing students' employability and supporting them in securing placements has become important not just for attracting students but for improving institutional ranks and accreditation scores. It is also interesting that private institutions today have begun

understanding their accountability towards the students in terms of high fees paid by students. Considering the value given by society and the market towards learning outside India, Universities have begun developing collaborative relationships with foreign institutions, particularly those located in the global north. The relationship between educational institutions and market forces has become much more intricate and dynamic with the development of businesses oriented towards improving students' learning experience at higher educational institutions.

All these transformations imply that selecting educational institutions and programmes and assessing the importance of academic exposure in terms of depth of knowledge and preparation for the future more and more resemble decision-making processes in the market. It is in this context it is important to situate University as a space in the landscape of globalisation and examine how the private Universities are evolving as entrepreneurial entities by engaging with the discourse of globalisation. In this context, we particularly examine the engagement of private universities with the state-market emphasis on being 'world class' and 'global' and attempt to understand how these conceptual ideas are interpreted by the private universities.

#### **Private university as a market space: Analysis of existing literature**

Private capital investments in education in India began receiving attention since the 1970s and more so from the 1980s when some south Indian states decided to permit private capital investment in public university-affiliated technical education colleges. Given that many, if not all of these colleges, charged a heavy 'capitation fee', the initial discussion on private capital investment in Indian higher education largely revolved around the cost of education at private-funded institutions and its implication on equity in access to education (Tilak, 2008; Chattopadhyay, 2009; Nayak, 2013). International literature also identified equity in access as an essential dimension of discussion on private higher education (see Duczmal, 2005; Hopper, 2005). Different state governments in India initially attempted to respond to the question of equity in access in private institutions by institutionalising positive discrimination policies and associated fee concession there. However, this attempt was heavily contested in the court of law and lost its credibility over the years (Fuller and Narasimhan, 2006). On the other hand, concerns were also expressed about the quality of education at private-funded institutions. Initially, the state entrusted the affiliating public universities with the responsibility of maintaining the quality of these institutions. However, mere affiliation with already overloaded public universities has not emerged as any solution to the crisis of quality (Singh, 2003).

Promoters of many private institutions were often not ready to make the necessary investments to improve the quality of these private institutions. As a result, private higher education institutions were often equated with inferior quality (Tilak, 2014). Debates on quality also intensified around the loopholes in the first private university act legislated by the Government of the Indian state of Chattisgarh (Contemporary Education Dialogue, 2005) and the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India blacklisting in 2009 many private deemed universities on the ground of quality. All this made it irrelevant to examine the questions related to the choice exercised by students regarding the selection of private higher educational institutions, as students were mostly visualised as victims of privatisation. Even when research

examined the choice of students, it was mainly done to understand the crisis in the quality of private higher education institutions. For example, based on a study of two private universities, Angom (2015) argued that academically average students from affluent families chose to study there to pursue a job-oriented professional course. Other reasons for taking admission included the existence of an active placement cell, the chance to pass exams with relative ease and the presence of relatively better infrastructure facilities and learning support systems. Such an instrumental understanding of education questioned the possibility of quality development at universities.

Proponents of private higher education have often justified it in terms of creating choice. However, this argument has been critiqued based on the necessity of education loans for pursuing education at private institutions. According to Nayak (2014), the need for education loans reduces the choice of education as a student is compelled to opt for educational programmes with market value. However, this perspective does not consider the pursuit of non-professional programmes by students at private universities. While questions have been raised about the attempts by private universities to influence their stakeholders through the development of impressive physical infrastructure, it is impossible to deny the significance of basic infrastructure, which is missing at many public-funded institutions (Bhoite, 2009). With all these developments, asking new questions about private higher education institutions has become essential. Understanding the meaning and scope of educational choice, the relationship between the student and the educational institution, and the construction of aspirations has become necessary to engage with private higher education today.

It is also important to consider the diverse recognition attained by many private universities from the state and in different ranking frameworks and their influence on students' choices. In research on university attractiveness and sustainability based on data collected from some private universities located in north India, Yadav, Shiva, and Narula (2022) concluded that the quality of teaching, student diversity, and presence of good infrastructure along with university branding and promotion plays a vital role in attracting good students and enhancing the brand value of the university in society. However, research like this that has emerged out of the business management field does not consider how the diversity of students in terms of their access to forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986) shapes the process of making choices and the construction of aspirations.

### **Research Methodology**

As mentioned above, a private university may be set up either as a private deemed university or a state private university in India. The former experienced phenomenal growth during the 1990s and also during the early years of 2000. However, it experienced stagnation, particularly since 2009-10. In comparison, it is the state private universities where rapid growth is visible now. Considering that the current research attains relevance in an environment of the rapid growth of private universities, it appeared appropriate to locate it at a state private university. Selecting a university that was set up some time ago was essential to learn from its evolution. Considering all these requirements, it appeared necessary to study a few state private

universities to learn from the diversity among private universities set up in a similar geographical context.

Over the years, within India, Delhi has evolved as an important centre for higher learning. Partly that has to do with the concentration of public higher education investments in and around Delhi. However, this has also got facilitated by stagnation or downfall in public higher education elsewhere in India. Therefore, there is a special significance in understanding the development of state private universities around the capital city where public investment in higher education has been relatively substantial. The National Capital Territory (NCT) of Delhi does not have any state private university. However, many state private universities are located in National Capital Region (NCR) spread outside NCT in the states of Haryana, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh. Of these universities, the present research intended to understand the trajectories of those universities that attained public recognition for contributing to the development of higher education. In the course of the study, it was possible to identify three universities in this broad category.

All these universities actively participated in diverse national and international institutional ranking frameworks. It was also distinctive that each of these universities recruited many faculty members who were educated at premier educational institutions in Europe and North America and developed over the years diverse international collaborations. One such university also had many foreign nationals working as faculty members. Each of these universities located itself in Delhi's rural hinterland in search of a reasonably large plot of suitable land. Therefore, the nature of interaction these institutions had with their surroundings was similar. These institutions offered diverse academic programmes, engaged seriously with research. Unlike typical private educational institutions in India, these universities did not restrict themselves to technical education alone. Despite such similarities, these institutions were distinct historically and in their organisational culture and financing models.

This research involved interaction with faculty members working at these three universities and some individuals who had worked earlier at these universities as faculty members. Data collected from the respondents were qualitative in nature. The researcher collected the data through in-depth interviews conducted with the help of an interview guide. Altogether fifteen in-depth interviews were analysed. The interviews ranged from one and a half hours to three and a half hours conducted over one or two sessions, depending on the time available to the respondents. The data is primarily textual, and the researcher has analysed this data with the help of thematic coding developed by grounded theory methodology. A free software named Q.D.A. Miner Lite has been used to code the data thematically. The majority of the respondents were employees of the University about which the researchers sought information. Therefore, maintaining anonymity was of utmost importance. Consequently, the researcher decided to use pseudonyms for the individual respondents. The researcher also chose not to use information that could get a respondent identified. The researcher also chose to use pseudonyms for the studied universities to protect the interests of the institutions.

### **Data Analysis**

All the universities studies as a part of this research were oriented towards countries/institutions/professional world abroad, since their early years. For example, Manjeet Chopra, a faculty member of TOU, mentioned that while setting up the University, the philanthropist who was also the first Chancellor of the University, visited many reputed universities in Europe and America and talked to the chancellors, proctors, rectors, well-known educationist over there. It is through this process the University decided to establish specific departments, opted for credit-based system and so on. Such attempts by the founders to learn from the practices adopted at reputed universities in the global north was often visualized as a path towards building a “world-class” private university in India. Padma Ramaswamy, a faculty member at BU, felt that one of the reasons why BU has the potential to become a world-class university lies in the educational exposure of one of the founders at Yale University. In addition to the broad vision being influenced by practices adopted by institutions in the developed world, each of these universities engaged in development of specific practices that were globally oriented.

### **Knowledge and its Transaction**

Adoption of practices prevalent at the premier universities from the developed world takes different directions in diverse contexts. Introduction of interdisciplinary programs has been one clear outcome of such connection between universities in India and those in the global north. For example, mentioning about interdisciplinarity, Diana Benjamin of KHU draws academic system in the USA as a model and mentions that since long the universities there have provided students with an opportunity to pull up courses from different baskets. She felt that the emphasis on concepts like interdisciplinarity, critical thinking, creative thinking, innovation, and flexibility that has entered the higher education discourses in India in the recent times reflects what is going on abroad in an attempt to “meet a global need”. With its aspiration to find global recognition, KHU, has particularly ridden this tide and has attempted to claim its distinctiveness based on this initiative. Faculty members like Rohit Ahuja, who were part of such initiatives there, took credit for being the first to introduce such academic programmes in India and set the benchmarks to be followed in designing the syllabus of similar programmes at other Indian universities. Well-known universities of the West (the likes of Stanford University, Columbia University, and Yale University) were often used as a reference point for claiming the high quality of the programme designed. Raj Bahadur, a faculty member of KHU, also felt that promotion of interdisciplinarity by the university was also important to attract faculty members to the university. This approach of universities feeling the need to attract faculty members also appears to be a new trend whose roots may be traced in the competition among the premier universities in the West.

Interestingly, aspirations towards building a distinctive identity was present even among the faculty members associated with social sciences and humanities programmes well-established in India. Such distinctiveness was often visualized in terms of adoption of practices prevalent at reputed universities abroad. This was considered necessary by faculty members at KHU to overcome the dominance of Indian public universities in those disciplines. Introducing highly



specialized branches of knowledge during the early years of undergraduation in relatively well-established discipline in the area of social sciences and humanities was one such approach that was adopted to create distinctiveness of conventional educational programmes at KHU. However, the scenario appeared to be different in the broad area of professional education. Mohini Apte, a faculty member associated with a professional programme at KHU, felt that through the entire process of creating distinctiveness, her university has succeeded in creating a niche in the area of a professional field where the university is heavily invested. As a result, according to her it no longer considers the elite public institutions in India in the same field as its peers. As she put it, if today a student decides to opt for a reputed public-funded institution over KHU, “it will not be on account of better quality experience, it will probably be on account of the fact that they cannot afford the institution”. However, the picture was different for social sciences and humanities disciplines well-established in India. Ritu Arora, a faculty member at BU, mentions, if a student leaves BU for a similar programme at a reputed public-funded institution, that is because “we are yet to ... build a reputation”. Therefore, they still claim legitimacy of their programmes based on their comparability in terms of content and pedagogy with similar programmes offered by premier institutions in India and abroad.

Raj Bahadur, a faculty member of KHU also recollected experiencing similar challenges of competition with premier public-funded universities in India during the initial years. However, he felt that over time the programme has stabilized. It has begun attracting good students and graduated students have found attractive career options. According to Ritu Arora of BU, other than keeping the batch size much smaller than the similar programmes at reputed public-funded institutions, BU attempts to enhance the distinctiveness of a conventional programme by enhancing the breadth of the programme. Breadth was understood in terms of providing students with an exposure to a range of branches of knowledge that was often considered to fall on the fringes of these disciplines. Breadth was also measured in terms of models prevalent in the West. As Ritu Arora mentioned, “it's only the US or...abroad, [where] I have seen universities offering such variety of courses during undergraduation”. She felt that the while quality was maintained in terms of breadth, depth was not compromised. Scope to opt for electives outside the discipline was also used as a strategy at KHU to make a conventional educational programme distinctive.

Diana Benjamin, a faculty member at KHU, felt that the branch of knowledge with which she was associated was underdeveloped in India and her School was contributing to this field by exposing the students to systems and practices prevalent in the US and Europe. She felt that her school was creating distinctive opportunity for undergraduate students to pursue multiple credited internships at both national and international organisations in India and abroad. International internship opportunities, she felt, helps one to secure admission offer in Master degree programmes in the West. Other than introducing interdisciplinarity, universities like BU also took credit for initiating the system of liberal arts in higher education. As understood by faculty members here, Liberal arts was largely influenced by systems prevalent at specific reputed universities in the US. As Ambika Srivastava, a faculty member at BU mentioned, when she joined the University it was made clear to her by the Head of the Department, “we are here to...build the first sort of successful liberal arts curriculum in India”. Likewise, Anil Adhikari,

a faculty member at KHU felt, “the strongest component of [the University][is]...its stress on a global education...that has been consistent [since]...the first day of this University” with the phrase ‘global education’ encompassing presence of faculty members from different countries offering curricular content that is relevant to contexts beyond India.

### **Cost of Education And Potential Students**

One aspect common across private higher education institution is the high cost of education. The cost of education is even higher at some of the private universities studied as a part of this research, with social sciences and humanities programmes at TOU being exceptions. The attempt towards creating distinctiveness is often connected with the reality that fees cannot be reduced to counter the competition from other institutions. When the offered programme is professional in nature for which there is a clear connection to the job market, fewer questions are asked about the cost of education. Faculty members associated with non-professional liberal arts programmes often had more questions to answer. Faculty members associated with such programmes said that the institutional justification for higher cost often revolved around the opportunity it was creating for its students to pursue in India an education that was apparently comparable in quality to the one offered at premier institutions in developed countries of the West. Anuradha Sharma, a former faculty member of KHU and TOU recalled a tagline that BU apparently used during its initial years: “*ivy league education in India*” indicating comparability of its quality with that of the premier institutions in the global north. She said that while BU has stopped using this tagline today, the spirit of comparability with the West is often invoked in justifying superiority of education offered there. Such claims by the elite private universities must be understood in terms of an increasingly large number of parents in India who aspire to send their children abroad for higher studies. Indian private universities attempting to situate themselves in the global academic landscape have been targeting these parents as a potential market. This approach was quite clear from the conversation with faculty members at KHU and BU. The high tuition fee charged at the level of undergraduation is often compared with models prevalent abroad. A faculty member at BU said, “I think here the model is something like US...where the running cost comes from the undergrad program. And the reputation comes from research”

### **International Orientation**

Many educational programmes offered at these universities are aimed at preparing the students for a future abroad. Diana Benjamin of KHU said, “we do have a major in international business that is pretty much aimed for students who will be working in international organizations”. Such an approach was not visible only in those programmes that had a stated ‘international’ orientation. It was also visible in conventional disciplinary programmes offered at these universities. International orientation was often formally created by signing MoUs with universities abroad for organizing a conference, visits by faculty members from institutions abroad, student exchange, collaborative research, etc. It is interesting that faculty members at these universities particularly mentioned about MoUs while mentioning about their relationship with institutions abroad. While faculty members referred to MoUs set up with institutions/offices from countries across the world including Liberia, Poland, UK, USA, Israel,

and Chile, they felt that their students were primarily interested in travelling to countries from the global north thereby indicating a particular characteristics of the flow. Exchange programmes with foreign educational institutions were highlighted by Diana Benjamin, a faculty member at KHU, as opportunities for students to enhance their employability and secure internships outside the country at international organisations. Such possibilities were often showcased as the reason why students opt for these universities over traditional public-funded educational institutions in India.

Mentioning about the practices among the students of KHU, Lipika Ray felt that the students of the University are considerably self-motivated with many of them wanting to go abroad for further studies. This larger goal, according to Lipika Ray, shape everything that students do including community works. Destinations for study abroad chosen by alumni was another route through which these private universities attempted to establish their credibility. Mentioning about popular destination for further studies, Diana Benjamin recollected, “some very popular destinations abroad are Trinity and Dublin...Queen Mary, in the UK, Oxford, in the UK, Cambridge, the University of British Columbia, Yale in the West...we have someone who will be going to ah Sydney University, but and then we have a student in Kyoto, as well. All these together characterised the international orientation of these private universities.

### **International Students**

Attracting international students have become important dimension of foreign-orientation of the Universities studied as a part of this research and MoUs with international educational institutions and organisations have become an important tool in making possible the presence of foreign students on their campus and also facilitating Indian students to go abroad. While faculty members at these universities are particularly expected to play an active role in promoting their universities at institutions abroad and taking initiatives to develop MoUs with them, senior administrators also frequently visits international institutions for this purpose. It is important to note that increasing the visit by students and faculty members from abroad is not used as an avenue for generating revenue for these Universities. The students of foreign educational institutions at KHU and BU either pay their tuition fee at their home institutions or pay at par with the Indian students. According to Vishnu Tandon, a former faculty member of KHU, the only remunerative dimension of foreign students was that, unless on exchange, they were full fee-paying students. At TOU foreign students paid a tuition fee that is one and a half times more than what the Indian students pay. However, given that tuition fee at TOU was much less than that charged at KHU and BU, a foreign student actually paid much less over there. Students admitted as foreign students at TOU included a large number of individuals who were of Indian origin, but held a foreign passport. The rest of the foreign students were often from Asian and African countries that were not economically well-off. According to Kamal Kumar from BU, the same was true for BU. This was also one reason why these students were not visualized to be significant revenue generators.

Manjeet Chopra from TOU felt, the primary purpose of having foreign students was to bring diversity in terms of worldview. But he also felt that such an aim can not be fulfilled by a mere quantitative expansion in the number of foreign students. Instead, he felt that the University

wanted a few good quality foreign students. KHU had relatively larger number of foreign students. However, Anil Adhikari from KHU felt that the foreign students there were primarily located in a few programmes that had international relevance. Vishnu Tandon, a former faculty member of KHU, felt that having foreign students was more about “creating an international face” within the country enabling connections with foreign embassies and develop possibilities for further international contacts. Instead of being a channel for enhancing revenue, attracting students from countries of the global south have become important for these universities to establish connections with important and powerful offices there.

For example, different faculty members of KHU referred to individuals who were sent by the office of the Vice President of Liberia to study there. In addition, the security forces of Mozambique, or the state of Bhutan also sent bureaucrats and political functionaries to study there. Relationships developed with these international students at times continued even beyond the period of their study, when after going back to their home country these students played important role in inviting KHU faculty members as resource person for training programmes funded by different international donor organisations. Leaving aside such distinctive flow of foreign students to India, much of the MoUs involved, as a faculty member of ToU mentioned, “only our students going there and not the reverse”.

### **The Faculty**

The private universities in India that are oriented towards creating a space for them on the global map have spent considerable resources in developing a particular kind of faculty profile. This faculty profile had a significant role to play in creating a distinctive image of the University. As a former faculty of KHU mentioned, “they were trying to compete [with reputed public-funded] colleges by showcasing the foreign faculty, the foreign connections, and the fact that all [sic.]the faculty were Associate Professor or Professor with publications and everything. So they knew that if that if they are into competing with quality, they had quality to compete with. If they wanted to compete with money they had money to compete with”. Mentioning about her School, Mohini Apte, a faculty member at KHU mentioned that they have faculty members from different countries and almost all the faculty members in their School have completed one degree from an educational institution abroad. She felt that a large part of the “ecosystem [of the university] relies on these sorts of faculty relations...individual connections we made...has become more institutionalized now”. Even when Ritu Arora of BU highlighted her educational attainments from a premier institutions in India, she emphasised the international recognition that her alma mater enjoys in terms of quality. Educated abroad, faculty members like Ambika Srivastava from BU mentioned that their department follow the standards set by a relevant professional body that is based out of the USA but recognised as important internationally.

### **Conclusions: University as entrepreneurship**

Information shared by faculty members from the studied universities indicate that in the context of Indian higher education, becoming ‘global’ and ‘world class’ is largely understood in terms of the global north. Global north is looked up to as an inspiration for envisioning novel systems of academic transactions, introducing new branches of knowledge, and developing new academic and professional practices. The private universities develop a relationship with the

global north primarily through recruitment of faculty members who are educated in the global north and through them establish MoU with universities and significant offices/professional bodies located in the global north. Students become important nodes in the creation of this global flow whereby attempts are made to increase diversity on the University campuses by attracting foreign students on its campus and by facilitating through MoUs and other routes flow of Indian students to universities and professional spaces abroad.

Being a postcolonial country, it is quite common for Indian universities to seek inspiration from the global north. Any university for that matter, be it private-funded or public-funded has always been attempting to use global north as the model. Some of the premier public-funded institutions in India were developed in collaboration with and were modelled after particular educational institutions in the global north. However, the contemporary initiatives by the private universities towards this direction are distinct, as the attempts to model oneself after the global north is not just viewed as an academic endeavour. This is done also with an attempt to make oneself different from the rest. This engagement with ‘others’ makes higher education a competitive space where universities attempt to make themselves unique to stay ahead of ‘others’ or become as good as the ‘others’. While in the academic disciplines well-established in India ‘others’ are primarily the reputed public-funded educational institutions, in certain specific professional fields there is a perception that a few private universities have left behind the reputed public-funded Indian educational institutions and therefore, is attempting to understand its performance primarily in terms of the globally reputed educational institutions.

While there are numerous private universities in India, the universities that are trying to understand their journey in terms of their ability to achieve a ‘world-class’ position are not many. The three universities studied as a part of this research surely falls in this category. It is significant to note that in comparison to the popular imagination of envisioning private educational institutions in India in terms of pursuit of profit, the discourses of these universities are shaped around globally recognised accolades including attainment of institutional ranks in internationally recognised ranking frameworks. Given the emphasis on institutional ranking, everything that these institutions do is shaped around the institutional interest of improving its ranking. Investment of large scale financial capital and its investment in spaces beyond physical infrastructure is therefore a distinctive aspect of these private universities. Entrepreneurship in these universities is therefore to be located in the engagement of these universities in innovation, competitive spirit, and engagement with market.

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## **Türkiye’de İلمي İçtimai Ekolü ve Muhalefet Anlayışı: Prens Sabahattin Örneđi**

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### **Özet**

Bu çalışma Osmanlı Devleti’nde siyasal buhranın pek yüksek olduđu vakitte yaşamış olan, Padişahın sarayında büyümüş olmasına karşın, siyasal hayatının önemli bir kısmı monarşiye karşı verilen mücadele ile geçmiş, Türk Sosyolojisinin ve Türk Siyasal Hayatının epey renkli ve memleket için özgün fikirlere haiz şahsiyeti Sabahattin Bey’i, nam-ı diğer Prens Sabahattin’i ve onun ortaya koymuş olduđu muhalefet anlayışını konu alacaktır. Sultanzadelik dışında kendisinin adının duyulması, Avrupa’da geçirdiđi yıllarda öğrendiđi ilmi içtimai, günümüz Türkçesi ile “Sosyoloji” bilimi ile tanışıklığı sayesinde olmuştur. Fransız Sosyolog Frederic Le Play’ın ortaya attığı, akabinde öğrencisi Edmund Demolins ’in geliştirdiđi kamucu ve ferdi toplum tasnifleri, Sabahattin Bey’in siyaseti ve toplumu yorumlarken istifa ettiđi kaynakların başında gelmektedir. Anglosakson toplumları, özellikle de İngilizleri detaylıca inceleyen Sabahattin Bey, bireylerin hür ve müstakil hareket etme iradesinin yanı sıra, devletin de toplum üzerindeki etkisinin sınırlı olmasından epey etkilenmiştir. Ve milletlerin gelişmesinin yegane şartının ferdi toplum yaratmak olduđu, üniter, toplumcu ve kamucu şekilde özetlenen doğu toplumlarının batıdan geri kalmalarının sebebinin bu sınıfın oluşmamasından ileri geldiđini söylemiştir. O yaşadığı topraklarda da tıpkı batı memleketlerinde olduđu gibi, devletin gücünün sınırlandıđı, bireyin ekonomik ve toplumsal olarak şahsi hareket etme gayretine sahip olmasını istemiştir. Ayrıca idari yapı olarak da, devletin tek bir merkezden idaresi yerine özerk bölgelerin olduđu adem-i merkezîyet ilkesi ile kurulacak yeni yönetim anlayışının benimsenmesini söylemiştir. Fakat tarihi süreç böyle olmamış, II. Abdülhamid sonrası kurulan yeni devlet merkezi idareyi esas alan, toplumcu bir hüviyet kazanmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Prens Sabahattin, Osmanlı Devleti, Sosyoloji, Ferdi Toplum, Kamucu Toplum

## **The Sociology School of Thought and Opposition in Turkey: The Example of Prince Sabahattin**

### **Abstract**

This study will focus on Sabahattin Bey, also known as Prince Sabahattin, a very colourful figure of Turkish Sociology and Turkish Political Life, who lived at a time when the political crisis in the Ottoman Empire was very high, who grew up in the Sultan's palace, but a significant

part of his political life was spent with the struggle against the monarchy, and who had very unique ideas for the country, and the opposition understanding he put forward. Apart from being a Sultanzade, he became well known thanks to his acquaintance with the science of "Sociology", in today's Turkish, which he learnt during his years in Europe. The classifications of public and individualistic society put forward by the French sociologist Frederic Le Play and subsequently developed by his student Edmund Demolins are among the sources that Sabahattin Bey utilised while interpreting politics and society. Having analysed Anglo-Saxon societies, especially the British, in detail, Sabahattin Bey was impressed by the individuals will to act freely and independently, as well as the limited influence of the state on society and he said that the only condition for the development of nations was to create an individual society, and that the reason why eastern societies, summarised as unitary, communitarian and publicist, lagged behind the West was because this class was not formed. In the lands where he lived, just like in the western countries, he wanted the power of the state to be limited and the individual to have the endeavour to act individually in economic and social terms. In addition, in terms of administrative structure, he said that instead of a single central administration of the state, a new understanding of administration to be established with the principle of decentralisation with autonomous regions should be adopted. However, this was not the case in the historical process, and the new state established after Abdülhamid II gained a socialist identity based on centralised administration.

**Keywords:** Prince Sabahattin, Ottoman State, Sociology, Individual Society, Publicist Society

## **Giriş**

Türk siyasal hayatında muhalefetin örgütlü şekilde oluşması; II. Abdülhamid'in meşrutî yönetimi ilan edip, birkaç ay sonra meclisin faaliyetlerini dondurması ve akabinde 30 yıl kadar sürecek olan istibdat yönetimi zamanında gelişmiştir. Osmanlı'daki bu muhalif harekete mensup olan kişiler "Jön Türk" ismi ile anılmıştır. Çeşitli dünya görüşlerine sahip, toplumun farklı kesimlerinden gelen isimler ortak bir emel uğruna (devr-i istibdatı bitirmek) ortak hareket etmeye gayret göstermişlerdir. Lakin harekete mensup kişiler bazen maddi yetersizlikten, bazen memleket özleminden yahut Abdülhamid'in girişimleri sonucu muhalefetlerinden caymışlardır. Ancak Osmanlı aydınlarının zihnindeki meşrutîyet fikri iyiden iyiye oturmuş, Avrupa'da geçirdikleri vakitte de fikirleri sağlamlaşmıştır. Zaten yalnızca yurtdışındaki insanlar değil, Osmanlı içerisinde eğitim alan gençler ve eğitim seviyesi yüksek kişiler de keyfi idareden bıkmışlar, padişahın hal edilmesi için girişimlere başlamışlardır. Fakat ilginç olan bir nokta vardır: II. Abdülhamid'e muhalif olan kişilerin devrim sonrasındaki düşüncesi -kahili ekserisi- Kanun-i Esasi'nin yeniden yürürlüğe girmesi, meşverete daha çok önem gösterilmesi ile birlikte yine padişahın yerinin muhafaza edildiği bir düzen şeklindedir. Toplum ve siyaset hakkında pek de derinlikli düşünceleri olmayan muhalif çoğunluk kendilerine önder arayışına girmişlerdir. Mizancı Murad ve Ahmet Rıza gibi fikir insanları hareketin çeşitli vakitler liderliğini yapmışlar, ihtiyaç duyulan fikri derinliği sağlamaya çalışmışlardır. Ancak az önce de bahis olduğu üzere Sultan II. Abdülhamid, çeşitli girişimler sonucunda kendisine karşı olan muhalefeti epey zayıflatmıştır. Takvim yaprakları 1897 yılını gösterdiğinde Paris'e baş hafiyesini yollamış ve



muhalefetin bir kısmını ikna edip yurda getirebilmiştir. Ancak birkaç yıl sonra tam tersi istikamette yapılan bir yolculuk Jön Türkler hareketinin seyrini müspet anlamda değiştirmiştir. O yolculukta olan kişiler, bizzat Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in sarayında ikamet eden Mahmut Celaleddin Paşa, oğlu Sabahattin ve Lütfullah Beylerden başkası değildir. İşte Jön Türk hareketinin ivmelenmesini sağlayan bu yolculuk sonucunda, Osmanlı muhalefeti yeni bir lider bulmuştur.

## **1. Sabahattin Bey'in Kısa Biyografisi**

### **a. Ailesi ve Çocukluk Zamanları**

Prens Sabahattin 1877 yılında İstanbul'da doğdu. Abdülhamit'in kız kardeşi Seniha Sultan'ın oğludur. Aslında Osmanlı hanedanlığında hükümlerlik hakkı baba tarafında olduğu için gerçekte bir prens değil, Sultanzade'dir. Ancak muhtemelen Niyazi Berkes'in iddia ettiği gibi prens unvanını Avrupa'da bir itibar elde etmek için kullanmıştır (Aytaç, 2018: 79; Kılıç, 2019: 2).

Babası; başlarda Abdülhamid'in yakın arkadaşı olan fakat daha sonra idareye muhalefeti ile tanınan Mahmut Celelettin Paşa'dır. Mahmut Paşa; Ali Suavi'nin başını çektiği Çırağan vakasına adının karışması üzerine adliye nazırlığı görevinden el çektilir. Bir yalıda gözetim altında tutulur. Bu süre zarfında çocukları, Lütfullah ve Sabahattin Beylerin eğitimleri ile meşgul olur. Sabahattin Bey, babasının çocuklarının eğitimine gösterdiği bu ihtimamdan dolayı, gençlik zamanında dönemin büyük entelektüellerinden ders alma imkânı bulmuştur.

1899'da kendine karşı bir suikast girişiminden çekinen Mahmut Paşa, oğullarıyla birlikte Paris'e kaçar. Mahmud Bey'in Avrupa'ya gitme nedeni olarak iki önemli iddia vardır. Cahit Tanyol, Abdülhamid'in baskıcı yönetiminden kaçtığı görüşünü savunurken, Kaçmazoğlu ise Osmanlı topraklarındaki ham maddelerin paylaşımı konusunda İngilizlerden yana tavır alan Paşa'nın Abdülhamid ile arasının açılması olarak gösterir. Paşa, Abdülhamit istibdadına karşı Jön Türk Hareketi içinde yer alma kararındadır. Prens Sabahattin'in siyasi faaliyetleri de bu kaçışla birlikte başlayacaktır (Kılıç, 2019: 3).

### **b. Jön Türk Oluşu ve Avrupa Günleri**

Babası ve kardeşi ile birlikte Avrupa'ya kaçan Sabahattin Bey, değişik muhalif gruplarla ilişkiler kurmuştur. Yurtdışında mutlakiyet rejimine karşı olan gruplar, hanedana mensup kişilerin de kendilerine katılmaları ile nüfuz elde etme imkânı buldular. Daha sonra babası ile beraber Mısır'a giden Sabahattin Bey, burada da çalışmalarına devam etti. Sabahattin ve Lütfullah kardeşler; Kahire'de 1901 yılında 'Umum Osmanlı Vatandaşlarımıza Beyanname' başlıklı iki beyanname yayınladılar (Okan, 2008: 480). Bu beyannamelerin amacı farklı dünya görüşü olan Osmanlı aydınlarının bir araya gelip fikir telakkisinde bulunması ve ortak bir zeminde buluşabilmeleri arzusu idi. Prens, pek kısa bir zaman içerisinde hatırı sayılı bir Jön Türk olabilmıştır. Ve nihayet 1902 yılında, 1. Jön Türk Kongresinin toplanmasında Sabahattin Bey maddi ve manevi anlamda önemli rol oynamıştır (Okan, 2008: 480). Bu kongrede başkan seçilmesine karşın fikirlerinin ana akım olması konusunda başarı elde edememiştir. Ahmet Rıza ve takipçileri ile Prens Sabahattin ve ekibi devrim sonrası ne çeşit bir idare olacağına dair ciddi bir anlaşmazlık içine düşmüşlerdir. Hem devletin nasıl idare edileceği ile ilgili hem de hangi

tarz bir sosyolojinin ana akım olacağı konusunda ihtilafa düşmüşlerdir. Ahmet Rıza ve ekibi “Merkeziyetçi” bir yapıyı savunmaktadırlar. Prens Sabahattin ve ekibi ise “Âdem-i Merkeziyetçi” bir yapıdan yana tavır göstermektedir. Prens Sabahattin, bu kongrede şahsi teşebbüs ’ün önemini vurgulamış, memur sınıfının daraltılması gerektiğini ve gücün merkezleşmesinin önüne geçecek bir devlet sisteminden yana olduklarını belirtmiştir. Elbette ki bu durum çoğu bürokrat ve asker kökenli kişilerden oluşan Rıza Bey’in grubunu rahatsız etmiştir (Keser, 2002: 2).

Bu oluşan ikircikli yapı, 1907 senesinde yapılan ikinci kongre ile iyice gözle görülür hale gelmiştir. Aşık olan fikir ayrılıklarına rağmen ikinci kongrede ihtilal kararı alınmış ve 1908 devrimi sonucunda iki cemiyetin birleşmesine dair prensip anlaşması yapılmıştır.

### **c. Türkiye’ye Dönüşü ve Sonraki Gelişmeler**

Meşrutiyet’in ilanının ardından babasının cenazesıyla birlikte yurda dönen Sabahattin Bey’in büyük bir kalabalık tarafından karşılanması ve dönüşünü bir propaganda unsuru olarak kullanması, İTC yandaşlarını tedirgin eder ve tepkilere neden olur. Birleşme planları, Sabahattin Bey’in babasının cenazesine katılanlara iade-i ziyaretleri sırasında Patriğin elini öptüğü söylentileri ve gazetelerde aleyhinde çıkan yazılar sonucunda iptal edilmiştir (Okan, 2008: 492). Prens Sabahattin yurda döndükten sonra yaşadığı gelişmelerden büyük teessür duyar. Zira Abdülhamid istibdatına karşı mukavemet gösteren kişilerin, tıpkı o döneme benzer ve hatta bazı açılardan daha ileri boyutta bir baskı yönetimi kurduklarına şahit olmuştur. Bu karşılaştığı durum, onun Avrupa’daki ‘ilmi içtimai’ ekolünden esinlenerek şekillendirdiği yönetim ve toplum anlayışının uygulanması için çalışması gerektiğini kendisine göstermiştir. Prens Bey yurda döndükten sonra vermiş olduğu bir konferansta, dinleyicilerin İttihat ve Terakki karşısında yeni bir parti kurmasına yönelik bir teveccüh duyar. Bu fikrin öncüleri Nurettin Ferruh ve gazeteci Ahmet Samim Bey’di. Sabahattin Bey, kendisi hiçbir partinin genel başkanlığında bulunmamasına karşın, 1908’de kurulan Ahrar Fırkasının tüzüğünde çok büyük tesiri vardır. Osmanlı Ahrar Fırkası Türk siyasal hayatında başlı başına çok büyük bir tesiri olan partidir. Hür kelimesinin çoğulu olan Ahrar ismini kullanan parti, kendilerini liberal görüşü savunan bir hüviyetle göstermişlerdir. Adem-i merkeziyet ilkesini ekonomiden, sosyal yaşantıya ve nihayetinde idari yönetim biçimi olarak savunan parti Osmanlı’da etnik bir eşitlik yaratmak amacındadır (Bıçakçı: 2019 : 217). Sabahattin Bey başkanlığı kabul etmemiş ama düşünceleri –bir tek vekille bile olsa- Ahrar aracılığıyla mecliste yer almıştır (Okan, 2008: 483). 1908 seçimlerine İstanbul’dan katılmalarına rağmen vekil çıkaramamışlardır. Fakat daha sonra sonraları İsmail Kemal ve Dr. Rıza Nur gibi isimleri içerisine katan parti popülerliğini arttırmıştır. Ancak 31 Mart olayları Ahrar Fırkasının kaderini olumsuz yönde etkilemiş, partinin üyeleri tutuklanmış, mebusları hakkında soruşturmalar açılmış nihayetinde Ahrar Fırkası 31 Mart Vakası ile iltisaklı olduğu gerekçesiyle kapatılmıştır. Sabahattin Bey’de bu olay sonrası yaşanan tutuklamalar sonrası gözaltına alınır ancak kendisine kovuşturma yapılmaz. Akşin, Prens’e gösterilen bu tutumun arkasında İngiliz bağlantısından söz eder. Siyasi olarak kaybettiğini anlayan Prens yeniden Paris’in yolunu tutmuştur. Burada olduğu dönemde cereyan eden Birinci Dünya Savaşına Osmanlının, Almanlar ile girmemesi için lobicilik faaliyetleri yapar. Savaş sonrası ittifakçıların Malta’ya sürülmesi ile tekrar yurda döner. Siyasetle ilgilenmez ancak bir bilim adamı olarak görüşlerini ifade eder ve toplumu aydınlatmaya çalışır

(Aytaç, 2018: 82). 1924'te, Osmanlı hanedanlarının yurt dışına çıkmasını öngören yasa gereği tekrar Paris'e gider ve bir daha dönmemesine orada kalmıştır. Prens, Fransa'ya ilk gittiğinde tanışıklık kurduğu Science Sociale grubuyla tekrar temas kurmuştur. Le Play ve ekolünü eksen alan çalışmalar yapmıştır (Aytaç, 2018: 82). Nihayetinde 30 Haziran 1948 senesinde İsviçre'de vefat etmiş, sonrasında İstanbul'a getirilerek Eyüpsultan'daki aile mezarlığına defnedilmiştir (Karabay, 2022 : 565). "Belki de herkesin gıpta ile baktığı saray hayatını arkasında bırakıp yıllar boyunca hürriyet uğruna mücadele veren Sabahattin Bey'in hanedana mensup olduğu için yurtdışına sürgün edilmesi ve son yıllarının yoksulluk içerisinde geçmesinden de anlaşılıyor ki; sefasını süremediği hanedanlığın cefasını çekmiştir. Prens Sabahattin, Türkiye'de ilgi uyandıran siyasi düşünürlerdendir. Bu ilgi daha çok İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra ortaya çıkmış, o sıralarda Sabahattin Bey'in fikirleri detaylı bir şekilde incelenmiştir" (Mardin, 1964 : 291).

## **2. Sabahattin Bey'in Muhalefet Anlayışı**

### **a. Le Play'in Kamucu ve Ferdi Toplum Ayrımı**

Sabahattin Bey'in fikir dünyasının oluşmasında Fransız sosyolog Le Play'in büyük katkılarından bahsetmiştik. Le Play'in kurguladığı, sonrasında ise öğrencisi Edmund Demolins'in geliştirdiği Anglosakson toplumlar merkezinde izah edilen ferdi ve kamucu toplum tasnifleri, Sabahattin Bey'in sosyolojisinde ve siyasi fikirlerindeki etkileri hemen hemen her yazısında fark edilmektedir.

Prens Sabahattin'in, Demolins'ten etkilenerek benimsemiş olduğu iki tip toplum tanımı vardır: Kamucu, iştiraki ve ferdi, bireyci toplumlar. Kamucu toplumda kişi değil, aile, kabile, klan ya da devlet gibi zümrelerin üstünlüğü söz konusudur. Bu yapılarda yaşayan bireyler tüketici, her şeyi devletten bekleyen, kendi kendisine yetemeyen bireylerden oluşurlar. Merkezi idare ferdi hakları dilediği gibi kısımlar yahut büsbütün ortadan kaldıracaktır. Kamucu toplumlar, Batı memleketleri ile yarış etme imkanları günden güne azalır. İktisadi ve kültürel açıdan geri kalmaya mahkûmdurlar. Bu tip toplum tek kelime ile Doğu'dur. İkinci tip toplumda ise sosyal yapının temeli ferttir ve ferdi gayretlerdir. Hususi hayatın temeli şahsi teşebbüstür. Hususi hayat umumi hayata hâkimdir. Merkezi otorite sınırlanmış veya parçalanmıştır. Kuvvetler ayrılığı, mahalli idare veya âdem-i merkeziyet gibi siyaset prensipleri, toplum hayatının dayandığı temeller haline gelmiştir. Fert geniş bir hürriyet alanına sahiptir. Kısaca aktif bir vatandaş olan fert, sosyal yapının mimarıdır. Bu tür toplum Batı'dır (Kılıç, 2010: 4). Sabahattin Bey'in teşebbüs-i şahsi ilkesi de bu fikirlerinin tamamlayıcı bir unsuru olarak düşünülmelidir. Çünkü buradaki amaç, kamucu toplumdaki ferdi topluma geçişin yönteminin tespitidir. İngiltere örneğini takip eden Sabahattin Bey, toplumlar için bir burjuva sınıfının rolünün önemini görmüş ve bu sınıfın gelişimi ise Avrupa'daki gibi özel teşebbüsün desteklenmesi ile gerçekleşebilir fikrine varmıştır. Kurmuş olduğu yapı aynı zamanda yukarıda da belirttiğimiz gibi kamucu anlayıştan ferdi anlayışa geçişin önemli bir safhasını oluşturmaktadır (Kılıç, 2010: 5).

### **b. Teşebbüs-i Şahsi ve Ademi- Merkeziyet Cemiyeti, Terakki Dergisi ve Ahrar Fırkası**

Sabahattin Bey'in siyasi hayatı, II. Abdülhamid'in kurduğu istibdat rejimini alaşağı etmek için İttihatçılarla beraber hareket etmesiyle başlamıştır. İki grup arasında kurulan ittifak, (çeşitli

azınlık grupları da bu ittifak içerisinde yer bulmuştur) birbirleri ile ayrı dünya görüşünde olduklarını hemen anlamış olacaktı ki kongreler vasıtası ile bir ortak noktada buluşabilmeyi hedeflemişlerdir. İşte Sabahattin Bey'in kurduğu ilk cemiyet olan Teşebbüs-i Şahsi Ve Adem-i Merkeziyet Cemiyeti, 1902'de yapılan ilk kongreden sonra fikir ayrılıklarının sarıh şekilde anlaşılması ile kurulmuştur. Akabinde cemiyetin resmi dergisi olan Terakki'de aynı yıl -1906- yayın hayatına başlamıştır. Sabahattin Bey artık düşüncelerini cemiyeti ve dergisi ile açıklama imkanına kavuşmuştur. Burada yaptığı yayınlarda İttihatçıların özgürlük taleplerinin fikri bir derinliği olmadığına, sosyal ve ekonomik bir değişim olmadıkça yalnız siyasi bir hamlenin ülkeye bir faydasının dokunmayacağına, derinlikli ve çok taraflı değişiklikler planlanıp uygulanmadıkça istenilen hür devletin yaratılamayacağına dair fikirlerini kamuoyuna sunmuştur. Ona göre kurtuluş, yukarıda da bahis olunduğu gibi Anglosakson toplumlarındaki bir toplumun inşası, bunun getireceği ferdi ve bireyci toplum ile gelişecek olan burjuva sınıfının ülkeye yaratacağı fikri ve ekonomik ferahlık ile olacaktır. Elbette ki Sabahattin Bey yalnızca toplumsal izahatlar yapmamış, idare usul ve uygulamaları hakkında ki düşünceleri de dile getirmiştir. Zaten kendisine yapılan eleştirilerin bir çoğu da bundan kaynaklı olduğu gözükmektedir. Sabahattin Bey idari usul olarak Adem-i Merkeziyet fikrini savunmuştur. Kaba bir çeviri ile "özyönetim" şekli ile açıklanan bu kavram, ülkenin tek bir merkezi idareden yönetilmesi yerine, çeşitli idari alanlara ayrılarak daha etkin bir yönetimin sağlanacağı fikrinden hareket etmiştir. Sabahattin Bey'de Osmanlı ülkesinin çok uluslu yapısına ve bu ulusların birer birer bağımsız devlet kurmasına yönelik bu öneriyi savunmuştur. Ayrıca ülkenin ücra noktalarına daha efektif hizmet edilebileceğini söylemiş, bir büyük toplum barışının da bu şekilde sağlanabileceğine inanmıştır. Lakin Sabahattin Bey bu özerk yapıların merkezi idareye karşı bir mukavemet uygulayamayacağını da savunmuştur. Ancak kendisi bazı yayınlarında, kurulan özerk idarelerin kolluk gücünün oradaki çoğunluk ahaliden oluşturulması gerektiğini söylemiş, bu da muhaliflerinden büyük eleştiri almasına neden olmuştur. Zira o devirde toprak iddiası olan devletlerin yahut devlet olmaya çalışan milletlerin, canhıraş şekilde popülasyonunun fazla olduğunu ispat etmeye çalışması ve bunun için zorbalıklara da başvurmaktan çekinilmediği düşünülürse Sabahattin Bey'in bu fikrinin İttihatçı kadrolar tarafından neden tepkiyle karşılaştığını anlamak pek zor olmayacaktır.

Nihayetinde düzenlenen ikinci bir kongre ile ne şekilde olursa olsun II. Abdülhamid'in iktidarına son verebilmek için beraber hareket edileceğine dair prensip anlaşması sağlanmıştır. Ve bu hedef uzak olmayan bir tarihte gerçekleşmiştir de. Ancak kurulan yeni düzen pek Sabahattin Bey'in istediği gibi olmamış, hatta bazı taraftarlarının tutuklanması, yaptıkları yayınlar ve konuşmaların çeşitli nedenlerle engellenmesi gibi durumlara da maruz kalmışlardır. Elbette ki madalyonun tek bir yüzü yoktur. Sabahattin Bey ve ekibinin de İttihatçı kadroların yaptığı plan ve programların aksaması için çalıştığı bir gerçektir. Azınlık grupları ile kurulan bariz yakınlık, -ki sözü edilen grupların birçoğu Osmanlı'dan ayrılmak isteyen gruplardır, Sabahattin Bey bu grupları adem-i merkeziyet vaadi ile devletin sınırları içerisinde tutacağını düşünüyor idi- Ve Avrupa'nın çeşitli başkentleriyle olan bağlantısı Sabahattin Bey'in yönetimden uzak tutulması fikri için İttihatçı kadrolara yeterli gerekçeyi sunmaktadır.

Sabahattin Bey ise fikirlerini siyasi parti vasıtasıyla duyurma ve böylece iktidar olmaya karar vermiş gibidir. Bu doğrultuda kurulan Ahrar Fırkası, hiçbir zaman Sabahattin Bey'in liderliğini

yapmamış olsa da bir tür onursal başkan pozisyonunda onun düşüncelerinin Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki siyasal temsilini üstlenmiştir. Ne var ki İTC ile yaşanan fikir ayrımı basit bir fraksiyon farkı değil, birbirlerinin antitezi olan iki akım şeklinde tezahür etmiştir. Ve askeri çoğunluğun yoğunlukta olduğu İTC, hükümeti 31 Mart olayları sonunda devlet yönetimi üzerindeki etkisini iyiden iyiye artırmış, Prens Sabahattin'in kurdurduğu Ahrar Fırkası da kapatılmaktan kurtulamamıştır. Artık iyiden iyiye zayıflayan Osmanlı Devleti I. Dünya Savaşı sonrası fiilen yıkılacaktır. Fakat bu süreç gelesiye kadar dahi Ahrar Fırkasının ardılları olan partiler kurulmuştur. Bunların en bilineni Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkasıdır. Savaştan önce kısa bir süre, savaş sonrası kurulan hükümetleri de oluşturan bu parti, Sabahattin Bey'in fikirlerinden yararlanmış ancak pratik uygulamaları Sabahattin Bey'in bahsettiği şekilde derinlikli bir toplumsal dönüşüm ve bunun akabinde idarede uygulanacak farklı metotlar şekliyle olmamış, kof bir Batı hayranlığı, bununla birlikte devletin fiziken ve ruhen İtilaf Devletlerine pay edilecek uygulamalara yol açmışlardır. Belki Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkasının bu politikaları yüzünden, belki Türk toplumunun Sabahattin Bey'in fikirlerini benimseyecek yapıda olmamasından ötürü günümüze kadar -çeşitli dönemseller uygulamalar hariç tutularak- iktidarda kendisine yer bulamamıştır.

### **Sonuç**

Türk Siyasal Hayatı çalışmalarının epey popüler şahsiyetlerinden olan Sabahattin Bey, gerek haneden mensubu olmasıyla, gerekse de ortaya koymuş olduğu fikirler ile nevi şahsına münhasır bir yaşam serüvenini bizlere sunmuştur. Onun fikirleri, Osmanlı toplumunda daha önce Prens'in yaptığı şekilde örgütlü şekilde dile getirilmemiş, toplumun da buna dair beklentisinin olduğuna yönelik bir görüntü tespit edilememiştir. Hal böyle olunca Sabahattin Bey'in fikirleri iyi eğitilmiş, Avrupa ile yakın teması olan bazı çevrelerin benimsemesi dışında pek de etki gösterememiştir. Zaten halihazırda yaşadığı dönemin ruhu da ulusçu ve toplumcu fikirlerin epey revaçta olduğu, imparatorlukların birer birer dağıldığı, yerlerine millet esaslı devletlerin kurulduğu zamanlardır. Vaziyet bu olunca Sabahattin Bey düşlediği toplum ve idare şeklini göremeden hayata gözlerini yummuştur. Zaten arzuladığı dönüşümler bir insan hayatı süresince oluşabilmesi, dışsal bütün faktörlerin müspet olması halinde bile pek mümkün değildir. O, binlerce yıllık tarihinin en büyük meziyeti olarak; "devlet kurmak ve onu hayatta tutmak için çabalamak" şekli ile özetlenebilecek Türk milletinin başat unsur olduğu Osmanlı toplumunun, tüm bu geçmiş yaşantısının tersine kurgulanan bir sistemle, yani Anglosakson halkların düşünüş ve yaşayış düzenini ülkesinde görmeyi arzulamıştır. Zira bu düşüncelerinin dünden bugüne uygulanabilmesi bırakın Türk toplumunu, bugün Batı medeniyetini temsil eden milletlerde de kanlı devrimler ile yahut böyle olmasa da yaşanan coğrafyanın sağladığı avantajlar neticesinde gerçekleştiği açıktır. Ancak tüm bu eleştirilerin yanı sıra Sabahattin Bey'in söylediği sözlerin Türk Devleti'nde -başat unsur olmasa da- tarihinin çeşitli zamanlarında, bazen bir partide, bazen bir yönetici de bazense STK'lar gibi çeşitli oluşumlarla var olduğu, bu varoluşunda hürriyet, özgürlük, liberal ekonomi, yerel yönetimlerin kimi iş ve eylemlerinde merkezden bağımsız hareket edebilmesi gibi farklı uygulamalarda kendisine yer bulmuştur. Türk Devleti üniter, devletçi ve toplumcu yapı üzerinde kurulmuş, gelişmiş ve bugünlere kadar gelmiştir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kurulması üzerinden bir asırlık süre geçmiş

olmasına karşın, gerek Gökalp'in gerek Sabahattin Bey'in toplum tasavvuru pek diri şekilde devletin ve milletin kodlarına işlendiği görülmektedir.

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**New York Times'a göre ABD'nin Türkiye'ye Yardımları ve Kamuoyu (1947-1952)<sup>1</sup>**

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**Özet**

II. Dünya Savaşı'nın sonucunda ortaya çıkan iki kutuplu dünya düzeninde Türkiye'nin tarafı bir süre belirsiz kalmıştır. Bu süre zarfında ABD, Türkiye ve Yunanistan üzerindeki Sovyet tehdidini görmüş ve dönemin ABD Başkanı Harry Truman tarafından 1947 yılında ilan edilen doktrin ile Sovyetlere karşı bu iki ülkeyi Amerikan eksenine çekebilmek için Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a askeri yardım gönderilmesi kararlaştırılmıştır. New York Times gazetesinin ilgili tarihlerdeki nüshaları incelendiğinde Amerikan kamuoyunun çoğunluğunun Truman Doktrinini desteklediği görülmüştür fakat azınlık pozisyonunda da olsa söz konusu yardım planını desteklemeyen unsurların gerekçeleri, ABD'nin gerçek hedefini ortaya koyması bakımından, önemlidir. Bu konuda muhalefetin en güçlü argümanlarının; BM'nin by-pass ediliyor olması, Türkiye'nin II. Dünya Savaşı esnasındaki durumu ve Türkiye ile Yunanistan'ın birer demokrasi olmadığı iddiaları olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Amerikan kamuoyunda söz konusu yardım programlarının desteklenmiş olmasının sebebinin ise hükümet tarafından topluma aşılana Sovyet nefreti ve korkusu ile Hükümet yetkilileri tarafından bu yardımların sadece insani boyutunun vurgulanmış olması şeklinde özetlenebilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** ABD Yardımı, Türkiye, The New York Times, Kamuoyu, II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası

**According to the New York Times, US aid to Turkey and Public Opinion (1947-1952)**

**Abstract**

In the bipolar world order that emerged as a result of World War II, Turkey's side remained uncertain for a while. During this period, the USA saw the Soviet threat on Turkey and Greece, and with the doctrine declared by the then US President Harry Truman in 1947, it was decided to send military aid to Turkey and Greece in order to attract these two countries to the American axis against the Soviets. When the copies of the New York Times newspaper on the relevant dates were examined, it was seen that the majority of the American public supported the Truman

<sup>1</sup> Bu bildiri, Kırıkkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü'nde Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ü. Erdal Çetintaş'ı tez danışmanlığında tamamladığım "New York Times Gazetesi Işığında Amerikan Kamuoyunun Türkiye'ye Yapılan Amerika Yardımlarına Bakışı (1947-1950)" isimli Yüksek Lisans Tezinden türetilmiştir.

Doctrine, but the reasons of those who did not support the aid plan, even if they were in a minority position, are important in terms of revealing the real goal of the USA. It has been determined that the strongest arguments of the opposition on this issue are; The fact that the UN is being bypassed, The position of Türkiye during World War II and claims that Turkey and Greece are not democracies. The reason why these aid programs were supported by the American public can be summarized as the hatred and fear of the Soviets instilled in the society by the government and the fact that only the humanitarian dimension of this aid was emphasized by the government officials.

**Keywords:** U.S. Aid, Turkey, The New York Times, Public Opinion, Post-World War II

## **Giriş**

II. Dünya Savaşı sürecinde Türk-Amerikan ilişkilerini belirleyen en önemli unsur da şüphesiz Müttefik Devletlerin Türkiye ile ilgili geliştirdikleri politikalar olmuştur. Müttefikler, savaşın seyrine göre Türkiye'den 1939 tarihli Türk-İngiliz-Fransız ortak deklarasyonundan doğan sorumluluklarını bahane ederek savaşa girmesini istemişlerdir. Ancak Alman ordularının Trakya'da Sovyet ordularının ise Kuzey Doğu sınırında hazır beklemeleri, Ankara'nın Anadolu topraklarının iki ülkenin savaş meydanı haline geleceği yönündeki endişesi nedeniyle bu talepler geri çevrilmiştir. ABD bu dönemde politikalarını değiştirmiş ve "Kırala-Kullandır" anlaşmasını askıya alarak Türkiye'yi cezalandırmak istemiştir.<sup>2</sup>

II. Dünya Savaşı'nın sonuçlarının belli olması ile Türkiye San Fransisko konferansına katılmak ve Birleşmiş Milletler'e üye olabilmek için Almanya ve Japonya'ya savaş ilan etmiştir. Türkiye'nin galip devletler ile iş birliğini sürdürme arzusu ile gerçekleştirdiği bu hamle, ABD'nin politikalarında bir yumuşamaya sebep olmamıştır.<sup>3</sup>

İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın sonuçları ne olursa olsun, bu savaşın kazananı iki devlet olmuştur; ABD ve SSCB. Zira II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası ortaya çıkan dengeler bu iki ülke arasındaki rekabete göre şekillenmiştir.

Sovyet Rusaya Bolşevik ihtilalinden II. Dünya Savaşı'na kadar geçen sürede uluslararası ilişkilerde pasif bir politika takip etmiş fakat savaş süresince benimsediği işgalci ve yayılcı tutumlarını savaş sonrasında da sürdürmüştür. Öte yandan dünyanın bir diğer süper gücü olmak yolunda ilerleyen ABD de işgalci ve yayılcı bir tutum sergilemeye başlamıştır.<sup>4</sup> Bu güç mücadelesi ikliminde ABD-Türkiye ilişkilerine bakıldığında; Amerika'nın Sovyet Rusya ile giriştiği dünya liderliği mücadelesinde kilit role sahip olan Ortadoğu coğrafyası üzerinde tahakküm kurabilmesinin neredeyse en önemli şartı Türkiye'yi yanında tutmak olduğu gerçeği karşımıza çıkmaktadır. ABD'nin Türkiye için önemi ise; Türkiye'nin modernleşme felsefesini batı endeksli kurmuş olması, içinde bulunduğu iktisadi darboğazda ABD'den ekonomik

2 "U.S. Lend-Lease Also Halted", New York Times, 3 Mart 1944.

3 Mücahit Özçelik, (2010). İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Türk Dış Politikası. *Gazi Üniversitesi SBE Dergisi*, 29(2), s. 265.

4 Yavuz Güler, (2004). II. Dünya Harbi Sonrası Türk- Amerikan İlişkileri (1945-1950). *Gazi Üniversitesi Kırşehir Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi* 5(2), s. 210.



yardımlar alabiliyor olması ve ulusal güvenlik kaygılarını gidermek amaçlı güçlü bir müttefike ihtiyaç duyuyor olması şeklinde özetlenebilir. Bütün bu gerekçelerle kurulan ilişkiler neticesinde alınan ABD yardımları II. Dünya Savaşı esnasında Türkiye'ye karşı Sovyet tehdidini bertaraf etmek amaçlıdır. Fakat, Truman Doktrini, Marshall Planı ve bu yardımları takiben NATO'ya girilmesinin ardından, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti yöneticileri Sovyet Rusya'ya karşı kendini savunan bir Türkiye yerine, Amerika için Komünizmle savaşan bir Türkiye ortaya çıkarmışlardır.<sup>5</sup>

### **Truman Doktrini**

II. Dünya savaşını takiben Amerika Birleşik Devletlerinin Batı Avrupa üzerinde günden güne artan etkisinin, Avrupa'daki Soğuk Savaş'ın çıkış noktası olan gerginlik ve ayrışmaların hem sebebi hem de sonucu olduğu bir gerçektir. Savaş sonrası dönemde, ABD içerisinde müdahaleciliğe karşı tecrit politikasını destekleyen güçlü bir kamuoyu ve siyaset bulunmaktaydı. Öyle ki söz konusu politikayı benimseyen Cumhuriyetçi kesim 1946'daki Kongre seçimlerinde ciddi bir zafer kazanmıştı. Bu gelişmeler iç politikada ciddi bir mücadele içine girmek zorunda bıraktı. Truman'ın Soğuk Savaş siyasetinin ana eksenini, Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın en yetkin Sovyetler Birliği uzmanlarından birisi olan George Kennan'ın Şubat 1946'da 'Uzun Telgraf' ismiyle de anılan meşhur sunumunda yaptığı Sovyetler Birliği analizi oluşturmuştu. Kennan'ın ilgili tezine göre; Sovyetler Birliği, kendi güvenliğini sağlamak için komşularının güvenliğini en aza indirmek isteyecekti. Kennan, bunu önlemek için ABD'nin yapacağı siyasi, askeri ve iktisadi hamleleri ise 'çevreleme' politikası olarak ifade ediyordu.<sup>6</sup>

Her ne kadar Sovyet Rusya çevreleme politikası dâhilinde uygulanan dış politika sonucu geri adım atmış gibi görünse de ABD, Sovyet Rusya'nın Yunanistan ve Türkiye üzerindeki emellerini tehlikeli olarak nitelendirmekteydi Bu bağlamda ABD Başkanı Harry Truman hatıratında, 1946 yılı sonlarında ABD'nin Türkiye Büyükelçisi'nden aldığı raporda, Türkiye'nin Rus ordusuna karşı durabilecek savaş gücüne ve ekipmana sahip olmadığını bildirildiğini ifade etmiştir. Ayrıca Truman hatıratında, takip eden günlerde ABD'nin Moskova Büyükelçisi'nden aldığı raporda ise Rusya'nın Türkiye üzerindeki taleplerinden vazgeçmeyeceğinin ve ABD ile Britanya'nın yardımı olmaksızın Türkiye'nin bağımsızlığını muhafaza etme şansının olmadığını kendisine aktarıldığını yazmıştır.<sup>7</sup>

Sovyetler Birliği'ne karşı sert ve etkin bir politika benimseyen Truman yönetimi, dünya sahnesinde Britanya'nın pozisyonunu ele geçirmek için fırsat beklemekteydi. Yunanistan'da Mart 1946'daki seçimlerin ardından çıkan iç savaş sürecinde Britanya, kraliyet yanlısı Hükümete destek vermekteydi fakat Şubat 1947'ye gelindiğinde kendi ekonomik sıkıntıları nedeniyle bu yardımlara devam edemeyeceğini ABD'ye bildirdi.<sup>8</sup> Yunanistan'daki mevcut hükümetin de yardım talebinde bulunması üzerine ABD'nin Sovyetler karşısında Yunanistan ve Türkiye'yi tarafına çekmek ve Britanya'nın yokluğundan doğan fırsatla Dünya liderliği

5 Oral Sander, (2016). *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri (1947-1964)*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, s. 324-325.

6 Anders Stephanson, (1989). *Kennan and The Art of Foreign Policy*. Londra : Harvard University Press, s. 79.

7 Harry S. Truman, (1956). *Memoirs By Harry S. Truman: Years Of Trial And Hope (Vol. 2)*. New York : The New American Library, s. 120.

8 Antony Best, Jussi M. Hanhimaki, Joseph S. Maiolo, Kristen E. Schulze, (2012). *20. Yüzyılın Uluslararası Tarihi*, (çev. Taciser Ulaş Belge), Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, s. 251-252.

pozisyonunu üstlenmek maksadıyla geliştirdiği politikayı Başkan Truman 12 Mart 1947'de Temsilciler Meclisi'nde yaptığı konuşmada açıklamıştır. Daha sonradan 'Truman Doktrini' olarak isimlendirilen bu konuşmada Truman, Sovyet tehdidini işaret ederek Türkiye, Yunanistan ve İran'ın Doğu Avrupa'nın yaşadıklarını tecrübe etmelerini önlemek gerektiğini ifade etmiştir. Başkan Truman, Yunan yönetiminden gelen yardım talebini açıkladıktan sonra Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a yardım etmek için Temsilciler Meclisi'nden 400 milyon dolar istemiştir. ABD senatosu 22 Nisan 1947 tarihinde Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a yardım yasasını kabul edildikten sonra Başkan Truman tarafından onaylanarak yürürlüğe girmiştir.<sup>9</sup>

### **Amerikan Kamuoyunda Truman Doktrini'ni destekleyen Görüşler**

Başkan Truman, Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a yardım programını içeren politikasını ilan etmeden, Cumhuriyetçi Senatör Arthur H. Vandenberg'den bu konuda kendisini desteklemesini rica etmiştir. Komünist tehdidine karşı, Başkan Truman ile aynı fikirde olan Vandenberg, bu teklifi kabul etmiş ve Cumhuriyetçi Parti senatörlerinin büyük bir kısmını Başkan'ın Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a yardım programını içeren yasayı desteklemeye ikna etmiştir. Bu uzlaşımın neticesinde 'Truman Doktrini' üzerinde ABD'nin en önemli iki partisinin görüş birliğine vardığı bir dış politika olarak Temsilciler Meclisi'nde, Harry Truman tarafından ilan edilmiştir. ABD kamuoyu, Cumhuriyetçi ve Demokrat Partilerin üzerinde uzlaştığı ve kamuoyunu Truman Doktrininin kazanımlarına odakladığı bir atmosferde, bu keskin dış politika manevrasını desteklemek konusunda zorlanmamıştır. New York Times Gazetesi, Truman Doktrini'nin ilanının ardından, nüshalarında, kamuoyunu Truman Doktrini'ni desteklemeye yönlendiren siyasetçilerin açıklamalarına ve bu yönlendirmeler karşısında kamuoyunun söz konusu politikayı destekleyen beyanlarına yer vermiştir.<sup>10</sup>

Gazete'nin 9 Nisan 1947 tarihli baskısında yer alan habere göre, Senatör Vandenberg, Senatoda Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a yardım programı ile ilgili daha çok muhalif siyasetçilerin iddialarına yanıt verdiği 8 Nisan 1947 tarihli konuşmasında, Yunanistan ve Türkiye'nin Sovyet tehdidine boyun eğmesi durumunda bunun dünya çapında bir domino etkisine sebep olacağını belirtmiştir. Muhalif görüşteki senatörlerin Monroe Doktrini'nin devre dışı bırakıldığı yeni bir doktrin benimsendiği yönündeki eleştirilerine gönderme yapan Vandenberg, "sıkıntı içindeki uluslara yardım etmenin yeni bir 'doktrin' anlamına gelmemesi" gerektiğini vurgulamıştır. Monroe Doktrini'ni ortaya çıkaran sebeplerden birinin Rusya'nın Kuzey Amerika kıyılarında yarattığı tehlike olduğunu hatırlatan Vandenberg, bugün de durumun çok değişmediğini vurgulayarak; komünizmin "sıkıntılı sularda balık avladığını" söylemiş ve bu tehdide karşı durmanın emperyalizm olmadığını ifade etmiştir. Vandenberg, Truman Doktrini desteklenmediği takdirde, bütün dünyayı etkisi altına alabilecek olan bir savaş iklimine yeşil ışık yakılmış olunacağını iddia etmiş ve bu yönde hatalı hareket ettiklerini düşündüğü muhalifleri hatalarından dönmeye çağırmıştır.<sup>11</sup>

9 Oral Sander, a.g.e., s. 44.

10 Barış Ertem, (2009). Türkiye-ABD İlişkilerinde Truman Doktrini ve Marshall Planı. *Balıkesir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 12(21), 387-390.

11 Excerpts From Vandenberg's Speech on Aid to Middle East, The New York Times, 9 Nisan 1947.

Gazetenin 26 Mart 1947 tarihli nüshasında yer alan haberde, Truman'ın Türkiye ve Yunanistan ile ilgili politikasının desteklenmesi konusunda kongreyi uyaran önerenin bir önceki gece Ulusal Cumhuriyetçi Cemiyeti toplantısında kabul edildiği aktarılmıştır.<sup>12</sup> Vandenberg'in Cumhuriyetçi senatörler ve Cumhuriyetçi Amerikan vatandaşlarının kanaatlerini etkileyecek derecede önemli bir isim olduğunu ortaya koyması bakımından bu haber son derece önemlidir.

New York Times Gazetesine yansıyan bir başka habere göre, Senatör Joseph H. Ball, Başkan Truman'ın Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a yardım programını Rusya ile olası bir savaştan kaçınmak için "tek çare" olarak görmekte ve desteklemektedir. Söz konusu haberde Minnesota'nın Cumhuriyetçi senatörü Joseph H. Ball'un Senato'da yaptığı konuşmadan kesitlere yer verilmiştir. Senatör Ball, konuşmasında Sovyet Rusya'nın Avrupa ve Asya'da azınlık diktatörlükleri kurmaya karalı olduğunu, Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a yapılacak 400.000.000 dolarlık yardımın bu ülkeleri Sovyetlerin birer uydu devleti olmaktan kurtarmak için gerekli olduğunu belirtmiştir.<sup>13</sup>

Gazetenin 23 Mart 1947 tarihli baskısında yer alan haberde ise, Albany Şehri Valisi Dewey'in Truman Doktrini ile ilgili açıklamalarına yer verilmiştir. Söz konusu haberde Dewey, Truman'ın Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a yardım politikasını desteklediğini beyan etmiş, Yunanistan'ın kültürel mirası üzerine kurulmuş batının Yunanistan'a bir vefa borcu olduğunu birçok örnekle belirtmiş ve Yunanistan'a stratejik emellerin yanı sıra duygusal sebeplerle de yardım edilmesi gerektiğini ifade etmiştir.<sup>14</sup>

New England Valilerinin Truman Doktrini ile ilgili düşüncelerini açıklamak üzere düzenledikleri ortak basın toplantısında yapılan resmi açıklamalara yer verilen haberde New England eyaletinin altı şehrinin valisinin de Truman Doktrinini desteklediği, söz konusu valilerin ortak resmi açıklamaları alıntılanarak şöyle aktarılmıştır. "Biz, New England Eyaleti'nin altı şehrinin valileri olarak senato üyelerine ve Beyaz Saray'a, ülkemizin ve dünyanın barış ve huzuru için Başkan'ın geçen Çarşamba günü kongreye verdiği mesajda savunduğu politikayı desteklemek gerektiğini ortak bir kararla ifade etmek istiyoruz."<sup>15</sup>

New York Times Gazetesinin yazarlarından John E. King, Teksaslıların ABD'nin Avrupa ile olan ilişkilerinde her zaman müdahaleci olmayı savunduğunu ve Truman Doktrini konusunda da farklı davranmadıklarını belirtmiştir. King'e göre, "Teksas eyaletinde kamuoyu Truman Doktrini'ni "müdahaleci" olarak görmekle beraber bu politikanın gerekli olduğunu düşünmekte ve desteklemektedir."<sup>16</sup>

Hugh A. Fogarty ise, New York Times Gazetesinin 23 Mart 1947 tarihli nüshasında yer alan makalesinde, yerleşik nüfusunun çoğunluğu çiftçilerden oluşan orta-batı eyaleti olan Nebraska'da kamuoyunun Truman Doktrinini ortaya çıkaran gelişmeleri, ABD'yi dünya liderliğine taşıyacak bir fırsat olarak gördüğünü belirtmiştir. Fogarty'e göre bölge halkı Büyük

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12 Backs Truman Policy: National Republican Club Urges Congress to Aid Greeks, Turks, The New York Times, 26 Mart 1947.

13 Ball Gives Backing To The Greek Aid Plan, The New York Times, 30 Mart 1947.

14 Dewey Endorses Greek Aid Project, The New York Times, 23 Mart 1947.

15 New England Governors Endorse Truman Policy, The New York Times, 15 Mart 1947.

16 John E. King, Dallas: Intervention Now Is Called Leading Southwest View, The New York Times, 23 Mart 1947.

Britanya'nın güçten düşmesi ile ortaya çıkan dünya liderliği boşluğunu ABD'nin dolduracağı gerçeğini kabullenmiş durumdadır ve bu inançla Truman Doktrini'ni sevinçle karşılamakta ve tamamıyla desteklemektedir.<sup>17</sup>

Gazetede yayımlanan bir başka makalede Frank B. Woodford, Truman Doktrini ile ilgili Michigan kamuoyunun yavaş olgunlaştığını belirtmiş yine de bölge halkının Truman Doktrini'ni destekler pozisyonda olduğunun söylenebileceğini ifade etmiştir. Woodford makalesinde bölge kamuoyunun durumunu şu ifadelerle açıklamıştır: "Tecrübeli bir araştırmacının söylediğine göre bugün Michigan halkına Yunanistan ve Türkiye'ye yardım programlarına nasıl baktıkları sorulsa cevapları muhtemelen Rusya'nın genişlemesini durduracak her türlü hareketi kalpten destekledikleri yönünde olacaktır."<sup>18</sup>

New York Times Gazetesinin kamuoyunu ilgilendiren meselelerle ilgili nüshalarında, okuyuculardan gelen mektuplara da yer verdiği bilinmektedir. Gazete'ye Brooklyn'den gönderdiği mektubunda Morton B. Lawrence isimli gazete okuyucusu şu ifadelerle yer vermiştir: "Dünya hâkimiyetinden bahseden hayalperestler ve hayalciler bugünün realistleridir. Ya bir dünya federasyonu kuracağız ya da yıkıcı bir dünya savaşına hazırlanacağız. Bu durum, federasyonu oluşturabilmek için milli birikimimizin bir kısmından vazgeçmemiz gerektiği anlamına geliyor. Bu hareketi idare etme işi dünyanın en zengin ve güçlü devleti olarak ABD'nin sorumluluğundadır."<sup>19</sup>

## **2.2. Amerikan Kamuoyunda Truman Doktrini'ne Muhalif Görüşler**

Truman Doktrini her ne kadar Cumhuriyetçi Senatör Arthur H. Vandenberg öncülüğünde Cumhuriyetçilerin desteğini alarak iki partinin üzerinde uzlaştığı bir politika olarak kongrede oylanacak olsa da Henry Agard Wallace öncülüğündeki muhalif siyasetçiler kamuoyunu Truman Doktrini'ne karşı durmaya çağırmıştır. Wallace'ın sunduğu gerekçelerden etkilenenler ve Truman Doktrini ile çıkarları çatışanlar ABD kamuoyunda Truman Doktrini'ne muhalif bir cephe oluşturmuşlardır.

Temmuz 1946'da Truman'ın kabinesinde son olarak ticaret bakanlığı görevini yürütürken Başkan'ın dış politikasıyla ilgili kaygılarını ve tavsiyelerini içeren bir mektubu kendisine iletse de Başkan'dan bir geri dönüş bulamamış hatta bu muhalif tutumu Wallace'ın istifaya çağırılmasına ve nihayet görevinden ayrılmasına da sebep olmuştur. İstifasının ardından İlerlemeci Amerikan Vatandaşları adlı grubun çatısı altında destekçilerini bir araya getirmiştir. İşte bu grubun reklam şeklinde New York Times Gazetesine gönderdiği metinde Henry A. Wallace'ın bir radyo programında Truman Doktrini ile ilgili yaptığı eleştirilerin matbu hali yer almaktadır. Bu metinde Wallace Truman Doktrini'nin neden yanlış bir politika olduğu, bu politikanın doğurabileceği olumsuz sonuçları ve bunun yerine yapılabilecek şeyleri dile getirmiştir.

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17 Hugh A. Fogarty, Omaha: Area Accepts Our Growing Role in World Affairs, The New York Times, 23 Mart 1947.

18 King B. Woodford, Detroit: Public Opinion Is Slow to Crystallize in Michigan, The New York Times, 23 Mart 1947.

19 Morton B. Lawrence, World Government or War, The New York Times, 16 Mart 1947.

Başkan Truman'ın Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a demokrasi ve insaniyet adı altında yardım ederken asıl maksadının Komünist Rusya'yı kuşatmak olduğunu ifade eden Wallace, Sovyet yayılcılığına bir Pearl Harbour refleksiyle yaklaşan Truman'ın bu hamlesinin bir savaşı önlemekten ziyade yeni bir savaşa sebep olabilecek bir politika olduğunu iddia etmiştir.

Birleşmiş Milletler üyesi ülkelerin hep birlikte daha büyük çaplı yardımlarda bulunabileceği aşikâr olduğunu fakat Truman'ın bu yardım politikasıyla Birleşmiş Milletler Yardım ve Rehabilitasyon İdaresi'ni devre dışı bıraktığını belirten Wallace, Amerikan halkının muhtaç insanlara yardım etme konusunda fazlasıyla gönüllü olduğunu ifade ederek Amerikalıların: "Dünyada bu kadar yardıma muhtaç insan varken biz neden savaşta müttefikimiz bile olmayan bir ülke olan Türkiye'ye yardım ediyoruz?" sorusuna cevap bulmaya çalıştığını da vurgulamıştır.

Türkiye'nin I. Dünya Savaşı'nda ABD'ye karşı savaştığını ve II. Dünya Savaşı'nda da Birleşmiş Milletlere yardım etmeyi reddettiğini belirten Wallace, yine Türkiye'nin savaş esnasında krom madenlerini en yüksek teklifi verene satarak cebini doldurduğunu ve 200 milyon dolarlık bir altın rezervine ulaştığını iddia etmiştir. Türkiye'nin söz konusu tarafsız ve fırsatçı tutumunun savaşın aylarca uzamasına sebep olduğunu da iddialarına eklemiştir. Türkiye'nin temsiliyetçi ya da demokratik olduğunu ifade etmenin saçma olacağını belirten eski başkan yardımcısı, Türk kaynaklarından edindiğini iddia ettiği bilgilere göre Türkiye'nin bu yardımın 150 milyon dolarlık kısmını, Türk ordusunun modernizasyonunda kullanacağını belirterek bu tasarrufun Truman Doktrininin demokrasilerin güçlendirilmesi amacıyla çeliştiğini ifade etmiştir. Wallace, Türkiye'ye yardım edilmesine yönelik eleştirilerinde Türkiye'nin savaş esnasındaki belirsiz tutumunun birçok müttefik askeri birliğini oyaladığını söyleyen Wallace tüm bu hususlar yüzünden Türkiye'ye yardım edilmesine kesinlikle karşı olduğunu açıklamıştır. Söz konusu gazete metninde Wallace şu sözlerle Truman Doktrini'nin başarısız olacağı yönündeki öngörüsünü desteklemiştir: "Değişim önlenemez, hiçbir toplum satın alınamaz, Amerika milyarlarca doları etkisiz amaçlar uğruna heba edemez." <sup>20</sup>

Henry A. Wallace, Truman Doktrini ile alakalı konuşmalarında Birleşmiş Milletler konusundaki hassasiyetini vurgulamaya özen göstermiştir. Nitekim New York Times Gazetesinin 13 Mart 1947 tarihli haberine göre Demokrat Çiftçiler Partisi ve The New Republic Gazetesi'nin sponsor olduğu bir toplantıda Henry A. Wallace, Truman Doktrinine alternatif olarak ihtiyaç sahibi ülkelere silah göndermek yerine Birleşmiş Milletler aracılığıyla tarım aletleri ve traktörler göndermeyi önermiştir. <sup>21</sup>

Bir başka haberde New York Times Gazetesi, Avrupa gezisinden yeni dönmüş olan Wallace'ın, gözlemlerinden hareketle: "Askeri malzemeler onların ne işine yarayacak ki? Norveç ve Danimarka sanayilerini yeniden çalıştırabilmek için Amerikan kömürü ve çeliğine ihtiyaç duyuyor, Fransa ve Britanya fabrikalarını modernize etmek için Amerikan makinelerine ihtiyaç duyuyor. Bütün bunların yerine biz onlara silah ve mühimmat sunuyoruz" dediğini ve

<sup>20</sup> Advertisement, The New York Times, 18 Mart 1947.

<sup>21</sup> Prefers Use of Plows, The New York Times, 13 Mart 1947.

Wallace'ın, Avrupa'da Truman Doktrinini destekleyen grupların Winston Churchill taraftarı ya da aşırı sağcılar olduğunu iddia ettiğini aktarmıştır.<sup>22</sup>

New York Times Gazetesinde 18 Mart 1947 tarihinde yayımlanan ve Henry Agard Wallace'ın muhalif radyo konuşmasının aktarıldığı metinde PCA (İlerlemeci Amerikan Vatandaşları) Truman Doktrini ile ilgili düşüncelerini ve önerilerini şu şekilde özetlemişlerdir:

- “Başkan Truman'ın önerisi, ülkeyi ikiye bölmekte ve ülkeyi savaşa sürüklemektedir.
- Amerikan dolarları ve Amerikan vatandaşları kralları ve imparatorlukları desteklemek için feda edilmemelidir.
- ABD bütün gücüyle Birleşmiş Milletlerin arkasında durmalıdır.
- Kararlılığımız, dünyadaki bütün insanlar için barışı tesis etmek üzerine olmalıdır.”

İlerlemeci Amerikan Vatandaşlarının kamuoyunu harekete geçmeye davet ettiği not kısmında ise madde madde, şu cümlelere yer verilmiştir:

“1. Birleşmiş Milletler'in doğasına ve misyonuna aykırı davrandığı ve kendi başına bir işe kalkıştığı için Başkan Truman'ı protesto edin.

2. Mektupla veya telgrafla, acilen kongre üyelerinize ulaşın.

a. Başkan'ın Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a yardım teklifine karşı çıkmaları için onları uyarın.

b. Onları savaş zamanı müttefiklerimize öncelik vermek üzere yurtdışındaki 'gerçek' yardım faaliyetlerini desteklemek konusunda uyarın.”<sup>23</sup>

Her ne kadar Truman Doktrini'ne karşı muhalefetin öncülüğünü Henry Agard Wallace yapsa da, Truman'ın Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a yardım edilmesini içeren politikası için başka önemli siyasetçiler de karşıt fikir beyan etmiş ve kamuoyunu bu yönde etkileyerek Truman Doktrini'nin kongrede kabulünü engellemeye çalışmışlardır.

New York Times Gazetesinde Nebraska Cumhuriyetçi Senatörü Hugh Butler'ın senatoda yaptığı Truman Doktrini'ne muhalif konuşmasının aktarıldığı haberde Butler, ABD'nin elini attığı her ülkenin Amerikan vergi mükellefleri için bir gider kalemi haline geldiğini belirterek programın komünist yayılmasını engellemeyi amaçladığı için desteklenebileceğini ama bunun tek yolunun ABD paralarını ilgili ülkelere döküp saçmak olmadığını ifade etmiştir. Ayrıca Butler, bu sorumluluğun Birleşmiş Milletler'e ait olduğunu ve şayet Birleşmiş Milletler bu misyonu üstlenecek derecede güçlü değilse o zaman Birleşmiş Milletlerin güçlendirilmesi gerektiğini belirtmiştir.<sup>24</sup>

C.P. Trussel ise, New York Times Gazetesine özel kaleme aldığı “Senatörler Truman Doktrini'ne Saldırıyor” başlığını taşıyan makalesinde kendisini enternasyonalist ya da soyutlanma taraftarı olarak tanımlamadığını ifade eden Güney Dakota Cumhuriyetçi Senatörü Harlan J. Bushfield'in Truman Doktrini ile ilgili fikirlerine yer vermiştir. Söz konusu makaleye göre Bushfield, Truman Doktrini'ne olan muhalefetini, Monro Doktrini'ni referans göstererek

22 Wallace Sees Fear Of Truman Program, The New York Times, 1 Mayıs 1947.

23 Advertisement, The New York Times, 18 Mart 1947.

24 C.P. Trussel, Senators Attack Mid-East Aid Bill, The New York Times, 10 Nisan 1947.

izah etmektedir. Bushfield'a göre Monroe Doktrini, Avrupa devletleriyle 'karşılıklı' bir sözleşmedir ve Monroe Doktrini ile Avrupa ve Rusya'ya Güney Amerika'dan uzak durması gerektiği mesajı iletilmiştir. Buna karşılık olarak da ABD'nin Avrupa'dan uzak durması gerekmektedir. Bushfield, “İşini bilen bir kongre üyesinin yapacağı şey, Truman Doktrini'ne karşı durmaktır.” diyerek Truman Doktriniyle ilgili tavrını net bir şekilde ortaya koymuştur.<sup>25</sup>

New York Times Gazetesinin haberine göre Sovyet İzvestia gazetesi Truman Doktrini'ni eleştirmek için hazırladığı editoryalde, ABD'li senatör ve yetkililerin Truman Doktrini'ne muhalif düşüncelerini aktararak kendi yorumlarına ABD içinden dayanak oluşturmayı amaçlamıştır. Buna göre Colorado Eyaleti Demokrat Senatörü Edwin C. Johnson, siyasi bir amacı olmaksızın gıda yardımını desteklediğini fakat Başkan'ın “gıda ile mühimmat arasında ayırım yapamadığını” belirtmiştir. Bu sebeple, Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a askeri personel gönderilmesini onaylamadığını, Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a asker gönderme işinin dünyanın farklı bölgelerine de askeri müdahaleye varabileceğini ifade etmiştir. Habere göre Johnson: “Aç insanlara milyonlarca dolar vermeye hazırım, ancak kokuşmuş monarşilere bir sent bile verilmesine karşıyım.” demiştir. Haberin devamında görüşlerine yer verilen bir başka isim olan Florida eyaleti Demokrat Senatörü Claude Pepper ise Truman'ın Birleşmiş Milletlere danışılmadan ortaya koyduğu tavsiyelerinin Birleşmiş Milletler için bir tehdit olduğunu ve Birleşik Devletleri bilinmeyen yaptırımlara sürükleyebileceğini ifade etmiştir.<sup>26</sup>

Gazete yer alan bir başka haberde ise Amerikan İşçi Partisi'nin görüşlerine yer verilmiştir. Haberde ideolojik eğilimlerinden dolayı Amerikan İşçi Partisi'nin Truman Doktrini'ne muhalif olduğu belirtilmiştir. Amerikan İşçi Partisi Meclis Üyesi Eugene P. Connoly'nin Başkan Truman'ı Türkiye ve Yunanistan'ı destekleme politikasından dolayı suçladığının aktarıldığı haberde Connoly, Başkan'ın ülkeyi savaşa sürüklediğini iddia etmiş; halkı ve parti üyelerini Truman karşıtı kartpostallar hazırlamaya ve Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a yardım konusunu Birleşmiş Milletler gündemine getirmek için harekete geçmeye davet etmiştir.<sup>27</sup>

ABD Başkanı Harry S. Truman'ın 12 Mart 1947'de kongrede yaptığı konuşmada Türkiye ve Yunanistan'a yardım ederek Sovyet yayılmacılığını önlemeyi hedefleyen politikayı ilan etmesinin ardından ABD'de kamuoyu, büyük oranda medyadan ve siyasetçilerden öğrendikleriyle şekillenmiştir. Bu bağlamda Henry Wallace öncülüğündeki muhalefetin kamuoyunu kısmen etkilediği New York Times Gazetesinin Truman Doktrininin ilanını müteakip nüshalarına yansıyan haber ve makalelerde görülebilmektedir.

New York Times Gazetesi farklı gazetelerin bu konudaki haberlerini de derleyerek kendi okuyucuları ile paylaşmıştır. New York Times ilgili haberinde işçi ve işçi haklarını savunması ile sosyalist bir eğilimi olduğu bilinen Daily Worker gazetesinin Truman Doktrinini ile ilgili haberine atıfta bulunarak, söz konusu gazetenin Truman Doktrini 'ne karşıt olanlar safında yer aldığını belirtmiştir. Daily Worker gazetesinde “Ulusal Utanç” başlığı altında yayımlanan söz konusu haberde Demokratik Yunanistan Amerikan Konseyi sekreteri Michael Mandelenakis'in

25 C.P. Trussel, Senators Attack Mid-East Aid Bill, The New York Times, 10 Nisan 1947.

26 Izvestia's Editorial on Truman Address, The New York Times, 15 Mart 1947.

27 Greek Aid Assailed: Marcantonio and Powell Join in Attack on Truman Plan, The New York Times, 17 Mart 1947.

şu sözlerine yer verilmiştir: “Şimdi biz, dibi olmayan Yunan faşizmi kuyusuna milyonlar mı gömeceğiz, Quislings’e Yunan demokrasisini yıkması için yardım mı edeceğiz?” Bu sözleriyle Truman Doktrini’nin yardım öngördüğü ülkelerin demokratik durumunu gerekçe göstererek doktrinin gerektirdiği yardıma karşı olduğunu belirten Mandelenakis, sözlerinin devamında ise doktrin çerçevesinde yapılacak yardımların, bu ve benzeri durumlarda devreye girmesi için kurulmuş ülkeler üstü bir yapı olan Birleşmiş Milletler’in prestijine ağır bir darbe vuracağını ifade etmiştir.<sup>28</sup>

Gazetenin bir başka haberine göre Truman’ın Türkiye ve Yunanistan’a yapacağı yardımı Birleşmiş Milletler’i by-pass ederek gerçekleştirecek olması Birleşmiş Milletler çalışanlarının moralini bir hayli bozmuştur. Aralarında Türkiye ve Yunanistan’a yardım edilmesini destekleyenlerin de olduğu bazı Birleşmiş Milletler çalışanları, Truman’ın söz konusu yardım programını Birleşmiş Milletler aracılığıyla değil de kendi başına hayata geçirmek istemesini “büyük bir trajik hata” olarak nitelendirmiştir.<sup>29</sup>

New York Times Gazetesi, Amerikan-Sovyet Dostluğu Ulusal Konseyi, Türkiye ve Yunanistan’a yapılacak olan yardımın reddini isteyen otuz farklı eyaletten 200 din adamının listesini de yayımlamıştır. Rahipler açıklamalarında Kongre’nin, Türkiye’ye yapılacak olan askeri yardımı derhal reddetmesi gerektiğini; Yunanistan’a yapılacak olan gıda, yapı ürünleri gibi yardımlara ise Dünya Bankası, Birleşmiş Milletler Gıda ve Tarım Organizasyonu veya Birleşmiş Milletler’nin diğer resmi alt kuruluşlarınca yapılması kaydıyla karşı olmadıklarını vurgulamışlardır.<sup>30</sup>

Gazetenin 22 Mart 1947 tarihli nüshasında demiryolu çalışanlarının Truman Doktrini’ni kısmen desteklediğinin belirtildiği haberde demiryolu çalışanlarının Yunanistan’a yapılacak gıda ve giyecek yardımını, dağıtımını ABD personeli tarafından yapılmak şartıyla destekleyeceği aktarılmıştır. Haberde söz konusu grubun Rusya gibi güçlü bir devlet, etrafındaki ülkelerin bağımsızlığını tehdit ederken, bu ülkelere yardım etmenin ABD’nin tek başına değil Birleşmiş Milletler aracılığıyla gerçekleştirmesi gereken bir görev olduğunu savunduğu ifade edilmiştir. Demiryolu çalışanlarının diğer muhalif seslerden farklı olarak, Truman’a maddi sebeplerden dolayı değil siyasi sebepler ve güç dengeleri bakımından karşı çıktıklarının da altı çizilmiştir.<sup>31</sup>

Truman Doktrini ile ilgili muhalefet cephesinde dikkat çeken bir diğer grup ise Amerika’da yaşayan Ermenilerdir. Ermeni cemaati hedef ve yönteminden dolayı değil yardımın yapılacağı ülkelere birisinin Türkiye olması sebebiyle Truman Doktrini’ne karşı çıkmıştır. New York Times Gazetesinde yer alan bir haberde Ermenilerin Türkiye’den toprak taleplerini tartışmak üzere bir araya gelmiş olan Birinci Dünya Ermeni Kongresi’nde söz alan John Roy Carlson isimli konuşmacının Türkiye’nin bir demokrasi olmadığını ve bu yönüyle o günün Almanyasına benzediğini, ekonomik açıdan ise Birleşik Devletler ve Büyük Britanya’dan daha iyi durumda

28 Daily Worker Sees ‘National Shame’, The New York Times, 14 Mart 1947.

29 U.N. Staff Morale Upset On Greece, The New York Times, 16 Mart 1947.

30 Aid To Turkey Opposed: American-Soviet Group Backed by Additional Churchmen, The New York Times, 5 Nisan 1947.

31 Rail Men Oppose Truman: Say U.N. Should Handle Greek and Turkish Situation, The New York Times, 22 Mart 1947.



olduğunu iddia ederek Türkiye'ye yardım gönderilmesine kesinlikle karşı olduklarını belirttiği aktarılmıştır.<sup>32</sup>

New York Times Gazetesinin 31 Mart 1947 tarihli nüshasında yer alan bir başka haberde ise Amerikan Ermeni Ulusal Konseyi'nin Truman Doktrini'ne bakışına aynı çerçevede yer verilmiştir. Söz konusu haberde Amerikan Ermeni Ulusal Konseyi'nin, Başkan Truman'ın Yunanistan'a yapacağı 250 milyon dolarlık yardıma sıcak baktığı ancak Türkiye'ye yapılacak olan yardıma ise kesin bir dille karşı çıktığı anlatılmıştır. Haberin devamında ise Amerikan Ermeni Ulusal Konseyi'nin Beyaz Saray Dış İlişkiler Sekreterine gönderdiği mesajda, Ermenilerin Türkiye'ye yapılacak olan askeri yardıma karşı oldukları ve böyle bir yardımın Yakın Doğu'ya barış değil savaş getireceğini iddia ettikleri aktarılmıştır.<sup>33</sup>

New York Times Gazetesi gündemdeki konularla ilgili kamuoyunun nabzını tutmak ve toplumu gündemdeki konulardan haberdar olmaya teşvik etmek için gündemle ilgili sade vatandaşların mektuplarını yayımlamıştır. Cornwall şehrinden New York Times Gazetesine gönderdiği mektupta Ermeni asıllı bir ABD vatandaşı olan H.M. Gasparian, Yunanistan'a yardım edilmesiyle ilgili bir eleştirisi olmadığını fakat II. Dünya savaşı süresince tarafsızlığını koruyarak yıkıma uğramamış hatta ekonomisini güçlendirmiş bir ülke olan Türkiye'ye yardım edilmesine karşı olduğunu ifade etmiştir. Azınlık haklarına saygı duymayan totaliter bir rejimle yönetildiğini ve güçsüz de olsa bir diktatörlük olduğunu iddia ettiği Türkiye'ye demokrasi ve özgürlük adına güçlü bir diktatörlük olan Sovyet Rusya'ya karşı savunmanın mantıksız olduğunu belirtmiştir.

Cambridge'den New York Times Gazetesine gönderdiği mektupta Truman Doktrini'ni değerlendiren Ralph Barton Perry isimli bir başka okuyucu ise ABD'nin Truman Doktrini ile şekillenen dış politikasının amacının insani yardımdan çok komünizmle mücadele olduğunu ve bunun da yanlış bir strateji izlenerek yapıldığını belirtmiş, komünizmin totaliter yanıyla mücadele etmek için baskıcı rejimlere yardım gönderilmesinin insan hakları ve özgürlükler açısından sakıncalı olacağını ifade etmiştir. Böyle bir yardım politikası kullanarak komünizmle savaşmak yerine ABD'nin benimsediği yönetim biçimini kendi içinde mükemmelleştirmesi durumunda dünya halklarının kendiliğinden ABD'nin safında yer alacağını iddia etmiştir.<sup>34</sup>

Columbia Üniversitesi'nden Öğretim Görevlisi Channing B. Richardson da New York Times Gazetesine yazmış olduğu mektubunda benzer ifadelere yer vermiştir. Richardson, ABD'nin politikalarında başka bir süper güce karşı (Rusya, Çin) tepki olarak, güç ve para gösterisi yapmasındansa yapıcı, yenilikçi ve lider görünümlü politikalar geliştirmesi gerektiğini belirtmiştir.<sup>35</sup>

New York Times Gazetesi, Truman Doktrini'nin doğrudan veya dolaylı olarak muhatabı olan Türkiye ve Sovyet Rusya'daki muhalif düşüncelere de söz konusu ülkelerin gazetelerinden

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32 Armenian Claims On Turkey Pushed, The New York Times, 15 Mart 1947.

33 Armenians Oppose U.S. Aid. To Turkey, The New York Times, 31 Mart 1947.

34 Ralph Barton Perry, Foreign Policy Questioned: Declarations Accompanying Aid Plan Called Confused and Reckless, The New York Times, 27 Mayıs 1947.

35 Channing B. Richardson, Letters to The Times: Far East Policy Examined Present Crisis Called result of lack of positive action, The New York Times, 1 Aralık 1950.

yaptığı alıntılarla yer vermiştir. New York Times Gazetesi 20 Mart 1947 tarihli nüshasında yayımladığı haberde Türkiye’de yayın yapan hükümet karşıtı birçok gazetenin yapılacak olan yardımın direkt olarak yönetimdeki partinin eline verilmesinden kaygı duyduğunu belirtmiş, söz konusu gazetelerin Amerikan yardımlarının yönetimdeki partinin eline verilmesi durumunda yardımların Türkiye’nin Sovyet Emperyalizmi’ne karşı askeri ve ekonomik olarak desteklenmesi ve ülkede demokratik öğelerin güçlendirilmesi amacına hizmet etmeyeceği endişesini dile getirdiklerini aktarmıştır.<sup>36</sup>

Sovyet Rusya’nın en önemli basın organlarından biri olan İzvestia gazetesi’nin, New York Times tarafından aktarılan haberinde Amerika Birleşik Devletleri’nin Türkiye’ye Truman Doktrini çerçevesinde yardım etmesi şu şekilde yorumlanmıştır: “Türkiye’ye yönelik Amerikan yardımının başlıca nedeni olarak Türkiye’nin toprak bütünlüğünü korumak olduğu iddia edilse de Türkiye’ye yönelik herhangi bir tehdit yoktur. Bu yardımın asıl nedeni Türkiye’yi Amerikan emperyalizmi altına alarak bundan sonra ABD’den bağımsız politikalar yürütememesini sağlamak ve bu sayede bölgede ABD’ye tehdit oluşturabilecek unsurlara karşı Türkiye’yi kullanmaktır.”

New York Times Gazetesine yansıyan haberler ve makaleler ışığında ABD kamuoyunun söz konusu politikayı desteklemesinin sebepleri: Artan komünizm tehdidine karşı erkenden önlem alınması, ABD’nin dünya liderliği rolünü üstleniyor olması ve küçük ulusları komünizm güdümündeki totaliter rejimler altında ezilmekten kurtarmayı vaat ediyor olması olarak sıralanabilir.

Muhafif taraflara ve argümanlarına bakıldığında ise Henry Agard Wallace ve diğer siyasi figürlerin Truman Doktrini’ne karşı muhalif söylemleri sıradan vatandaşları ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarını etkilemiştir. Amerikan halkının ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarının Truman Doktrini’ne muhalif yaklaşımlarını ifade ederken kullandıkları gerekçe ve söylemlerin Henry Wallace başta olmak üzere diğer muhalif siyasetçilerle paralellik göstermesi söz konusu ifadeyi kanıtlar niteliktedir. Nitekim okuyucu mektupları ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarının beyanlarında, Birleşmiş Milletler’in by-pass edilmesi hususu Truman Doktrini konusunda oluşan muhalif görüşler arasında başı çekmektedir. Amerikan Kamuoyu ayrıca Türkiye’nin iktisadi ve siyasi durumunu da muhalif düşüncelerini gerekçelendirmekte kullanışlı bir enstrüman olarak görmüştür. Bu bağlamda ABD kamuoyunda Truman Doktrini’ne muhalif kesim Türkiye’nin bir demokrasi olmadığını ve aynı zamanda ekonomik olarak da yardıma ihtiyacı bulunmadığını iddia etmiştir. Savaş esnasındaki durumu da Türkiye’ye yardım edilmemesi yönündeki düşüncelere gerekçe olarak ileri sürülmüştür. Amerika’da yaşayan Ermeni topluluğunun Türkiye’ye yardım edilmesi ile ilgili muhalefetlerinde ise duygusal bir yaklaşıma sahip oldukları gerekçe olarak sundukları asılsız iddialardan anlaşılabilir.

## **Sonuç**

ABD’nin Sovyet yayılmacılığını önleme ve savaş esnasında hızlı bir şekilde artan sanayi üretimi sonucunda ortaya çıkan pazar ihtiyacını karşılamak için ekonomisi çökmüş durumdaki ülkeleri verimli pazar haline getirme amaçlarını güden yardım politikalarından istediğini aldığı

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36 The Opposition Twits Regime On Aid, The New York Times, 20 Mart 1947.

söylenilebilir. ABD yardımlarının sosyal ve ekonomik alanlarda çok düşük oranlarda uygulanmış olması ve Türkiye'nin hâlihazırda sırtında ciddi bir yük olarak bulunan askeri gider kalemlerine çok daha büyük maliyetli eklentiler getirmiş olması sebebiyle Türkiye'ye faydadan çok zarar getirdiği çıkarımı yapılabilir.

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**17095 Numaralı Temettuat Defterine Göre Ankara Kalecik Kazası  
Mahmudlar Köyünün Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durumu (H.1260-61/M.1844-45)**

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**Özet**

Tanzimat'ın ilanından sonra Osmanlı Devleti'nde birtakım malî reform ve düzenlemeler yapılmış ve bu dönemde herkesin kazancı ölçüsünde vergi ödemesi prensibine bağlı olarak yeni bir vergi uygulaması başlatılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda, Tanzimat'ın uygulanacağı eyaletlerde, H. 1256/ M. 1840 – H. 1260 / 1844 yılları arasında Müslim-gayrimüslim herkesin sahip olduğu her çeşit malını, gelirini ve ödemekle mükellef olduğu vergiyi tespit etmek için temettuat sayımları yapılmaya başlanmıştır. Sayımların kayıt altına alındığı defterlere ise “temettuat defterleri” ismi verilmiştir. Bu defterlerde, sayımı yapılan yerlerde yaşayan hane sahiplerinin isimleri, lakapları, meslekleri, ziraî üretimde buldukları kaç dönüm arazilerinin olduğu ve bu arazilerden ne kadarını kullanıp kullanmadıkları, yetiştirdikleri tarım ürünleri ile bu ürünler üzerinden ödedikleri vergi miktarları, sahip oldukları büyükbaş-küçükbaş hayvanlarının sayıları ve yıllık toplam gelirlerine dair çok sayıda bilgi bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, H. 1260-1261/M. 1844-1845 yılında Ankara'nın Kalecik kazası, Çandır nahiyesine bağlı Mahmudlar köyünün sosyal ve ekonomik durumu, T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi'nde kayıtlı bulunan 17095 numaralı temettuat defterindeki kayıtlar ışığında incelenmiştir. Defterdeki kayıtlara göre, toplam 32 hanesi bulunan Mahmudlar köyünde yaşayan insanların temel geçim kaynağını tarım ve hayvancılık oluşturmaktadır. İncelediğimiz dönemde köyde yetiştirilen başlıca tarım ürünleri buğday, arpa, yulaf, burçak ve pamuk olup hayvancılık alanında da büyükbaş, küçükbaş ve yük-binek hayvanlarının yetiştirildiği görülmektedir. Meslek gruplarına bakıldığında ise köydeki hane sahiplerinin büyük bir kısmının ziraatçı (çiftçi) olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bunların dışında köyde geçimlerini hizmetkârlık ve çobanlıkla sağlayanlar da bulunmaktadır. Çalışmaya kaynaklık teşkil eden temettuat defterindeki kayıtlardan, köyün demografik yapısı, köydeki hane sahiplerinin kullandıkları isim ve lakaplar ile köydeki hane reislerinin tarım, hayvancılık ve meslek gelirlerine de ulaşmak mümkün olmuştur. Ayrıca köydeki ekili-dikili arazilerin miktarı ile hane sahiplerinin ödemekle yükümlü oldukları vergi çeşitleri de ortaya konularak bu kişilerin vergi yükleri de tespit olunmuştur. Çalışmanın sonunda ise köydeki hane sahiplerinin yıllık toplam gelirleri detaylı bir şekilde verilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Ankara, Kalecik Kazası, Çandır Nahiyesi, Mahmudlar Köyü, Temettuat Defteri.

**According to the Dividend Book Numbered 17095 Ankara Kalecik District Mahmudlar Village Social and Economic Stuation (H. 1260-61/ M. 1844-45)**

**Abstract**

After the proclamation of Tanzimat, a number of financial reforms and regulations were made in the Ottoman Empire and a new tax practice was initiated in this period based on the principle that everyone should pay taxes according to their earnings. Accordingly, between H. 1256/ M. 1840-H. 1260/ M. 1844, dividend censuses were started to be conducted in the provinces where Tanzimat was to be implemented in order to determine all kinds of property owned by Muslims and non-Muslims, their on come and the tax they were obliged to pay. The boks in which the censuses were recorded were called “temettuat books”. In these boks, there is a lot of information about the names, nicknames, occupations, agricultural production, how many acres of land they own and how much of this land they use or do not use, the agricultural products they grow and the amount of taxes they pay on these products, the number of cattle and sheep they own, and their total annual income. In this study, the social and economic situation of Mahmudlar village of Çandır sub-district of Kalecik accident of Ankara in the year H. 1260-1261/ M. 1844-1845 is analysed in the light of the records in the temettuat book numbered 17095, which is registered in the Ottoman Archive of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives. According to the records in the book, the main source of livelihood of the people living in Mahmudlar village, which has a total of 32 households, is agriculture and animal husbandry. The main agricultural products grown in the village during the period we examined were wheat, barley, oats, vetch and cotton, and it is seen that cattle, sheep and goats and beasts of burden were raised in the field of animal husbandry. In terms of occupational groups, it is understood that most of the households in the village, and the agricultural, livestock and occupational income of the heads of households in the village were also obtained from the records in the temettuat book, which constitutes the sorce of the study. In addition, the amount of cultivated and cultivated lands in the village and the types of taxes that households were obliged to pay were also revealed and the tax burden of these people was also determined. At the and of the study, the total annual income of the households and in the viilage is given in detail.

**Keywords:** Ankara, Kalecik District, Çandır Sub-district, Mahmudlar Village, Temettuat Book.

**Giriş**

19. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren bilhassa Tanzimat’ın ilanıyla beraber Osmanlı Devleti, itibaren klasik dönem olarak adlandırılan yapısından tamamen uzaklaşmış, gerek iç ve gerekse de dış baskılar nedeniyle büyük bir dönüşüm yaşamaya başlamıştır. Nitekim bu süreçte devletin, hemen hemen bütün alanlarda reform girişiminde bulunmuştur (Bizbirlik vd. 2009: 38). Nitekim Tanzimat Fermanı ile birlikte devletin idarî ve adlî yapısında yapılan değişikliklerin yanı sıra bilhassa malî sahada bazı düzenlemeler ve yeniliklerin yapıldığı görülmüştür. Bu yenilikler arasında; devlete ait gelirlerin denetim altına alınması, vergilendirmede ahali

arasındaki eşitsizliğin ortadan kaldırılması, vergi mükellefi ahalinin tespit edilmesi ve bunlar üzerindeki ağır vergi yükünün hafifletilmesi bulunmaktadır. Bu düzenlemelerle devlet gelirlerinin arttırılması, tebaanın refah seviyesinin yükseltilmesi ve devletin gelir-gider dengesinin yeniden sağlanması amaçlanmıştır (Gökmen, 2008: 73). Bu bağlamda Tanzimat'tan itibaren önceleri farklı isimlerle alınan vergilerin yerine tek bir vergi konulması ve hane sahiplerinin gelirlerini tespit etmek amacıyla temettü sayımları yapılması düşünülmüştür. Öyle ki daha önce “tekâlif-i şer’iyye” ismiyle ve farklı miktarlarda alınan vergiler, öşür, ağnam ve cizye vergileri dışında tamamı yürürlükten kaldırılmıştır. Aynı şekilde “tekâlif-i örfiye” adı altında alınan çeşitli vergiler de birleştirilerek bir bütün halinde “virgü” adı altında tek bir defterde toplanmıştır (Güran, 1989: 13).

Arapça bir kelime olan temettü’ sözlükte, “kâr etmek, fayda görmek” (Kestelli, 2004: 492), temettuat ise “kârlar, kazançlar” manasına gelmektedir (Devellioğlu, 1996 : 1073). Temettuat vergisi ise, herkesin kazancına göre devlete ödemekle yükümlü olduğu, tüccar ve esnafın senelik temettuat miktarı tahmin ve takdir olunarak binde ya da yüzde hesabıyla tahsil olunan vergidir (Sayın, 1999: 441). Emlak ve Arazi ve Hayvanat ve Temettuat sayımları olarak adlandırılan sayımlar neticesinde Osmanlı arşivinde yirmi bin civarında bir defter serisi meydana gelmiştir (Öztürk Said, 2003: 287). Bu sayımların kaydedildiği defterlere ise “Temettuat Defterleri” denilmiştir. Bu defterler, 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı Devleti’nin sosyal ve ekonomik tarihi hakkında zengin bilgiler ihtiva etmektedir. Nitekim 15 ve 16. yüzyıllar için tapu-tahrir defterlerinden elde edilen bilgilerden daha fazlasını bu defterlerde bulmak mümkün olmuştur (Kütükoğlu, 1995 : 395). Bu amaçla 12 Ocak 1840 (19 Zilkade 1255) tarihinde taşrada görev yapan muhassıllara bir talimatname gönderilmiş, tüm Osmanlı coğrafyasında tebaanın ismi, lakabı, arazileri, hayvanları, tüccar ve esnafın da senelik gelirleri vs. bilgilerinin kaydedildiği temettuat defterleri tutulması emredilmiştir (Demirkol, 2014: 141).

Temettuat defterleri incelendiğinde, sayımı yapılan bölgenin sosyal ve ekonomik tarihi hususunda ayrıntılı bilgilere ulaşılmaktadır. Bölge halkının yaşam düzeyi, ziraatı yapılan ürünlerin çeşitleri, bölgenin iklimi, ekonomik durumu, yerleşim şekilleri vs. gibi bilgiler bu defterlerde açık şekilde kayıt altına alınmıştır (Serin, 1998: 726). Söz konusu defterlerde yerleşim birimleri ayrı ayrı yazılmış, büyük idarî birimler ile birden fazla mahalleden meydana gelen köyler de ayrı olarak kaydedilmiştir. Defterlerin ilk sayfasında sırasıyla eyalet, sancak ve kaza isimleri kaydedildikten sonra sayımı yapılan köy, kasaba, mahalle veya çiftliğin ismi yazılmıştır. Köy ve mahallelerde genellikle imam, muhtar vs. görevlilerden başlayarak vergiye konu olan malların sayımı yapılmıştır. Sayım işlemi gerçekleştirilirken ehl-i İslam ve ehl-i zimmet reaya ise ayrı ayrı deftere kaydedilmiştir. Defterler vergi toplama amacıyla düzenlendiği için sadece vergiye tabi mal ve mülkleri olan hane reisleri esas alınmıştır. Bunlar genellikle erkek nüfustan meydana geldiği gibi zaman zaman eşleri vefat etmiş kadınlar ve babaları vefat etmiş çocukların kayıtlarına da rastlanılmaktadır.

Temettuat defterlerinde umumiyetle vergi mükellefi her hane sahibinin mal varlığı yazıldıktan sonra toplam vergi miktarı da belirtilmiştir. Ayrıca hane sahibinin bir önceki yıl ödemiş olduğu temettu vergisi ile aşar ve rüsum miktarı ile bir sonraki yıl vermesi gereken tahminî temettu vergisi de kayıt altına alınmıştır. Kiraya verilen gayrimenkullerde aynı şekilde sayım yapıldığı yıllık kira geliri ve buna karşılık ödenmesi gereken temettu miktarı ile bir sonraki yıl ödenmesi

gereken tahminî temettu miktarı kaydedilmiştir. Bunların dışında deftere, her mahalle ya da köyün yazımı işi bittikten sonra buradan alınacak vergi ve toplam temettu miktarı yazılmıştır (Özdemir Kızıllıkan, 2008 : 60- 61).

Temettuat defterlerinin tamamı günümüzde T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi bünyesinde bulunmaktadır. Bu defterlerin 1988 yılına kadar tasnifi yapılmadığı için defterler üzerine herhangi bir araştırma yapılmamıştır. 1988'e kadar bu türden çok az deftere Maliyeden Müdevver ve Kamil Kepeci tasnifleri arasında tesadüf olunmaktaydı. 1988 yılında tasnifi yapıp kataloglanarak araştırmacıların hizmetine sunulan bu defter serisi 9 katalog içerisinde 17.747 defter ihtiva etmektedir. Bu defterlerin büyük kısmı ise 1261 (1845) yılında yapılan sayımlara aittir. Çok az sayıda da 1256 (1840) yılında yapılan sayımlara ait defterlere de tesadüf edilmektedir. (Kütükoğlu, 1995 : 395-396). Maliye Nezareti Varidat Kalemi defterlerinden olan Temettuat Defterlerinin tasnif ve kataloglanmasında sayımın yapıldığı tarihteki idarî taksimat esas alınmıştır. Defterler, içerisinde bulunan bilgiler dikkate alınarak alfabetik olarak ayrılmıştır. Her eyalet de kendi içerisinde alfabetik olarak kazalara ayrılmıştır. Alfabetik olarak tasnifi yapılan defterlere sıra numarası verilmiş ve gerekli diğer tüm işlemler yapıldıktan sonra aynı şekilde özetleri kataloga aktarılmıştır. Aynı yerleşim bölgelerine ait defterlerin aslı ve suretleri ise tek numarada toplanarak kendi içerisinde "a, b, c" harfleri ile gösterilmiştir (Serin, 1998 : 721).

Çalışmamızda, H. 1260-61/ M. 1844-45 yıllarında Ankara'nın Kalecik kazası, Çandır nahiyesine bağlı bir köy olan Mahmudlar'ın 19. yüzyılın ortalarındaki sosyal ve ekonomik yapısının detaylarıyla ortaya konulması amaçlanmıştır. Çalışmamızın ana kaynağını ise, T.C Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi Maliye Varidat Kalemi içerisinde yer alan 17095 numaralı temettuat defteri (BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095: 1-9) teşkil etmektedir. Defter numaralı 24 sayfa ve 50x18 ebadında olup ciltsiz ve ebrusuzdur. Defterde Mahmudlar köyü dışında Dokuztorba, Afşar ve Gökçeviran köylerinin de temettuat bilgileri kayıtlıdır. Çalışmamıza konu olan Mahmudlar köyünde toplam 32 hanenin kayıtlı olduğu bu defterde hane sahiplerine ait bilgiler ikinci sayfadan başlamaktadır. Defterde başta "hane" ve "hane numarası"na yer verilerek altına rakamlar yazılmıştır.

## **1. Sosyal Durum**

### **1.1. Nüfus**

17095 numaralı temettuat defterindeki (BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095: 1-9) kayıtlardan öğrendiğimiz kadarıyla H. 1260-61/M. 1844-45 yıllarında Mahmudlar köyünün 32 hanesi olup "hane  $\times$  5 + mücerred"<sup>1</sup> formülünden hareketle toplam 160 nüfusa sahip olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

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<sup>1</sup> Bu hesap, Ömer Lütfi Barkan'ın kendi deyimiyle ilmi usullerle bulunmuş bir rakam olmasa da onun Osmanlı coğrafyasındaki yerleşim birimlerinde genel nüfusu tespit etmek için kullandığı "hane  $\times$  5" formülünden hareketle yapılmıştır. Bkz. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Tarihî Demografi Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi", Türkiyat Mecmuası, C. X, İstanbul, 1953, s. 12.

**Tablo 1:** Mahmudlar Köyünün H. 1260-61/M. 1844-45 Yıllarındaki Tahmini Nüfusu

Yıl	Vergi Hanesi	Tahmini Nüfus
H. 1260-61/M. 1844-45	32	160

## 1.2. Şahıs İsimleri ve Kullanılan Lakaplar

Mahmudlar köyüne ait 17095 numaralı defterde vergi ödemekle yükümlü hane reislerinin isimleri kayıtlıdır. Temettuat defterlerindeki kayıtlar aile isimlerinin mevcudiyeti ve köydeki akrabalarının tespitine olanak sağlamaktadır. Nitekim aileler son derece değişik ve diğerlerinden ayırt edilebilmesini mümkün kılacak isimlere sahiptir. Bu defterler sadece aile isimlerinin değil yerleşim birimindeki kişi isimleri ve lakaplarının tespiti açısından da önemli bir kaynaktır (Kütükoğlu, 1995, s. 399-401). Nitekim Mahmudlar köyüne ait 17095 numaralı temettuat defterinde hane reislerinin isimlerinin babalarının isimleri ve lakaplarıyla birlikte kaydedildiği görülmektedir. Söz konusu defterdeki kayıtlardan bu bilgilere ulaşmak da mümkün olmuştur.

**Tablo 2:** Mahmudlar Köyünde Kullanılan Şahıs İsimleri ve Lakaplar

İsim	Sayı
Mehmed	5
Mustafa	4
Osman	4
Ömer	4
Ali	3
Hüseyin	3
Ahmed	2
Hasan	2
Abdi	1
Abidin	1
Bekir	1
Receb	1
Salih	1
Toplam	32

Tablo 2'deki kayıtlardan da anlaşılacağı üzere Mahmudlar köyünde vergi ödemekle yükümlü hane reislerinin tamamı erkektir. Köydeki isimler incelendiğinde Hazreti Peygamber ve onun ashabının isimleri başta olmak üzere daha çok Arapça kökenli isimler olduğu dikkati



çekmektedir. Defterdeki kayıtlarda da görüldüğü üzere Mahmudlar köyündeki ahali arasında en çok kullanılan isim Mehmed olmuştur. Nitekim Anadolu’da çok sık kullanılan bu isim Türklerin İslam peygamberi Hazreti Muhammed’e olan sevgi ve saygısının bir göstergesi olarak değerlendirilebilir. İkinci sırada Mustafa, Osman ve Ömer isimleri gelirken üçüncü sırada ise Ali ve Hüseyin isimleri bulunmaktadır. Tablodaki dikkat çeken isimler arasında Abdi ve Abidin gelmektedir. Öyle ki bu isimler bölgede ismine nadir rastlanan türden isimlerdir.

Mahmudlar köyüne ait temettuat defterinde hane reislerinin isimlerinin yanı sıra toplumsal açıdan kullanılan sıfat ve lakapları da yer almaktadır.

**Tablo 3:** Mahmudlar Köyünde Kullanılan Lakaplar

Kör Ömer oğlu Hüseyin	Dede oğlu Receb	Kör Hasan oğlu Hüseyin
Kara Osman oğlu Abdi	Topal Bekir oğlu Ömer	Kör Hasan oğlu Mehmed
İmam oğlu Osman	Sobacıoğlu Osman	Kör Hasan oğlu Ömer
Köse oğlu Mehmed	Kör İbrahim oğlu Ali	İkiz oğlu Mustafa
Kör Ömer oğlu Hasan	Topal oğlu Ali	Kel İbrahim oğlu Osman
Anbarî Kethüda oğlu Ali	Kör Hasan oğlu Bekir	Bıyık oğlu Hüseyin
İmam oğlu Salih	Ahmed Kethüda oğlu Abidin	Danacı oğlu Mustafa
Ömer Kethüda oğlu Mustafa	Ahmed Kethüda oğlu Ahmed	Köse Hasan oğlu Mustafa

Tablo 3’te de görüldüğü üzere Mahmudlar köyündeki hane reislerinin bir kısmının aile ve sülale isimleri “*dede, imam*” gibi dinî özellikler taşıyan unvanlardan oluşmaktadır. Ayrıca kişilerin fiziksel özelliklerini gösteren “*kör, kara, köse, topal, kel*” ve mesleklerini belirten “*anbarcı, sobacı, danacı*” gibi unvanların da kullanıldığı görülmektedir.

### **1.3. Mahmudlar Köyündeki Meslekî Örgütlenme**

Temettuat defterlerinin sosyal tarih açısından önem arz eden özelliklerinden birisi de hane reislerinin mesleklerinin kaydedilmesidir. H. 1260-61/M. 1844-45 tarihli 17095 numaralı Mahmudlar köyüne ait temettuat defterinde imam, muhtar gibi görevliler dışında hane numarası üzerine “*erbâb-ı ziraatdan idüğü*”, “*hizmetkâr olduğu*”, “*çoban olduğu*”, vs. gibi hane sahiplerinin mesleği yazılmıştır.

Söz konusu tarihte 32 haneden oluşan Mahmudlar köyünde yaşayan hane reislerinden 20’si

erbâb-ı ziraatdan (çiftçi) dır. Geriye kalan 12 haneden 4'ü hizmetkâr<sup>2</sup> ve 2'si çobandır<sup>3</sup>. Köyün muhtarı ise 1 numaralı hanede kayıtlı olan Kör Ömer oğlu Hüseyin isminde birisi olduğu ve 942 kuruş temettuatının bulunduğu görülmektedir (BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095: 2). Geriye kalan 6 hanenin reislerinin ise ya ziraat yapacak kadar tarlasının olmadığı ya da hastalık, yaşlılık ve göç gibi sebeplerden dolayı iş yapamaz durumda oldukları, bu nedenle de hanesini ve köyünü terk ettikleri anlaşılmaktadır. Bazıları için de vefat ettikleri kaydı düşülmüştür. Bu durumda olan kişilere örnek vermemiz gerekirse;

Köyde 5 numaralı hanede kayıtlı olan Emine oğlu Hasan'ın hakkında defterde; “*An asıl Koçhisar kazasından olarak emlâk ve arazi ve sâiresi olmadığından başka müsîn olub asker firarisi olduğundan şunun bunun i'ânesiyle geçinmekte olduğu*” (BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095: 3) kaydı düşülmüştür. Köyün 6 numaralı hanesinde kayıtlı olan Ahmed oğlu Mehmed için defterde; “*Bâ irâde-i seniyye elli altı senesi vergi tahsisinde bu tarafda bulunub vergi tahsisi kılınmış ise de fakîrî 'l-hâl olduğundan irâde edemediği ecilden hânesiyle nakl vergi-yi tahassusu elli sekiz senesinden beri bakâyâda olduğu*” ve “*Merkûmun bu tarafda emlâk ve arazi ve sâiresi olmayub hânesiyle nefsi Kengiri'ya nakl-i mutavattınan iskân eylediği*” (BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095: 3) kaydı düşülmüştür.

Köyün 14 numaralı hanesinde kayıtlı olan Topal Bekir oğlu Ömer hakkında defterde; “*Merkûm elli altı senesi vefât idüb bilâ veled-i zekûr emlâki beytü'l fermâ olarak malı duyûna kifâyet itmediği*” ibaresi düşülmüştür (BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095: 5). 15 numaralı hanede kayıtlı olan Kurak oğlu Can Ahmed hakkında defterde; “*Kezâlik elli altı senesi vefât idüb vergi-yi tahassusu bakâyâda olduğu*” (BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095: 5) bilgisi bulunmaktadır. 29 numaralı hanede ikamet eden Bıyık oğlu Hüseyin hakkın da ise defterde; “*Bâ irâde-i seniyye elli altı senesi vergi tahsisi kılınmış ise de elli sekiz senesi vefât idüb vergi-yi tahassusu bakayada olduğu*” (BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095: 8) kaydı düşülmüştür.

Köyde 28 numaralı hanede kayıtlı olan Kel İbrahim oğlu Osman hakkında defterde; “*Sâkin olduğu hânesinden başka emlâk ve arazi ve hayvanât ve sâiresi olmayub hasîn ü alîl olarak ticâretten hâlî olduğundan şunun bunun i'ânesiyle geçinmekte olduğu*” (BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095: 8) kaydı düşülmüştür. 32 numaralı hanede kayıtlı olan Köse Hasan oğlu Osman için ise defterde; “*Bâ irâde-i seniyye elli altı senesi vergi tahsisi kılınmış ise de elli sekiz senesi asâkir-i şahâneye gitmiş olduğundan vergi-yi tahassusu bakayada kaldığı*” ve “*Bundan başka emlâk ve sâiresi olmayub elli sekiz senesinden beri asâkir-i şahânedeki istihdâm eylediği*” (BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095: 9) kaydı düşülmüştür.

<sup>2</sup> BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095, s. 5, 6, 9. Defterdeki kayıtlardan köyde 16 numarada ikamet eden Sobacı oğlu Osman, 17 numaralı hanede ikamet eden Kör İbrahim oğlu 21 numaralı hanede ikamet eden Ahmed Kethüda oğlu Ahmed ve 30 numaralı hanede ikamet eden Danacı oğlu Mustafa'nın hizmetkâr olarak geçimlerini sağladıkları anlaşılmaktadır.

<sup>3</sup> BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095, s. 6, 9. Defterde köyde 19 numaralı hanede ikamet eden Kör Hasan oğlu Bekir ve 31 numaralı hanede ikamet eden Durmuş oğlu Mehmed'in çobanlıkla meşgul oldukları yazmaktadır.

## **2. Ekonomik Durum**

### **2.1. Mahmudlar Köyündeki Hayvancılık Faaliyetleri ve Hayvanların Dağılımı**

Köye ait temetteuat defterindeki kayıtlardan öğrendiğimiz kadarıyla H. 1260-61/M. 1844-45 yıllarında bölgede yaşayan hanelerin ana geçim kaynağını tarım ve hayvancılık oluşturmaktadır. Bölgede et ve süt ürünleri ihtiyacını karşılamak için inek, koyun ve keçi, binek hayvanı gereksinimlerini karşılamak için eşek ve kısrak, tarlalarını sürmek için de öküz ve camuş kullandıkları görülmektedir. Yine defterdeki kayıtlardan öğrendiğimiz kadarıyla Mahmudlar köyünde toplam 183 hayvanın olduğu ve bu hayvanlardan büyük çoğunluğunu küçükbaş hayvanların oluşturduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Buna göre köydeki 183 hayvanın 109 adedi küçükbaş, 54 adedi büyükbaş ve 20 adedi de binek hayvanıdır. Küçükbaş hayvan türünde, koyun, sağmal koyun, keçi, sağmal keçi ve kıl keçisi, büyükbaş hayvan türünde ise sağmal inek, öküz ve camuş bulunmaktadır. Binek ve yük hayvanı olarak ise başta merkep olmak üzere kısrak beslendiği görülmektedir.

**Tablo 4:** Mahmudlar Köyünde Hane Reislerinin Sahip Oldukları Hayvan Türleri

Hayvan Türü	Sayı (Re's)	Hayvan Sahibi Hane
Küçükbaş	109	8
Büyükbaş	54	16
Yük ve Binek	20	17
Toplam	183	

#### **2.1.1. Küçükbaş Hayvancılık**

Mahmudlar köyündeki hayvanlar içerisinde hane reislerinin sahip oldukları en fazla hayvan türü olarak birinci sırada 109 baş (re's) ile küçükbaş hayvanlar gelmektedir. Defterdeki kayıtlardan öğrendiğimiz kadarıyla bu 109 hayvanın tamamına köydeki 8 hane sahiptir.

**Tablo 5:** Mahmudlar Köyünde Hane Reislerine Ait Küçükbaş Hayvan Türleri

Hayvan Türü	Sayı (Re's)	Hayvan Sahibi Hane
Koyun	24	6
Sağmal koyun	9	2
Keçi	15	5
Sağmal keçi	15	2
Kıl keçisi	46	8
Toplam	109	

### 2.1.2. Büyükbaş Hayvancılık

Köylerde tarlaların sürülmesinde ve işlenmesinde en fazla tercih edilen büyükbaş hayvanların başında at ve katır gelmektedir. Ancak Mahmudlar köyündeki hane reislerinin tarlalarını sürmek amacıyla en çok öküz yetiştirdikleri görülmektedir. Bunun en önemli nedeni, öküzün besleme masraflarının at ve katıra göre daha az maliyetli olmasıdır. Bir atı ya da katırı tüm yıl boyunca arpa, yulaf, ot ve kepek ile beslemek gerekirken öküz yedi ay boyunca burçak ve saman ile beslenebilmekte, yılın geri kalan döneminde otlamaları için çayır ve meralara salıverilmektedir. Ayrıca ürünlerin tarladan harmana oradan da ambarlara taşınmasında at ve eşek gibi yük-binek hayvanlarından da istifade edilmekle birlikte daha çok bir çift öküzün çektiği iki tekerlekli kağnılar da kullanılabilir (Metin, 2018: 197). Defterdeki kayıtlardan Mahmudlar köyünde kayıtlı bulunan toplam 32 hanenin 16'sında öküz beslendiği anlaşılmaktadır. Geriye kalan 16 haneden öküz sahibi olmayanların ya ziraat yapacakları toprakları bulunmamakta ya da hastalık veya yaşlılık nedeniyle tarımsal faaliyette bulunamamışlardır.

Mahmudlar köyünde öküz dışında sağmal inek ve camuş gibi büyükbaş hayvanların da yetiştirildiği görülmektedir. Defterdeki kayıtlardan köyde 16 hanenin 54 baş (re's) büyükbaş hayvana sahip olduğu geriye kalan 16 hanenin ise büyükbaş hayvanı olmadığı anlaşılmaktadır.

**Tablo 6:** Mahmudlar Köyünde Hane Reislerine Ait Büyükbaş Hayvan Türleri

Büyükbaş Hayvan Türü	Sayı (Re's)	Hayvan Sahibi Hane
Sağmal inek	12	12
Öküz	30	16
Camuş	12	6
Toplam	54	

### 2.1.3. Yük ve Binek Hayvanları

Defterdeki kayıtlardan köyde 1261/1845 yılında toplam 20 adet yük ve binek hayvanı olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Bu hayvanlardan 17 adedinin merkep 3 adedinin ise kısarak olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Köyde bulunan toplam 32 haneden 17'sinin bu türden hayvanlara sahip olduğu görülmektedir.

**Tablo 7:** Mahmudlar Köyünde Hane Reislerine Ait Yük ve Binek Hayvan Türleri

Yük ve Binek Hayvan Türü	Sayı (Re's)	Hayvan Sahibi Hane
Merkep	17	17
Kısarak	3	3
Toplam	20	

## 2.2. Arazi Dağılımı ve Toprak Kullanımı

Mahmudlar köyünde ziraî üretim yapılan toplam 485 dönüm ekili arazi olduğu görülmektedir. Köydeki 32 haneden 19'unun buğday, 19'unun arpa, 16'sının pamuk, 9'unun burçak ve 3'ünün yulaf tarımı üzerine zirai faaliyette bulunduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Köyde bağcılık faaliyetinde bulunulan dikili arazi miktarı ise 8 dönüm olup 4 hane bağcılıktan gelir elde etmektedir. Köyde çeşitli nedenlerden dolayı zirai üretimin yapılamadığı arazi miktarı ise toplam 85 dönümdür.

**Tablo 8:** Mahmudlar Köyünde Ekili ve Dikili Tarım Alanlarının Dağılımı

Ekilebilir Arazi Türü	Miktar (Dönüm)	Hane
Tarla (Buğday-Arpa-Pamuk-Burçak-Yulaf)	415	19
Bağ	8	4
Ekili Olmayan Arazi	85	6
Toplam	508	

## 2.3. Gelirler

### 2.3.1. Tarım Gelirleri

Mahmudlar köyünde 1260-61/1844-1845 yıllarında ziraî üretim yapılan tarım topraklarına sahip 19 hane sahibinin tamamının hâsılat geliri olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Ekili (tarla) tarım alanları 415 dönüm olup toplamda 17.010 kuruş gelir elde edilmiştir. 4 hane sahibinin elindeki dikili alan olan 8 dönüm bağdan ise toplam 260 kuruş gelir sağlanmıştır.

**Tablo 9:** Mahmudlar Köyünde Ekili ve Dikili Tarım Alanlarının Hâsılatı

Ekilebilir Arazi Türü	Miktar (Kuruş)	Miktar (Dönüm)
Tarla (Buğday-Arpa-Pamuk-Burçak-Yulaf)	17.010	415
Bağ	260	8
Toplam	17.270	423

Mahmudlar köyüne ait temettuat defterinden köylülerden alınan hububat öşrü verilerinden bölgede üretilen hububatların ne miktarda olduğunu tespit edebilmekteyiz. Öşür vergisi, devletin köylülerden tahsil ettiği zirâî vergilerden birisi olup bölgelere göre değişiklik göstermekte ve her ürün üzerinden % 10 oranında alınmaktadır (Tabakoğlu, 2007: 101).

**Tablo 10:** Mahmudlar Köyünde Üretilen Toplam Hububat Miktarı

Hububatın Türü	Kile <sup>4</sup>	Kile x 10	Kg
Hinta (Buğday)	75	750	19.242
Şa'ir (Arpa)	57,5	575	12.793
Penbe (Pamuk)	56	560	12.460
Burçak	45	450	3.337
Yulaf	10	100	2.225
Toplam	243,5	2.435	50.057

### 2.3.2. Meslek Gelirleri

Temettuat defterindeki kayıtlardan öğrendiğimiz kadarıyla Mahmudlar köyündeki meslek kazançlarından toplam 1.534 kuruş gelir elde edilmiştir. Bu toplama deftere meslek olarak kaydedilen hizmetkârlık ve çobanlık gibi meslekler dâhil edilmiştir. Köydeki hane reislerinin büyük bir kısmı ise “erbâb-ı ziraat” olarak kaydedilmiştir. Ancak bu grupta olanların gelirleri meslek gelirlerine dâhil edilmemişti

Köyün 16, 17, 21 ve 30 numaralı hanelerinde kayıtlı olan Sobacı oğlu Osman, Kör İbrahim oğlu Ali, Ahmed Kethüda oğlu Ahmed ve Danacı oğlu Mustafa'nın geçimlerini hizmetkârlık ile sağladıkları ve bu işten toplamda 1.084 kuruş gelir elde ettikleri kayıtlardan tespit olunmaktadır (BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095: 5, 6, 9).19 numaralı hanede kayıtlı olan Kör Hasan oğlu Bekir ile 31 numaralı hanede kayıtlı olan Durmuş oğlu Mehmed ise geçimlerini çobanlıkla sağlamakta olup ikisinin bu işten elde ettikleri toplam gelirin ise 450 kuruş olduğu kayıtlardan anlaşılmaktadır (BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095: 6, 9).

**Tablo 11:** Mahmudlar Köyü Meslek Gelirleri Dağılımı

Meslek Adı	Kişi Sayısı	Gelir Miktarı (Kuruş)
Hizmetkârlık	4	1.084
Çobanlık	2	450
Toplam	6	1.534

### 2.3.3. Hayvancılık Gelirleri

Mahmudlar köyünde meslek gelirlerinden sonra üçüncü sırada hayvancılık gelirleri gelmektedir. Temettuat defterindeki kayıtlardan Mahmudlar köyündeki hane sahiplerinin hayvancılık faaliyetlerinden toplam 839 kuruş gelir elde ettikleri tespit olunmuştur. Bölgedeki

<sup>4</sup> Çalışmamızda bu türden hesaplamalar yapılırken buğday için 1 kile = 25,656 kg; arpa, pamuk, burçak ve yulaf için ise 1 kile = 22,25 kg ölçü alınmıştır.

hayvancılık gelirlerini küçükbaş, büyükbaş ve yük-binek hayvanları olarak üç grupta değerlendirebiliriz.

**Tablo 12:** Mahmudlar Köyü Hayvancılık Gelirleri Dağılımı

Hayvan Türü	Gelir Miktarı (Kuruş)	Hayvan Sahibi Hane
Küçükbaş	499	8
Büyükbaş	144	16
Yük-Binek	196	17
Toplam	839	

Tablo 12’de de görüldüğü üzere Mahmudlar köyünde hayvancılık gelirlerinde ilk sırayı 499 kuruş ile küçükbaş hayvanları almaktadır. İkinci sırada 196 kuruş gelir ile yük-binek hayvanları bulunurken üçüncü sırada ise 144 kuruş gelir ile büyükbaş hayvanlar yer almaktadır. Burada dikkati çeken en önemli husus ise yük-binek hayvanlarının gelir açısından büyükbaş hayvanlardan fazla olmasıdır. Defterdeki kayıtlardan Mahmudlar köyünde toplam 20 baş merkep ve 3 baş kısarak bulunurken toplam 24 baş da sağman inek ve camuş olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

#### **2.4. Vergi-yi Mahsûsa (Giderler)**

Vergi-yi mahsûsa, Osmanlı Devleti’nde 1840 yılından itibaren uygulanmaya başlanan ve bazı istisnalar dışında malî durumlarına göre tüm reayadan alınan bir vergi türüdür. Tanzimat’ın uygulandığı yerlerde “*tekâlif-i örfiye*” olarak adlandırılan vergilerin tümü kaldırılarak yerine tevzi’ şeklinde tahsil edilecek olan vergi-yi mahsusa (virgü) uygulamasına geçilmiştir. Vergi-yi mahsûsanın miktarı ise Maliye Nezareti tarafından eyaletler düzeyinde tespit olunmaktaydı. Her eyalette bu miktar önce kazalar sonrasında da mahalle ve köyler arasında paylaştırılmaktaydı (Akkuş, 2017: 45).

Mahmudlar köyüne ait temettuat defterinde “*Geçen altmış senesi vergisi*” şeklinde geçen vergi-yi mahsûsa bedeli toplam 10.001 kuruştur. Defterdeki kayıtlardan köydeki en düşük vergi-yi mahsûsa bedeli 33 kuruş, en yüksek ise 586 kuruş olarak tespit olunmuştur.

31 numaralı hanede kayıtlı olan Durmuş oğlu Mehmed’in “*Sâkin olduğu hânesinden gayri bir gûna emlâk ve eşyâsı olmayub fakat çobanlık ile meşgul olduğu*” gerekçesiyle vergi-yi mahsûsa olarak belirlenen en düşük miktar olan 33 kuruşu ödemekle yükümlü olduğu anlaşılmaktadır (BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095: 9). Köyün 3 numaralı hanesinde kayıtlı olan Kara Osman oğlu Abdi, 9 numaralı hanede ikâmet eden Anbarî Kethüda oğlu Ali ve 12 numaralı hanede ikâmet eden Ömer Kethüda oğlu Mustafa’ya ise köydeki en yüksek vergi-yi mahsusa bedeli olan 586 kuruş ödemeleri takdir olunmuştur (BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095: 2, 4, 5).

**Tablo 13:** Mahmudlar Köyü Hane Sahiplerinin Toplam Öşür ve Âdet-i Ağnam Vergisi

Öşür Vergisi ve Âdet-i Ağnam Vergisi	Miktar (Kuruş)	Hane
Hınta (Buğday)	904	19
Şair (Arpa)	460	19
Penbe (Pamuk)	224	16
Burçak	45	9
Yulaf	40	3
Bağ	26	4
Âdet-i Ağnam	33,5	8
Toplam	1.732,5	

Tablo 13'te de görüldüğü üzere ekili-dikili zirai faaliyetler üzerinden alınan öşür vergisi ile alakalı olarak ilk sırada 904 kuruş ile hınta (buğday) gelmektedir. Onu 460 kuruş ile şair (arpa), 224 kuruş ile penbe (pamuk), 45 kuruş ile burçak, 40 kuruş ile yulaf ve 26 kuruş ile bağ takip etmektedir. Ağnam vergisi ise 33,5 kuruş olarak tespit edilmiştir. Defterdeki bu verilere göre, Mahmudlar köyünde ödenen en düşük vergi türünün bağ, en yüksekinin ise hınta (buğday) olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

**Tablo 14:** Mahmudlar Köyünde İkâmet Eden Kişilerin Hane Sırasına Göre Toplam Temettuat Miktarları

Hane No	Kişi Adı	Temettuat Toplamı (Kuruş)
1	Kör Ömer oğlu Hüseyin (Muhtar-ı Evvel)	942
2	Emir Ali oğlu Mustafa (Ziraat)	808
3	Kara Osman oğlu Abdi (Ziraat)	1.405
4	İmam oğlu Osman (Ziraat)	440
5	Emine oğlu Hasan	-
		<i>Bu kişi hakkında defterde "An asıl Koçhisar kazasından olarak emlâk ve arazi ve sâiresi olmadığından başka müsîn olub .... firarisi olduğundan şunun bunun i'ânesiyle geçinmekde olduğu" kaydı düşülmüştür.</i>
6	Ahmed oğlu Mehmed	1.300
		<i>Bu kişi hakkında defterde "Bâ irâde-i seniyye elli altı senesi vergi tahsisinde bu tarafda bulunub vergi tahsisi kılınmış ise de fakîrî'l-hâl olduğundan irâde</i>



		<i>edemediđi ecilden hânesiyle nakl vergi-yi tahassusu elli sekiz senesinden beri bakâyâda olduđu” ve “Merkûmun bu tarafda emlâk ve arazi ve sâiresi olmayub hânesiyle nefsi-i Kengırı'ya nakl-i mutavattınan iskân eylediđi” kaydı düşülmüştür.</i>
7	Köse ođlu Mehmed (Ziraat)	668
8	Kör Ömer ođlu Hasan (Ziraat)	468
9	Anbarî Kethüda ođlu Ali (Ziraat)	1.310
10	İmam ođlu Salih (Ziraat)	1.485
11	Battal ođlu Mehmed (Ziraat)	997
12	Ömer Kethüda ođlu Mustafa (Ziraat)	1.160
13	Dede ođlu Receb (Ziraat)	1.190
14	Topal Bekir ođlu Ömer	-
		<i>Bu kiři hakkında “1256 yılında vefat ettiđi” kaydı düşülmüştür.</i>
15	Kurak ođlu Can Ahmed	-
		<i>Bu kiři hakkında “1256 yılında vefat ettiđi” kaydı düşülmüştür.</i>
16	Sobacı ođlu Osman (Hizmetkâr)	250
17	Kör İbrahim ođlu Ali (Hizmetkâr)	300
18	Topal ođlu Ali (Ziraat)	1.188
19	Kör Hasan ođlu Bekir (Çoban)	300
20	Ahmed Kethüda ođlu Abidin (Ziraat)	500
21	Ahmed Kethüda ođlu Ahmed (Hizmetkâr)	300
22	Durmuş ođlu Ömer (Ziraat)	1.188
23	Kör Hasan ođlu Hüseyin (Ziraat)	1.043
24	Kör Hasan ođlu Mehmed (Ziraat)	828
25	Kör Hasan ođlu Ömer (Ziraat)	744
26	Nasuh ođlu Ömer (Ziraat)	1.360
27	İkiz ođlu Mustafa (Ziraat)	1.384
28	Kel İbrahim ođlu Osman	100

		Bu kiři hakkında defterde “ <i>Sâkin olduđu hânesinden başka emlâk ve arazi ve hayvanât ve sâiresi olmayub hasîn ü alil olarak ticâretten hâlî olduđundan şunun bunun i ’ânesiyle geçinmekde olduđu</i> ” kaydı düşölmüştür.
29	Bıyık ođlu Hüseyin	100
		Bu kiři hakkında defterde “ <i>1258 yılında vefat ettiđi</i> ” kaydı düşölmüştür.
30	Danacı ođlu Mustafa (Hizmetkâr)	250
31	Durmuş ođlu Mehmed (Çoban)	150
32	Köse Hasan ođlu Osman	150
		Bu kiři hakkında defterde “ <i>Bundan başka emlâk ve sâiresi olmayub elli sekiz senesinden beri asâkir-i şahânedeki istihdâm eylediđi</i> ” kaydı düşölmüştür.
	Toplam	22.308

Tablo 14’teki verilere göre Mahmudlar köyündeki vergi mükelleflerinin toplam temettuat miktarı 22.308 kuruştur. Ancak köye ait 17095 numaralı temettuat defterinde “*kâffe-i temettu’âtlarının mikdârı*” şeklinde geçen temettuat miktarı toplam 22.458 kuruş olarak kaydedilmiştir (BOA, ML.VRD.TMT.D, 17095, s. 21). Bizim tespitimiz ile defterde yazan arasında 150 kuruşluk bir fark söz konusudur. Defterdeki bu meblağın da sehven yazıldığı kanaatindeyiz.

### **Sonuç ve Deđerlendirme**

Temettuat sayımlarının yapıldığı H. 1260-61/M. 1844-1845 yıllarında Osmanlı idarî taksimatında Ankara’nın Kalecik kazası Çandır nahiyesine bađlı köylerden birisi olan Mahmudlar, günümüzde de Ankara’nın Kalecik ilçesine bađlı bir yerleşim birimidir. H. 1260-61/M. 1844-45 tarihli ve 17095 numaralı temettuat defterindeki kayıtlardan elde ettiğimiz verilerden, Mahmudlar köyünün sosyal ve ekonomik yapısı incelendiğinde ahalinin temel geçim kaynağının tarım, hayvancılık ve ticarete dayandığı anlaşılmaktadır. Zirai üretimin önemli kısmını ekili (tarla) tarım alanları oluşturmaktadır. Ekili (tarla) tarım alanlarında başta buğday olmak üzere arpa, pamuk, burçak ve yulaf üretimi yapılmaktadır.

Hayvancılık faaliyetleri incelendiğinde, köyde toplam 183 hayvan olduğu görölmektedir. Bunların 109 adedi küçükbaş, 54 adedi büyükbaş ve 20 adedi ise yük-binek hayvanından oluşmaktadır. Köydeki hayvanların hanelere dağılımına baktığımızda; 109 adet küçükbaş hayvandan 24 adet koyun 6 hanenin, 9 adet sağmal koyun 2 hanenin, 15 adet keçi 5 hanenin, 15 adet sağmal keçi 2 hanenin ve 46 adet kıl keçisinin de 8 hanenin elinde bulunduğu anlaşılmaktadır. 54 adet büyükbaş hayvandan 12 adet sağmal inek 12 hanenin, 30 adet öküz 40 hanenin ve 12 adet camuşun ise 6 hanenin elinde olduğu görölmektedir. 20 adet yük-binek hayvanından 17 adet merkep 17 hanenin ve 3 adet kısrağ da 3 hane sahibinin elindedir. 32 haneli

köydeki 16 hanenin tamamının sahip olduğu hayvan türünün 30 adet ile öküzün olması şunu göstermektedir ki, ekonomisi büyük ölçüde tarıma dayalı olan Mahmudlar'da tarla sürme işinde büyük ölçüde öküz tercih edilmiştir.

Köydeki meslekî örgütlenmeye baktığımızda, köyde yaşayan 32 vergi yükümlüsü hane sahibinden 20'si ziraat erbabı (çiftçi) olup bunlardan 1 kişi aynı zamanda köyün muhtarıdır. 4 kişi hizmetkârlık ile geçimini sağlarken 2 kişi de çobanlık mesleği ile uğraşmaktadır. Geriye kalan 6 kişinin ise meslekleri belli değildir.

Mahmudlar köyündeki hane sahiplerinin büyük bir kısmı herhangi bir şekilde hâsılat elde etmektedir. Köyün toplam hâsılatı 19.643 kuruş olup bu miktarın 17.270 kuruşu tarım, 1.534 kuruşu meslek ve 839 kuruşu ise hayvancılık gelirlerinden elde edilmiştir. 485 dönüm ekili, 8 dönüm dikili tarım alanı bulunan Mahmudlar köyünde bu arazilerden elde edilen gelir miktarı ise toplamda 17.270 kuruştur. Bu miktar köyün toplam hâsılatının %87,91'ini oluşturur. Bu durum gösteriyor ki, Mahmudlar köyünde tarıma dayalı ekonomi ilk sırada gelmektedir. İkinci sırada 1.534 kuruş ile meslek hâsılatı gelmekte olup Mahmudlar köyünde ikamet eden hane sahiplerinin elde ettikleri meslek gelirleri toplam hâsılatın %7,82'sini oluşturmaktadır. Üçüncü sırayı ise 839 kuruş ile hayvancılık hâsılatı almaktadır. Toplam gelirler içerisinde hayvancılık gelirlerinin oranı %4,27'dir. Hayvancılık hâsılatında ilk sırada 499 kuruş ile küçükbaş hayvancılık, ikinci sırada 196 kuruş ile yük-binek hayvancılık, üçüncü sırada ise 144 kuruş ile büyükbaş hayvancılık gelmektedir.

Mahmudlar köyünde, çalıştığımız dönemde vergi-yi mahsûsa, öşür ve âded-i ağnam adı altında üç kalem vergi tahsil edildiği görülmektedir. H. 1260-61/M. 1844-45 yılında köy halkının ödemekle yükümlü olduğu öşür ve âded-i ağnam vergilerinin toplamı 1.706,5 kuruştur. Vergi-yi mahsûsa bedeli ise 10.001 kuruştur. Toplamda 11.707,5 kuruş olan verginin % 85,43'ü vergi-yi mahsûsa, %14,57'si ise aşar ve âded-i ağnam vergisidir. Köydeki hane sahiplerinin yıllık temettuat miktarı ise toplamda 22.308 kuruştur.

## **Kaynakça**

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## **İnternet Bağımlılığı : Üniversite Öğrencilerine Üzerine Bir Araştırma**

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### **Özet**

İnternet günümüzde insanların iletişim kurmalarını ve bu iletişimi kesintisiz süreçlerle devam ettirebilmelerini sağlayan bir teknoloji olarak çok önemli bir görevi yerine getirmektedir. Ancak aşırı internet kullanımına bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan internet bağımlılığına özellikle genç nüfusta sıklıkla karşılaşılmaktadır. Bu çalışmada da üniversite öğrencilerinin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerini belirlemek ve öğrencilerin bireysel özelliklerinin internet bağımlılığı düzeyi üzerinde etkili olup olmadığını ortaya koymak amaçlanmıştır. Elde edilen sonuçlara göre internet bağımlılığının araştırmada yer alan öğrencilerce genel olarak düşük düzeyde ( $35,82 \pm 13,89$ ) algılandığı görülmüştür. Ayrıca öğrencilerin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin bireysel ve demografik özelliklere göre farklılık gösterip göstermediği incelendiğinde yalnızca sınıf ve kalınan yer değişkenine göre bir farklılık bulunamamış olup ( $p > 0,05$ ); cinsiyet, yaş, alan, algılanan gelir düzeyi, anne-baba tutumu, algılanan akademik başarı düzeyi ve günlük internet kullanımı değişkenlerine göre öğrencilerin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin farklılaştığı ( $p < 0,05$ ) görülmüştür. Çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçların üniversite öğrencilerinin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin iyileştirilmesine ilişkin faaliyetlere katkıda bulunacağı düşünülmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Bağımlılık, İnternet, Üniversite Öğrencileri

## **Internet Addiction: A Study on College Students**

### **Abstract**

Internet fulfills a very important task as a technology that enables people to communicate and continue this communication with uninterrupted processes. However, internet addiction arising due to excessive internet use is frequently encountered especially among the young population. In this study, it was aimed to determine the internet addiction levels of college students and to reveal whether the individual characteristics of the students have an effect on their internet addiction level. According to the results, it was observed that internet addiction was generally perceived at a low level ( $35.82 \pm 13.89$ ) by the students taking part in the study. In addition, when examining whether the internet addiction levels of students differ according to their individual characteristics, no difference was found only according to the class and place of

residence variable ( $p>0.05$ ); it was observed that the internet addiction levels of the students differed according to the variables of gender, age, area, perceived income level, parental attitude, perceived academic achievement and daily internet use ( $p<0.05$ ). It is thought that the results obtained from the study will contribute to the activities to improve the internet addiction levels of college students.

**Keywords:** Addiction, Internet, College Students

## 1.Giriş

Bağımlılık öncelikle beynin bağımlı olunan her ne ise ona odaklandığı, bunu bir ödül olarak hafıza yardımıyla geri çağırdığı ve bağımlı olunan şeye karşı motivasyon duyduğu davranışlar olarak tanımlanabilir (American Society of Addiction Medicine, 2020). Örneğin uyuşturucu bağımlılığında geçici madde kullanımı çevredeki insanların ve buna eklenen diğer madde kullanımlarının etkisi ile gittikçe kompleks bir hal alabilir (Robinson ve Berridge, 2003).

Bağımlılık üzerine yapılan çalışmalara baktığımızda bilim insanlarının son dönemde özellikle internet bağımlılığına odaklandıkları görülmektedir (Ostovar vd., 2016). Araştırmacılar bu bağımlılığı tanımlayabilmek için patolojik internet kullanımı, sorunlu internet kullanımı ve internet bağımlılığı terimlerini kullanmayı uygun bulmuşlardır (Charlton ve Danforth, 2007; Vondráčková vd., 2016). İnternet, yaygın olarak “bilgisayar ağlarının ağı” olarak tanımlanmakta ve fiziksel ya da elle tutulur bir nitelik taşımaktan ziyade birbirine entegre çok sayıda bilgisayar ağlarından meydana gelen bir yapı olarak değerlendirilmektedir (Selvi, 2012). İnternet modern yaşamın vazgeçilmezi haline gelen, önceleri askeri amaçlarla geliştirilmiş olsa da sonradan bilgi bulmamıza yardımcı olan, çevrimiçi birçok etkinliği yapabildiğimiz ve aslında bize kim olduğumuzu dahi anlatabilen bir teknoloji olarak kabul edilebilir (Pezoa vd. 2012).

İnternet bağımlılığı kavramı ilk olarak 1995 yılında Dr. Ivan Goldberg tarafından internet bağımlılığı ile ilgili bozuklukları sıraladığı listede yer almıştır (Flisher, 2020). Aşırı internet kullanımına bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan internet bağımlılığı klinik olarak önemli bir sıkıntı ve bozukluk olarak kabul edilmiştir (Xu vd, 2012). Yakın zamanda yapılan araştırmalar bize dünyada internet kullanımının her geçen gün ciddi oranlarda arttığını göstermektedir (Young, 1996; Stavropoulos, 2017). Cou vd. (2005)’ne göre bu artış toplumun genelinde bilhassa okul kampüslerinde rahatlıkla gözlemlenebilir. Bunun sebeplerine baktığımızda kolay erişim, öğrenme ihtiyacı, hizmet arama ve eğlence karşımıza çıkan ana başlıklar olarak sıralanmaktadır (Santos vd, 2017).

İnternet kullanımı son yıllarda özellikle gençler arasında oldukça yaygınlaşmıştır. İnternet kullanımında aşırıya kaçılması bir takım fiziksel ve psikolojik problemleri de beraberinde getirmektedir (Johansson ve Götestam, 2004; Xu vd, 2012; Koç, 2011). Örneğin çocukların okul başarılarındaki düşüş, sosyal yaşamlarındaki çalkantılar ve sağlıklı iletişim kuramamaları bir yönü ile internet bağımlılığıyla açıklanabilir (Cou vd., 2005). Bununla birlikte üniversite öğrencileri üzerine yapılan bir çalışmada internet bağımlılığının neden olduğu duygusal hasarlar depresyon, anksiyete ve stres olarak sıralanmıştır (Akın ve İskender, 2011).

Üniversitelerde ve hatta liselerde bilgisayar laboratuvarları ve dizüstü bilgisayarlar için tanınan imkânlar düşünüldüğünde internetin yukarıda değinilen hasarlarının tahmin edilenden daha fazla olduğu söylenebilir (Wallace, 2014).

Özellikle dijital ortamların çekiciliği ve gençlerdeki oyun oynama isteği aileleri çocuklarının bağımlı olabileceği konusunda endişelendirmektedir (Gentile, 2009). İnternete bağımlı olma tıpkı diğer bağımlılıklarda olduğu gibi akademik başarıyı düşürmekte, performansı dibe çekmekte ve aynı zamanda da aile içi geçimsizlikleri doğurarak boşanmalara dahi sebep olabilmektedir (Young, 1996). Bunun yanı sıra ebeveynlerine güvenmeme, sosyal aktivitelerden uzak kalma, yüz yüze iletişim kurmada zorlanma ve sürekli sosyal geri çekilme davranışı sergileme de internet bağımlılığının diğer olumsuz sonuçlarındandır (Shirinkam, 2016). Taş'a göre (2020) başarısız evliliklerden sonra boşanan gençlerin internet bağımlısı olma oranları evli çiftlere oranla daha yüksektir. Bu durum internet bağımlılığında kişinin fiziksel ve psikolojik ortamının önemli rol oynadığını ortaya koymaktadır.

## **2. Gereç ve Yöntem**

### **2.1. Araştırmanın Amacı**

Bu çalışmanın amacı, üniversite öğrencilerinin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerini belirlemek ve öğrencilere ilişkin bireysel ve demografik özelliklerin internet bağımlılığı düzeyi üzerinde etkili olup olmadığını ortaya koymaktır.

### **2.2. Evren ve Örneklem**

Bu araştırmanın evrenini Türkiye’de bir devlet üniversitesinde öğrenim gören lisans öğrencileri oluşturmaktadır. Araştırmada kolayda örnekleme yöntemi tercih edilmiş ve çalışmada yer almak isteyen öğrencilere gönüllülük esasına dayalı olarak anketler dağıtılmıştır. Araştırma sonucunda toplamda kullanılabilir 1020 anket elde edilmiştir.

### **2.3. Verilerin Toplanması**

Araştırmada veri toplama yöntemi olarak anket formu kullanılmıştır. Kullanılan anket formu bireysel özellikler ve internet kullanımına ilişkin soruların yer aldığı kişisel bilgi formu ve internet bağımlılığı ölçeği olmak üzere iki bölümden oluşmaktadır. Araştırmanın yapılmasında öğrencilerin tek tek bilinçli rızasına başvurulmuş olup, birebir görüşme yöntemi ile anket uygulanmıştır. Edinilen kişisel bilgilerin gizli kalacağı hususunda öğrenciler bilgilendirilmiştir.

Öğrencilerin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerini belirlemek için Jerusalem ve Hahn (2001) tarafından geliştirilen ve Şahin ve Korkmaz (2011) tarafından Türkçeye uyarlanan “İnternet Bağımlılığı Ölçeği” kullanılmıştır. Ölçek; kontrol kaybı boyutunda 7 madde, online kalma isteği boyutunda 4 madde ve sosyal ilişkilerde olumsuzluk boyutunda ise 8 madde olmak üzere toplamda 19 maddeden oluşan 5li Likert türünde bir ölçektir. Ölçekten alınan puanın artması internet bağımlılığının yüksek olduğu anlamına gelmektedir.

### **2.4. Verilerin Değerlendirilmesi**

Araştırma sonucunda öğrencilerden elde edilen veriler araştırmanın amacına yönelik olarak kullanılmak üzere SPSS 25.0 programı ile değerlendirilmiştir. Araştırmada internet bağımlılığı ölçeği ve alt boyutlarının bireysel özelliklere göre istatistiksel açıdan anlamlı bir farklılık

gösterip göstermediği iki ortalama arasındaki farkın önemlilik testi ve tek yönlü varyans analizi ile değerlendirilmiştir. Tek yönlü varyans analizi sonucunda istatistiksel açıdan farklılıklara neden olan grupların incelenmesinde Tukey HSD testinden faydalanılmıştır.

### 3. Bulgular

Araştırma sonucunda elde edilen bulgular bu bölümde tablolar aracılığıyla açıklanmaktadır.

**Tablo 1.** Öğrencilerin Bazı Bireysel Özelliklere Göre Dağılımı (n=1020)

Özellik	Sayı	Yüzde (%)
<u>Cinsiyet</u>		
Kız	561	55,0
Erkek	459	45,0
<u>Yaş</u>		
18-20	368	36,0
21-23	418	41,0
24 ve üzeri	71	7,0
Bilinmeyen	163	16,0
<u>Sınıf</u>		
1	340	33,3
2	233	22,8
3	256	25,1
4	175	17,2
Bilinmeyen	16	1,6
<u>Alan</u>		
Sosyal Bilimler	338	33,1
Sağlık Bilimleri	133	13,1
Fen Bilimleri	407	39,9
Bilinmeyen	142	13,9
<u>Kaldığı Yer</u>		
Devlet yurdu	498	48,8
Özel yurt	38	3,7
Ev	195	19,1
Apart	276	27,1
Bilinmeyen	13	1,3
<u>Algılanan Gelir Düzeyi</u>		
Düşük	32	3,1
Orta	563	55,2
Yüksek	415	40,7
Bilinmeyen	10	1,0
<u>Anne-Babanın Tutumu</u>		
Otoriter	328	32,2
Aşırı izin verici	86	8,4
İlgisiz	32	3,1



Tutarsız	50	4,9
Mükemmeliyetçi	41	4,0
Aşırı koruyucu	89	8,7
Demokratik	349	34,2
Bilinmeyen	45	4,4
<u>Algılanan Akademik Başarı Düzeyi</u>		
Kötü	81	7,9
Orta	448	43,9
İyi	471	46,2
Bilinmeyen	20	2,0
<u>Günlük İnternet Kullanım Süresi</u>		
1 saatten az	72	7,1
1-3 saat	319	31,3
4-5 saat	308	30,2
6 saat ve üzeri	321	31,5
<u>Whatsapp uygulaması</u>		
Kullanan	743	72,8
Kullanmayan	277	27,2
<u>Instagram uygulaması</u>		
Kullanan	695	68,1
Kullanmayan	325	31,9
<u>Twitter uygulaması</u>		
Kullanan	207	20,3
Kullanmayan	813	79,7
<u>Facebook uygulaması</u>		
Kullanan	145	14,2
Kullanmayan	875	85,8
<u>Bilgisayar oyunu uygulaması</u>		
Kullanan	129	12,6
Kullanmayan	891	87,4

Tablo 1 değerlendirildiğinde çalışmaya katılan öğrencilerin büyük bir çoğunluğunun kız (%55) öğrenciler olduğu, 21-23 yaş (%41) aralığında yer aldığı, devlet yurdunda kaldıkları (%48,8), aile gelir düzeylerini orta düzeyde (%55,2) algıladıkları ve anne-babalarının çocuk yetiştirme tutumlarının genellikle demokratik (%34,2) ve otoriter (%32,2) olduğu görülmüştür. Araştırmaya katılımın çoğunlukla fen bilimleri alanında (%39,9) öğrenim gören öğrencilerden oluştuğu, 1. sınıfta (%33,3) oldukları ve akademik başarılarını genel olarak iyi (%46,2) ve orta (%43,9) düzeyde algıladıkları bulunmuştur. Öğrencilerin gün içerisinde internet kullanım süreleri incelendiğinde ise 1 saatten az kullanan öğrencilerin çok az bir oranda (%7,1) olduğu ve büyük bir çoğunluğunun 6 saat ve üzerinde (%31,5) vakit geçirdiği görülmüştür. Ayrıca öğrencilerin internette geçirdikleri sürede kullandıkları uygulamalara bakıldığında en çok whatsapp uygulamasını (%72,8) kullandıkları, en az ise bilgisayar oyunu (%12,6) ile vakit geçirdikleri görülmüştür.

**Tablo 2.** İnternet Bağımlılığı Ölçeği ve Boyutlarına İlişkin Tanımlayıcı İstatistikler

İnternet Bağımlılığı Ölçeği		En Küçük	En Yüksek	Ortalama	Standart Sapma
Boyut 1	Kontrol Kaybı	7,00	35,00	14,47(2,07)*	5,67
Boyut 2	Online Kalma İsteği	4,00	15,00	6,61(1,65)*	3,13
Boyut 3	Sosyal İlişkilerde Olumsuzluk	9,00	40,00	14,90(1,86)	6,84
Toplam Puan		19	90	35,82	13,89

\*Boyutlara ilişkin ortalamalar 5 esas alınarak standart hale dönüştürülmüştür.  $(14,47*5)/35=2,07$

Tablo 2’de internet bağımlılığı ölçeğine ilişkin tanımlayıcı istatistikler yer almaktadır. Ölçeklerin boyutlarının altında yer alan soru sayılarının eşit olmamasından dolayı boyutlardan elde edilen toplam puanlar standart hale getirilmiştir. Başka bir ifade ile boyutlara verilen yanıtların toplam puanları alınmış, boyut altındaki soru sayısına bölünmüş ve böylece 5’li Likert kullanıldığından 5 esas alınarak standart hale getirilmiştir. Tablo incelendiğinde genel olarak öğrencilerin internet bağımlılığı ölçeğinden ortalama olarak en yüksek puanı kontrol kaybı boyutundan (2,07), en düşük puanı ise online kalma isteği boyutundan (1,65) aldıkları görülmektedir. Katılımcıların ölçekten almış oldukları toplam puan incelendiğinde ise internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin de ortalama olarak 35,82 puan olduğu görülmektedir.

**Tablo 3.** Öğrencilerin Bireysel ve Demografik Özelliklerine Göre İnternet Bağımlılıklarının Değerlendirilmesi

Bireysel ve Demografik Özellikler	Kontrol Kaybı	Online Kalma İsteği	Sosyal İlişkilerde Olumsuzluk	Toplam Puan
	X±SS	X±SS	X±SS	X±SS
<b>Cinsiyet</b>				
Kadın	14,68±5,82	6,54±3,24	14,44±6,92	35,53±14,31
Erkek	14,21±5,49	6,69±3,00	15,45±6,70	36,18±13,36
	t= 1,297 p=0,195	t=-0,742 p=0,458	t=-2,337 p=0,020*	t= -0,724 p=0,469
<b>Sınıf</b>				
1. sınıf	14,70±5,90	6,50±3,08	15,17±7,15	36,03±14,13
2. sınıf	15,13±5,64	6,80±3,10	15,34±6,67	37,03±13,66
3. sınıf	14,21±5,49	6,58±3,27	14,48±6,91	35,44±14,01
4. sınıf	13,67±5,55	6,63±3,11	14,59±6,54	34,68±13,79
	F=2,533 p=0,385	F=0,436 p=0,727	F=0,903 p=0,439	F=1,016 p=0,385
<b>Yaş</b>				
18-20 yaş	14,89±5,68	6,63±3,14	15,27±6,89	36,80±14,03
21-23 yaş	14,57±5,87	6,64±3,20	14,55±6,97	35,47±14,18
24 yaş ve üzeri	12,58±4,60	6,20±2,87	13,97±5,70	32,88±11,59
	F=4,807 p=0,008*	F=0,607 p=0,545	F=1,646 p=0,193	F=2,508 p=0,082
<b>Alan</b>				
Sosyal bilimler	14,60±5,69	6,59±3,13	15,00±7,28	36,27±14,49
Sağlık bilimleri	13,24±4,86	6,30±3,01	14,19±6,21	33,35±12,51
Fen bilimleri	14,56±5,89	6,61±3,13	14,63±6,54	35,49±13,62
	F=3,065 p=0,047*	F=0,537 p=0,584	F=0,725 p=0,485	F=2,034 p=0,132
<b>Kaldığı yer</b>				
Devlet yurdu	14,54±5,45	6,60±3,11	14,50±6,59	35,55±13,51
Özel yurt	14,94±5,39	6,72±2,81	15,87±6,14	36,17±11,06

Ev	14,41±6,07	6,85±3,25	15,50±7,38	36,49±14,58
Apart	14,31±5,76	6,43±3,10	14,84±6,71	35,51±14,02
	F=0,189 p=0,904	F=0,667 p=0,572	F=1,311 p=0,270	F=0,248 p=0,863
<u>Algılanan gelir düzeyi</u>				
Kötü	16,77±6,47	8,31±3,45	17,96±7,66	42,93±15,62
Orta	14,33±5,54	6,51±3,10	14,88±6,66	35,62±13,77
İyi	14,49±5,80	6,61±3,14	14,63±6,96	35,49±13,83
	F=2,725 p=0,066	F=4,990 p=0,007*	F=3,546 p=0,029*	F=4,251 p=0,015*
<u>Anne-baba tutumu</u>				
Otoriter	14,69±5,67	6,57±3,11	14,85±7,05	35,84±13,94
Aşırı izin verici	15,04±5,98	6,87±3,22	15,24±7,55	37,20±14,59
İlgisiz	15,16±6,60	6,50±3,52	17,03±8,23	39,07±17,46
Tutarsız	16,77±6,76	7,50±3,52	16,84±7,84	40,79±16,55
Mükemmeliyetçi	14,89±6,00	6,70±2,91	15,26±7,00	36,67±14,02
Aşırı koruyucu	14,59±5,02	6,98±2,90	16,00±6,67	36,82±12,38
Demokratik	13,60±5,24	6,38±3,10	13,99±6,09	33,10±13,02
	F=3,075 p=0,006*	F=1,307 p=0,251	F=2,611 p=0,016*	F=2,514 p=0,020*
<u>Algılanan akademik başarı düzeyi</u>				
Kötü	14,92±5,90	6,61±3,37	16,19±6,92	37,86±14,45
Orta	14,84±5,62	6,93±3,12	15,49±7,25	37,19±14,20
İyi	14,12±5,69	6,33±3,10	14,18±6,40	34,38±13,46
	F=2,052 p=0,129	F=4,139 p=0,016*	F=5,640 p=0,004*	F=5,339 p=0,005*
<u>Günlük internet kullanımı</u>				
1 saatten az	11,11±4,29	4,83±2,45	12,73±4,64	28,68±10,39
1-3 saat	12,44±3,98	5,81±2,65	13,08±5,03	31,25±10,21
4-5 saat	14,80±5,15	6,82±2,83	15,01±6,19	36,65±12,37
6 saat ve üzeri	16,94±6,65	7,62±3,58	17,08±8,53	41,35±16,68
	F=48,022 p<0,0001*	F=28,010 p<0,0001*	F=21,836 p<0,0001*	F=37,642 p<0,0001*

\*: p<0,05 anlamlılık

Öğrencilerin internet bağımlılığı ölçeğinin kontrol kaybı boyutuna ilişkin değerlendirmeleri incelendiğinde bireysel ve demografik özelliklerden yaş (F=4,807; p=0,008), alan (F=3,065; p=0,047), anne-baba tutumu (F=3,075; p=0,006) ve günlük internet kullanımına (F=48,022; p<0,0001) göre istatistiksel açıdan anlamlı bir farklılık gösterdiği bulunmuştur. Farklılığın hangi grup ya da gruplardan kaynaklandığını belirlemek için yapılan Tukey HSD testine göre, yaş değişkeninde farklılığın 24 yaş ve üzeri grubundan, alan değişkeninde sağlık bilimleri alanından, anne-baba tutumunda tutarsız ve demokratik gruplardan ve günlük internet kullanımı değişkeninde ise 4-5 saat ve 6 saat ve üzeri internet kullanan gruplardan kaynaklandığı görülmüştür.

Ölçeğin online kalma isteği boyutu incelendiğinde, algılanan gelir düzeyi (F=4,990; p=0,007), algılanan akademik başarı düzeyi (F=4,139; p=0,016) ve günlük internet kullanımı (F=28,010; p<0,0001) değişkenlerine göre istatistiksel açıdan anlamlı bir farklılık bulunmuştur. Farklılığın algılanan gelir düzeyi değişkeninde kötü gelir düzeyine sahip öğrencilerin yer aldığı gruptan, algılanan akademik başarı düzeyinde orta ve iyi başarı düzeyine sahip gruptan ve günlük

internet kullanımını deęişkeninde ise 4-5 saat ve 6 saat ve üzeri internet kullanan gruplardan kaynaklandığı görülmüştür.

Ölçeğin bir dięer boyutu olan sosyal ilişkilerde olumsuzluk boyutu incelendiğinde cinsiyet ( $t=2,337$ ;  $p=0,020$ ), algılanan gelir düzeyi ( $F=3,546$ ;  $p=0,029$ ), anne-baba tutumu ( $F=2,611$ ;  $p=0,016$ ), algılanan akademik başarı düzeyi ( $F=5,640$ ;  $p=0,004$ ) ve günlük internet kullanımını ( $F=21,836$ ;  $p<0,0001$ ) deęişkenlerine göre istatistiksel açıdan anlamlı bir farklılık bulunmuş ve öğrenciler arasındaki bu farklılığın algılanan gelir düzeyinde kötü gelir grubundan, anne-baba tutumu deęişkeninde ilgisiz ve demokratik tutuma sahip gruptan, algılanan akademik başarı düzeyinde iyi düzeye sahip gruptan ve günlük internet kullanımını deęişkeninde ise 4-5 saat ve 6 saat ve üzeri internet kullanan gruplardan kaynaklandığı görülmüştür.

İnternet bağımlılığı ölçeğinden elde edilen toplam puana göre gerçekleştirilen deęerlendirmede ise; algılanan gelir düzeyi ( $F=4,251$ ;  $p=0,015$ ), anne-baba tutumu ( $F=2,514$ ;  $p=0,020$ ), algılanan akademik başarı düzeyi ( $F=5,339$ ;  $p=0,005$ ) ve günlük internet kullanımını deęişkenlerine göre istatistiksel açıdan anlamlı bir farklılık bulunmuştur. Farklılığın algılanan gelir düzeyinde kötü düzeye sahip gruptan, anne-baba tutumunda tutarsız ve demokratik tutuma sahip gruptan, algılanan akademik başarı düzeyinde orta ve iyi düzeydeki gruptan ve günlük internet kullanımını deęişkeninde ise 4-5 saat ve 6 saat ve üzeri internet kullanan gruplardan kaynaklandığı görülmüştür.

#### **4. Tartışma**

Bu çalışmada üniversite öğrencilerinin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerini belirlemek ve öğrencilere ilişkin bireysel ve demografik özelliklerin internet bağımlılığı düzeyi üzerinde etkili olup olmadığını ortaya koymak amaçlanmıştır. Elde edilen sonuçlara göre internet bağımlılığının araştırmada yer alan öğrencilerce genel olarak düşük düzeyde ( $35,82\pm 13,89$ ) algılandığı görülmüştür. Ölçekten elde edilen puanın artış göstermesi internet bağımlılığı düzeyinin arttığını göstermektedir. Öğrencilerin ölçeğin alt boyutlarına ilişkin deęerlendirmeleri incelendiğinde en yüksek düzeyde algıladıkları boyutun kontrol kaybı boyutu olduğu ve en düşük düzeyde algıladıkları boyutun ise online kalma isteęi boyutu olduğu görülmüştür. Şahin (2011) tarafından bireylerin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin deęerlendirildiği çalışmada ise en düşük algılanan boyutun sosyal ilişkilerde olumsuzluk, en yüksek düzeyde algılanan boyutun ise online kalma isteęi olduğu ve genel olarak bireylerin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin düşük ( $30,30\pm 10,37$ ) olarak algılandığı görülmüştür. Salehi ve dięerleri (2014) tarafından tıp okuyan öğrencilerin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin deęerlendirildiği çalışmada öğrencilerin %92,7'sinin internet bağımlısı olmadığı ve yalnızca %2,1'inin riskli grupta yer aldığı bulunmuştur.

Çalışmada öğrencilerin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin bireysel ve demografik özelliklere göre farklılık gösterip göstermediği incelendiğinde yalnızca sınıf ve kalınan yer deęişkenine göre bir farklılık bulunamamış olup ( $p>0,05$ ); cinsiyet, yaş, alan, algılanan gelir düzeyi, anne-baba tutumu, algılanan akademik başarı düzeyi ve günlük internet kullanımını deęişkenlerine göre öğrencilerin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin farklılaştığı ( $p<0,05$ ) görülmüştür.

Katılımcıların verdikleri yanıtlara göre cinsiyet değişkeni incelendiğinde erkeklerin kadınlara göre yalnızca “sosyal ilişkilerde olumsuzluk” boyutundan daha yüksek puan aldığı görülmüştür. Üniversite öğrencilerinde internet bağımlılığının değerlendirildiği benzer çalışmaların bazılarında cinsiyetin internet bağımlılığı düzeyi üzerinde farklılığa neden olduğu (Gümüş vd, 2015; Canan vd, 2012; Çakır Balta ve Horzum, 2008; Frangos vd, 2010; Huang vd, 2009; Younes vd, 2016) hatta erkek olmanın bir risk faktörü olduğu ve erkeklerin kadınlara göre daha bağımlı olduğu (Tsai vd, 2009; Mayda vd, 2015; Sharma vd, 2014) görülmüştür. Ancak bazı benzer çalışmalarda da cinsiyetin internet bağımlılığı üzerinde bir farklılığa neden olmadığı (Orsal vd, 2013; Odacı, 2011; Ni vd, 2009) görülmüştür.

Çalışmada katılımcıların internet bağımlılığı düzeyleri yaş değişkenine göre incelendiğinde yalnızca kontrol kaybı boyutunda anlamlı bir farklılığın olduğu görülmüştür ( $p<0,05$ ). Buna göre yaş ilerledikçe kontrol kaybı boyutunda alınan puanın düştüğü görülmüştür. Başka bir deyişle yaş arttıkça öğrencilerin internet bağımlılığında kontrol kaybının azaldığı ortaya çıkmıştır. Orsal ve diğerleri (2013) tarafından üniversite öğrencilerinde internet bağımlılığının değerlendirildiği çalışmada da yaş değişkeninin internet bağımlılığı düzeyini farklılaştırıldığı görülmüştür. Benzer şekilde Ni ve diğerleri (2009) ve Mayda ve diğerleri (2015) tarafından üniversite öğrencilerinde internet bağımlılığının değerlendirildiği çalışmalarda da yaşın internet bağımlılığını düzeyini farklılaştıran bir değişken olduğu bulunmuştur.

Alan değişkenine göre internet bağımlılığı boyutlarından yalnızca kontrol kaybı boyutunda anlamlı bir farklılığın olduğu görülmüştür ( $p<0,05$ ). Buna göre kontrol kaybı boyutunda en düşük puanı sağlık bilimleri en yüksek puanı ise sosyal bilimler alanında öğrenim gören öğrencilerin aldığı bulunmuştur. Odacı (2011) tarafından üniversite öğrencilerinde internet bağımlılığının incelendiği çalışmada da öğrenim görülen alanın internet bağımlılığını düzeyini farklılaştıran bir değişken olduğu ve en yüksek puanı sosyal bilimler en düşük puanı ise sağlık bilimleri alanına devam eden öğrencilerin aldığı belirlenmiştir. Benzer şekilde Çakır Balta ve Horzum (2008) ve Orsal ve diğerleri (2013) tarafından üniversite öğrencileri üzerinde yapılan çalışmalarda da alanın internet bağımlılığını farklılaştıran bir değişken olduğu bulunmuştur.

Çalışmada yer alan katılımcıların internet bağımlılıkları algılanan gelir düzeyine göre değerlendirildiğinde kontrol kaybı boyutu haricindeki boyutlarda ve toplam puanda anlamlı bir farklılığa neden olduğu görülmüştür ( $p<0,005$ ). Buna göre algılanan gelir düzeyi arttıkça bağımlılık puanlarının düştüğü bulunmuştur. Üniversite öğrencileri üzerinde yapılan benzer çalışmalarda da sosyoekonomik/gelir düzeyinin internet bağımlılığını farklılaştırdığı görülmüştür (Gümüş vd, 2015; Orsal vd, 2013). Ancak Çakır Balta ve Horzum (2008) tarafından üniversite öğrencileri üzerinde gerçekleştirilen çalışmada internet bağımlılığının sosyoekonomik düzeye göre farklılık göstermediği belirtilmiştir.

Anne-baba tutumunun internet bağımlılığını kontrol kaybı ve sosyal ilişkilerde olumsuzluk boyutlarında ve toplam puanda istatistiksel açıdan anlamlı olarak farklılaştığı görülmüştür ( $p<0,05$ ). Buna göre ilgisiz/tutarsız tutuma sahip ailelerin çocuklarında internet bağımlılığı düzeyinin diğerlerine göre daha yüksek olduğu görülmüştür. Huang ve diğerleri (2009) ve Orsal ve diğerleri (2013) tarafından gerçekleştirilen çalışmalarda üniversite öğrencilerinin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin aile yapısına ve aile ile olan ilişkilerine göre farklılaştığı

bulunmuştur. Ancak Gümüş ve diğerleri (2015) üniversite öğrencilerinin ailesi ile olan ilişkilerinin internet bağımlılığı düzeyini farklılaştırmadığını göstermişlerdir.

Çalışmada katılımcıların algılanan akademik başarılarının online kalma isteği ve sosyal ilişkilerde olumsuzluk boyutu ile toplam puan üzerinde anlamlı bir farklılığa neden olduğu görülmüştür ( $p<0,05$ ). Buna göre akademik başarısını iyi düzeyde algılayan öğrencilerin diğerlerine göre internet bağımlılığı düzeyleri daha düşük bulunmuştur. Literatürde üniversite öğrencileri üzerinde yapılan benzer çalışmalarda da internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin akademik başarıya göre farklılaştığı görülmüştür (Frangos vd, 2010; Huang vd, 2009; Şahin vd, 2013).

Günlük internet kullanım süresi değişkeni incelendiğinde katılımcıların internet bağımlılığı toplam puanının ve boyutlarının anlamlı bir farklılık gösterdiği bulunmuştur ( $p<0,05$ ). Buna göre günlük internet kullanım süresi arttıkça internet bağımlılığı düzeyinin de artış gösterdiği görülmüştür. Yapılan çalışmalar da günlük/haftalık internet kullanım süresinin internet bağımlılığını farklılaştıran önemli bir değişken olduğunu ortaya koymuştur (Balcı ve Gülnar, 2009; Canan vd, 2012; Orsal vd, 2013; Şahin vd, 2013; Çakır Balta ve Horzum, 2008; Huang vd, 2009).

## **5. Sonuç ve Öneriler**

İnternetin bilgi arama, kişilerle iletişim kurma/sosyal medya ve günlük işlerin birçoğunu gerçekleştirebilme aracılığıyla kullanılması ve özellikle son yıllarda bilgisayar, telefon, akıllı saatler gibi her yerden erişilebilirliğinin artış göstermesi ile internete olan bağımlılık düzeyi de artış göstermiştir. Özellikle üniversite öğrencilerinin gündelik yaşamlarının önemli bir parçası haline gelmiş olan internet kullanımının yaygınlaşması onları internet bağımlılığı açısından riskli bir grup haline getirmiştir. Bu çalışmada da üniversite öğrencilerinde hem internet bağımlılığı düzeyi hem de bu düzeyi farklılaştıran bireysel ve demografik özelliklerin hangileri olduğu belirlenmiştir.

Öğrencilerin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin düşük olarak algılandığı ve cinsiyet, yaş, alan, algılanan gelir düzeyi, anne-baba tutumu, algılanan akademik başarı düzeyi ve günlük internet kullanımı değişkenlerinin internet bağımlılığını farklılaştıran önemli değişkenler olduğu belirlenmiştir. Öğrencilerin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerini azaltmak ve internet bağımlısı olma risklerini en aza indirmek için internet kullanımlarını kontrol altında tutmayı ve aşırı ve gereksiz internet kullanımının neden olacağı fiziksel ve psikolojik etkilerin neler olduğunu öğrenebilecekleri eğitimlerin düzenlenmesi önerilebilir. Üniversitelerin müfredat programlarında internet bağımlılığına ilişkin farkındalığın oluşturulacağı seçmeli dersler eklenebilir ve bu derslerin alınması teşvik edilebilir. Yalnızca öğrencilerin değil, ailelerinin de konu ile ilgili bilinçlendirilmesine yönelik faaliyetler düzenlenebilir.

Netice olarak, çalışmada üniversite öğrencilerinin internet bağımlılığı düzeyleri ve hangi bireysel ve demografik özelliklere göre farklılık gösterdiği hakkında sonuçlar elde edilmiştir. Ancak çalışmanın örnekleminin bir üniversitede öğrenim gören lisans öğrencilerinden oluşması ve kolayda örnekleme yöntemine göre verilerin toplanmasından dolayı araştırmadan elde edilen sonuçların genellenmesi konusunda sınırlılıklar bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca internet bağımlılığı düzeyini etkilediği düşünülen farklı değişkenler de dikkate alınarak yapılacak olan çalışmaların

geliştirilmesi önerilmektedir. Bununla birlikte çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçların üniversite öğrencilerinin internet bağımlılığı düzeylerinin iyileştirilmesine ilişkin faaliyetlere katkıda bulunacağı düşünülmektedir.

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## **Halkevleri Spor Şubelerinin Faaliyetleri (1932-1951)**

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### **Özet**

Halkevleri, Türk ocaklarının kendisini feshetmesinden sonra dönemin ihtiyaçlarına göre oluşturulmuş bir yaygın eğitim kurumudur. Halkevleri 19 Şubat 1932 tarihinde açılmaya başlamış ve kısa süre içinde yurt genelinde yaygınlaştırılmıştır. Dokuz şube halinde çalışmalarını sürdüren Halkevlerinin halk eğitimi bakımından da etkili olan çalışma alanlarından biri de Spor şubeleridir. Halkevleri kurulduğu andan itibaren çeşitli resmî kumlar ve özellikle örgün eğitim kurumlarıyla işbirliği halinde çalışmalarını sürdürmüştür. Halkevleri spor şubeleri de Türkiye İdman Cemiyeti İttifakı, Türk Spor Kurumu ve Beden Terbiyesi Genel Müdürlüğü gibi spor teşkilatlarıyla eş güdümlü çalışmalar gerçekleştirmiştir. CHP Genel Sekreterliği VI. Büro tarafından yönlendirilen ve denetlenen Halkevi spor şubeleri ayrıca kurulduğu yörenin sportif faaliyetlerine de öncülük etmiştir. Belki de o güne değin adı duyulmamış spor dallarının kendi yöresinde tanınmasını, sportif faaliyetlerin gerçekleşmesini sağlamışlardır.

Halkevleri Spor şubeleri, atıcılık, güreş, futbol, voleybol, basketbol, eskrim, cirit, kayak, yüzmeye, jimnastik, boks gibi spor dalları yanında halat çekme ve kır koşusu etkinliklerini de gerçekleştirmiştir. Halkevleri spor faaliyetleri için gerekli olan spor malzemeleri ise CHP Genel Sekreterliğince karşılanmış; ayrılan yıllık ödenek dâhilinde ya malzemeler temin edilerek ilgili yöreye ulaştırılmış ya da ücretleri makbuz karşılığında halkevlerine gönderilerek sporun gelişimine katkı sağlanmıştır.

Ata sporu güreş, binicilik ve cirit hemen her yörede yaygın olmakla birlikte Halkevleri, yörenin kültürü ve iklim koşullarını da dikkate alarak belirli spor alanlarında yoğunlaşmışlardır. Denize kıyısı olan yörelerde su sporları öne çıkarken kış şartları çetin geçen ve uzun süre karın kalkmadığı yörelerde kayak sporu cazip hale getirilmiştir.

Halkevleri 1932-1951 yılları arasında spor şubeleri marifetiyle Türk sporunun gelişmesine katkı yapmış, önemli sporcuların yetişmesine imkân sağlamıştır.

Çalışma, Devlet Arşivleri Cumhuriyet Arşivindeki belgeler taranarak hazırlanmış, diğer kaynaklarla bütünleştirilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Halkevi, spor, ayak topu (futbol), kır koşusu

## **Activities of Community Centers Sports Branches (1932-1951)**

### **Abstract**

Community Centers are widespread educational institutions that were established to meet the needs of the period following the self-dissolution of Turkish Hearth branches. They commenced operations on February 19, 1932, and quickly expanded nationwide, operating in nine branches.

One of the areas where Community Centers have been influential in public education is through their sports branches. Since their establishment, Community Centers have collaborated with various official bodies, particularly formal educational institutions.

The sports branches of Community Centers have also coordinated activities with sports organizations such as the Turkey Sports Society Alliance, Turkish Sports Institution, and the Directorate General of Physical Education. Directed and supervised by the CHP General Secretariat VI. Bureau, the sports branches of Community Centers have played a pioneering role in the sporting activities of the regions where they were established. They have facilitated the recognition of perhaps previously unknown sports in their regions and the realization of sporting events.

The sports branches of Community Centers have engaged in various sports such as shooting, wrestling, football, volleyball, basketball, fencing, javelin, skiing, swimming, gymnastics, and boxing. In addition to traditional sports, they have also organized activities like tug of war and cross-country running. The necessary sports equipment for Community Centers' sports activities was provided by the CHP General Secretariat. The allocated annual budget was used to procure equipment, which was then delivered to the relevant regions, contributing to the development of sports.

While wrestling, equestrian sports, and javelin were widespread in almost every region as traditional sports, Community Centers focused on specific sports areas, taking into account the local culture and climate conditions. Water sports took precedence in coastal areas, while skiing became attractive in regions with harsh winter conditions and prolonged snowfall.

Between 1932 and 1951, Community Centers, through their sports branches, made significant contributions to the development of Turkish sports and provided opportunities for the emergence of notable athletes. This information is derived from documents in the Republic Archives of the State Archives and integrated with other sources.

**Keywords:** Community Center, sports, football, cross country running

## **Giriş**

Halkevleri, 19 Şubat 1932’de kurulan erken Cumhuriyet döneminin önemli bir kültür kurumudur. Yeni Türk devletinin kuruluş sürecinde Türk milli kimliğinin inşası ve halkın yeni düzen çalışmalarına katılımı da dâhil olmak üzere birçok konuda Türk Ocakları yetersiz kalınca yeni bir kurumsallaşmaya ihtiyaç duyulmuştu.

Bu ihtiyacı karşılamak için çeşitli ülkelerde araştırma ve incelemeler yapılmış sonucunda Çekoslovakya’daki skol örgütlenmesinden de esinlenerek Halkevleri hayata geçirilmiştir. Halkevleri; 9 şube halinde çalışmalarına başlamıştır. Bu şubeler; Dil-Tarih ve Edebiyat, Güzel Sanatlar, Temsil, Spor, İçtimai Yardım, Halk Dershaneleri ve Kurslar, Kütüphane ve Neşriyat, Köycülük ve Müzecilik şubeleridir.

## **Halkevleri Spor Şubeleri**

Halkevleri Spor Şubeleri, yurt genelinde sporu ve sportif faaliyetleri yaygınlaştırmak, sporda yerel kurumsal yapılar oluşturmak ve devamlılığını sağlamak gibi önemli görevler üstlenmiştir. Türk milletinin ve özellikle de Türk gençliğinin spora ve beden eğitimine olan ilgisini artırmak, sporu millî ve kişisel bir alışkanlık haline getirmek temel prensip olarak öne çıkartılmıştı. (Aydın, M. K, Aydın. M., Kaya, F., 2016: 68) Halkevi Spor Şubelerinin bir başka önemli işlevi de dönemin yetkin spor kuruluşları olan Türkiye idman cemiyetleri ittifakı ve Türk Spor Kurumu ile iş birliği yaparak ulusal ve yerel spor kuruluşlarını himaye edip ülkenin en ücra köşelerine kadar sportif faaliyetleri yaygınlaştırmaktı. Nitekim 1932 tarihli Halkevi Talimatnamesinde (CHF,1932: 11-12) Halkevi çatısı altında bir araya gelenlere konu ile ilgili olarak belirlenen hedef şöyle açıklanmıştır:

“Spor ve bütün beden hareketleri gençlik terbiyesinin vaz geçilmeyecek aslî ve mühim bir rüknüdür. Bu sebeple Türk gençliğinde ve Türk halkında spor ve beden hareketlerine sevgi ve alâka uyandırmalı bunları bir kütle hareketi, millî bir faaliyet haline getirmelidir. Bu millî idealin tahakkuku için, sporun ve bütün beden hareketlerinin fenni usuller ve kaideler dâhilinde, sistem ve plan dairesinde tatbik ve icrası lâzım geldiği daima göz önünde tutulmalı ve bunun için, Türkiye İdman cemiyetleri İttifakına dahil bulunan ve bulunmayan spor teşekküllerinin inkişaf, terakki ve tekâmüllerine yardım ederek, memleketimizde teknik spor faaliyetlerinin intişarını terviç etmelidir.” Halkevlerinin sportif faaliyetleri, spor alanlarının oluşturulması, spor malzemelerinin temini vb. çalışmalarını planlayan, koordine eden birim, CHP Genel Sekreterliği bünyesinde oluşturulan 6. Büro’dur.

Kurulduğu dönemde Türkiye’de sportif faaliyetleri sevk ve idare eden Halkevleri, 1932 tarihli Halkevleri talimatnamesinde de ifade edildiği gibi 14 Temmuz 1922’de kurulan Türkiye İdmân Cemiyetleri İttifakı’dır. (Zelyurt, 2013: 1472;Tayga, 1990:162-163, Sümer, 1990:28) Türkiye İdmân Cemiyetleri İttifakı (TİCİ), 1924 kongresinden sonra futbol, güreş, atletizm ve bisiklet federasyonları yanında halter, boks, tenis, denizcilik, hokey, binicilik, eskrim, nişancılık federasyonlarının kurulmasına da öncülük etmiştir. TİCİ Halkevlerinin kuruluşundan sonra da 1936 yılına kadar sportif faaliyetlerde destek olmuş, spor altyapı hizmetlerine yönelik görüş ve öneriler geliştirmiştir. Uzunca bir süre Ali Sami YEN’in başkanlığını yaptığı TİCİ, 1936’da Türk Spor Kurumuna dönüştürülmüştür. (Zelyurt, 2013: 1473 vd) .

Halkevleri, CHP Genel Sekreterliği ve Türk Spor Kurumu işbirliğiyle spor alanlarının oluşturulması ve uygun şartlarda spor yapılmasına yönelik çalışmalarda önemli bir yere sahiptir. Bu işbirliğine yerelde Halkevleri spor şubeleri de katkı sağlamışlardır. Türk Spor Kurumu da 1938 yılına kadar çalışma hayatını sürdürmüştü; görülen lüzum üzerine kapatılarak 16 Ağustos 1938’de Beden Terbiyesi Genel Direktörlüğü kurulmuştur (Resmî Gazete, 1938: 1160-64).

Beden Terbiyesi Genel Direktörlüğü Kanununun 14. Maddesiyle de “Halkevleri kendi mensuplarına ve arzu edenlere kapalı veya açık salonlarda beden terbiyesi genel direktörlüğü ile müşterek olarak tertip edilecek programlara göre jimnastik, eskrim, güreş, yürüyüş, salon oyunları ve millî rakslar gibi beden terbiyesi hareketleri yaptırılabilir” açıklaması ile Halkevlerine atıfta bulunularak görev alanlarıyla ilgili açıklık getirmişti. Bu süreçte halkevlerinin kendilerini yenilemeleri, CHP Genel Sekreterliğinin mevcut imkânlarla oluşturacağı bütçeleri de rasyonel bir şekilde kullanarak spor şubelerinin gerçekleştirecekleri sportif faaliyetler için öncelikle aynı özelliklere sahip spor alanlarının yapılması, var olanların da düzenlenmesi gerekliliği ortaya çıkmıştı. Bu kapsamda İçişleri Bakanı ve CHP Genel Sekreteri Şükrü Kaya da 01 Ağustos 1938’de Halkevi başkanlıklarına bir tamim yayınlayarak “Halkevleri muhtelif vazifeleri içinde beden terbiyesi ve sporu yurttan yaymak ödevini de taşımaktadırlar” başlığıyla sportif faaliyetlerin hız kesmeden devam ettirilmesini, yeni Beden Terbiyesi kanununun da halkevlerine serbest bir faaliyet alanı bıraktığını belirtmişti. Ayrıca Halkevlerinin jimnastik, eskrim, güreş, yürüyüş, salon oyunları ve millî rakslar gibi beden terbiyesi hareketleri vb. spor dallarını icra edecek yer ve spor malzemelerinin temin edilmesini talep etmelerinin de doğal olduğuna dikkat çekmiş; bu konuda Halkevlerinin mevcut imkân ve kabiliyetlerinin ne düzeyde olduğunu öğrenmek amacıyla aşağıdaki soruları sormuştur:

1-Jimnastik, güreş veya eskrim yaptırmaya elverişli kapalı salonu var mıdır? Varsa ebâdı nedir? Salonunda jimnastik aletleri var mıdır? Varsa nelerden ibarettir?

2-Güreş minderi var mıdır?

3-Eskrim malzemesi var mıdır?

4-Halkevinizin bir avlusu var mıdır? Varsa burada açık jimnastik yeri var mıdır ve ne gibi jimnastik tesisleri ve aletleri mevcuttur?

5-Masa Tenisi, bilardo, satranç, voleybol, basketbol vb salon oyunu tesisleri ve aletleri var mıdır? Varsa durumu nedir?

6-Şu andaki hâliyle Halkevi, kendi mensuplarına veya arzu edenlere jimnastik ve diğer beden terbiyesi faaliyetleri yaptırıyor mu? Varsa çalışma programı nedir? Yaptığımız çalışmalarda halkı kolayca toplayabiliyor musunuz? Ne gibi güçlükleriniz vardır?

7-Halkevinizde dağcılık ve kış sporları ile meşgul arkadaşlarınız var mıdır? Bu sporlar için gerekli kayak vb. malzemeler var mıdır? Varsa bunları nereden, nasıl temin ediyorsunuz?

8- Halkevinizde su sporları yapılıyor mu? Bu spor dalı için gerekli olan kayak, fita ve yole gibi araç-gereç var mıdır? Varsa sayısı nedir? Bunları muhafaza edecek imkânlarınız var mıdır?

9- Halkevinizde atlı cirit sporu ile ilgilenen var mıdır? Ekibiniz var mıdır? Yörenizde bu sporu yaymak için ne gibi girişimleriniz olmuştur?

10- Halkevinizde atış ile ilgilenen var mıdır?

Şükrü Kaya, Halkevlerinin vereceği cevaba göre CHP Genel Sekreterliğince yapılacak planlama dâhilinde spor şubelerini yeniden düzenleyeceklerini, böylelikle daha sağlıklı bir şekilde sportif faaliyetleri destekleyebileceklerini vurgulamıştır. Halkevlerince yukarıdaki sorulara verilecek cevaplar haricinde konuyla ilgili varsa farklı fikirlerin de ilave edilmesini istemiştir. ( C.A, 490-1-0-0-4 - 18 – 10/1-2) Atatürk'ün ölümünden sonra CHP'ndeki yeni yapılanmaya paralel olarak İnönü Döneminde CHP Genel Sekreterliğine getirilen Ahmet Fikri Tüzer de halkevlerinin mevcut durumlarını yoklayıp eksiklikleri belirlemeye çalışmıştır (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 4 - 20 - 12/1).

Halkevlerinin istenilen düzeyde sportif faaliyetlerde bulunmaları ve günün şartlarına göre araç-gereç eksikliğinin giderilmesi amacıyla 1945'te "Açık Hava Spor Alanları krokileri ve İzahı" adıyla bir kitapçık hazırlanarak Halkevlerine gönderilmiş; yeni yapılacak spor alanlarıyla mevcutların buna göre düzenlenmesi istenmiştir. İlgili kitapçıkta hemen hemen bütün spor dallarıyla ilgili spor alanı krokilerine yer verilmişti (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1115 - 70 – 1/1-22). Yine 17 Ocak 1946'da "Halkevlerinin Spor Alanı ve Araçları Hakkında Anket" hazırlanıp halkevlerine gönderilmiş; alınan cevaplar doğrultusunda spor alanlarının ve araç-gereçlerinin güncellenmesine çalışılmıştır. Ankette; Açık Hava çalışmalarıyla ilgili sorular yer almıştı. Açık hava çalışma alanı olup olmadığı, alanların hentbola uygunluğu, atlamalar için kum havuzu, tırmanma halat ve sırtıklarıyla halkalar için uygun bir porti kurulup kurulmadığı, voleybol ve basketbol sahalarının olup olmadığı gibi sorular yer almıştı.

İkinci bölümde kapalı alanları ilgilendiren sorulara yer verilmişti. Kapalı spor salonu olup olmadığı, duş tertibatı, jimnastik aletleri ve diğer araç-gerecin durumu, güreş minderi olup olmadığı sorulmuş; ayrıca voleybol, basketbol, hentbol ve tenis gibi salon sporlarının yapılıp yapılmadığı bilgilerine yer verilmişti. Üçüncü bölüm ise spor malzemelerine ayrılmıştı (C.A, 490-1-0-0-1115 - 71 – 2/1-4).

Yayımlanan tamimler, halkevlerinin mevcut durumunu ve spor araç-gereçlerinin envanterini ortaya çıkartacaktı. Bu kapsamda yurdun değişik yörelerindeki halkevlerinden mevcut durumu yansıtan cevaplar gelmiş, ihtiyaç listeleri ve eksiklikler belirtilmişti. (C.A, 490-1-0-0-1099 - 16 – 1/1-28) Örneğin, Edirne Halkevi'nin spor yapmaya elverişli bir salonu olmadığı için "CHP'ye ait 8X8 ebatında bir saloncuktan" yararlanılması sağlanmıştır. Ayrıca Parti ve Halkevi binalarının yan ve arka tarafındaki avludan da yararlanmaları istenmiştir. Edirne Halkevi'nin bu alanda eskiden olduğu gibi tenis sporuyla meşgul olmaya devam etmesi istenmiş mahalli kulüplere verilen güreş minderlerinin geri alınarak serbest güreş çalışmalarını kapalı salonda başlatmaları vurgulanmıştır. Halkevine sağlanan barfiks ve portik gibi aletlerin avluya yerleştirilerek jimnastik çalışmalarına başlanması da istenmiştir. Yine CHP Genel Sekreterliğince gönderilen atış tüfekleriyle ordu komutanlığınca verilen hakiki mermilerden de istifade edilerek kısa süre içinde atıcılık sporunun yaygınlaştırılması kararlaştırılmıştır.

Edirne'de yaygınlaştırılması istenen diğer spor dallar ise süngü mübârezesi, sıklet atma ve bisiklet sporlarıdır. Bu spor dalları için gerekli olan mübâreze tüfekleri ve sıklet araç-gereçleri

de temin edilmiştir. Ayrıca üzerinde önemle durulan spor dallarından biri de serbest güreştir. Kırkpınar geleneğinin devam ettiği muhitte serbest güreşin de gelişmesi amaçlanmış ve güreşin “nâzım bir el” e teslim edileceği, güreşçiler için 3 güreş brandası, 18 güreş pırpıtı vb araç-gereç temin edilip gönderileceği, Lalapaşa, Tatarlar ve Süloğlu köylerinde birer “serbest güreş ocağı” kurulacağı hatırlatılarak bu işlerle Edirne milletvekili Fuat Balkan’ın bizzat ilgileneceği ifade edilmiştir.

Edirne Halkevi’nin yanı sıra Uzunköprü, Havsa, Keşan, İpsala ve Meriç Halkevlerinin belirtilen eksiklikleri de giderilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu cümleden olmak üzere Halkevlerine güreş brandası, pırpıt, filit tulumbası, sıklet atma güllesi gönderilmesi kararlaştırılmıştır.

Kırklareli ili kapsamında Kırklareli, Lüleburgaz, Vize, Babaeski Halkevleri spor şubelerine de güreş brandası, pırpıt, filit tulumbası, sıklet atma güllesi, barfiks, ve portik gönderilmesi kararlaştırılmıştı. Babaeski Halkevine ayrıca bir güreş minderi, 30 filit tulumbası, bir atış tüfeği, bir masa tenisi, bir basketbol takımı malzemesi, altı duvar ısıpalyası (herek, sırtık), bir atlama kasası, bir atlama sehпасı, beş barfiks ve portik, 20 sıklet atma güllesi, on mübâreze tüfeği, dört boks eldiveni, göğüslük, 20 talim bastonu, 20 talim lobutu ve acılar için de bir müteharrik hedef gönderileceği kayıt altına alınmıştır.

Tekirdağ ve Çorlu Halkevlerine de 18 branda, 18 filit tulumbası, 80 pırpıt, bir atış tüfeği, bir masa tenisi, bir basketbol takımı malzemesi, voleybol takımı malzemesi, altı duvar ısıpalyası (herek, sırtık), bir atlama kasası, bir atlama sehпасı, 19 barfiks ve portik, on sıklet atma güllesi, 20 mübâreze tüfeği, sekiz boks eldiveni, göğüslük, 20 talim bastonu, 20 talim lobutu gönderilmesi kararlaştırılmış; Trakya bölgesi sportif faaliyetlerin geliştirilmesi için de Beden Eğitimi Genel Direktörlüğü uzmanlarından Abbas Sakarya’nın görevlendirildiği kaydedilmiştir (C.A, 490-1-0-0-1099 - 16 – 1/1-24).

CHP Genel Sekreterliğince Karaağaç, Yalvaç, Bolu, Nazilli, Muğla, Salihli, Mudurnu, İzmit, Mersin, Antalya, Afyon, Uşak, Burdur, Kütahya, Isparta, Çanakkale Halkevlerine gönderilen Halkevi spor şubelerinin ihtiyaç duyduğu spor malzemeleri ve araç-gereçleri de örnek teşkil etmesi bakımından buraya alınmıştır. Bunlar; ufki parmaklık, çekme halatı, metsinbol (kilo 3), güreş minderi ve branda, şakulî çerçeve, atlama kasası (büyük), atlama kasası (küçük), atlama sehпасı, tırmanma halatı, güreş donu, masa tenisi, sıklet atma güllesi, atlama minderi, savurma topu (1 kilo), süngü mübâreze T. (tahta), süngü mübâreze T. (demir), maske, eldiven ve göğüslük, süngü talimi kum torbası, tüfek sehпасı, voleybol malzemesi, kılıç eldiveni, kılıç namlusu, boks idman topu, boks eldiveni, boks idman torbası, tahta mübâreze tüfeği, demir mübâreze tüfeği, kılıç-kalkan, basketbol malzemesi, punçikbal (boks malzemesi: hız topu) vb. araç-gereçlerdir (C.A, 490-1-0-0-1099 - 5 - 24 – 17 1-3).

Halkevleri sportif faaliyetlerinden biri de kır koşularıdır. Hemen hemen her halkevi tarafından düzenlenmiştir. Örneğin, Batı Anadolu halkevlerince düzenlenen bir etkinlikte kır koşusu, sıklet atma (Gülle atma) ve süngü mübarezesi yarışları gerçekleştirilmiştir. İzmit, Eskişehir, Balıkesir, Bandırma, İzmir, Denizli, Akhisar, Manisa, Bergama, Ayvalık, Edremit, Sındırgı, Bursa, Karamürsel, Adapazarı, Gönen ve İnegöl Halkevi sporcularının 1940 Şubat ve Mart aylarında katıldığı yarışlarda 3-4-5 km’lik üç ayrı kır koşusu gerçekleştirilmiş; birinci ve ikincilerine atlet, don (şort) veya fanila hediye edilmiştir. 1940 Nisanında yapılan Sıklet atma

ve Mayıs ayında yapılan süngü mübarezesi yarışmalarında ise birinci ve ikinciye 2,5 lira kıymetinde kalem hediye edilmiştir.

Kadıköy Halkevinde 02 Şubat -20 Nisan 1940 tarihleri arasında hazırlanan takvime göre 3000 metre, 4000 metre ve 5000 metre koşu, sıklet atma, süngü-kılıç, boks, atış, voleybol ve halat çekme yarışları yapılmış; dereceye girenlere ödüller verilmiştir. ( C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1100 - 19 - 1/11-12) Yarışmalara Kadıköy, Eminönü, Beyoğlu, Beşiktaş, Üsküdar, Fatih ve Bakırköy Halkevlerinin sporcuları katılmıştır (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1100 - 19 - 1/13). Yine İstanbul'da Beşiktaş Halkevi'nin ev sahipliğinde Sarıyer ve Beyoğlu Halkevlerinin katılımıyla 19 Mayıs 1941'de koşu, sıklet atma, voleybol, halat çekme ve atış yarışları düzenlenmişti (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1100 - 19 - 1/4-5).

İstanbul halkevlerince 09 Mart 1941'de altı branşta spor karşılaşmaları düzenlenmiş ve yarışmalara Eminönü, Beyoğlu, Üsküdar, Bakırköy, Fatih, Beşiktaş, Sarıyer ve Üsküdar Halkevleri katılmışlardı. Voleybol ve halat çekmede sekiz halkevi eşleşerek yarışmıştı. Bu kapsamda Eminönü-Beyoğlu Halkevleri arasında erkekler ve bayanlar müzikli jimnastik yarışmaları ile atış ve basketbol maçları da gerçekleştirilmişti (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1100 - 19 - 1/21-23). Yarışmalar sonrasında da ilk iki dereceye giren sporcular, 12 adet kupa, vazo ve büst verilerek ödüllendirilmiştir (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1100 - 19 - 1/20).

1940'da Kütahya, Bursa, Eskişehir, Edremit, Balıkesir, Manisa, Akhisar, Bergama, Bandırma, İzmir, Ayvalık, Kastamonu, Gönen, Denizli, Bolu, İzmit, Sındırgı, Karamürsel, Adapazarı, İnegöl ve Sinop gibi il ve ilçe halkevlerince değişik dallarda spor yarışları düzenlenmiş; CHP Genel Sekreterliğince masrafları karşılanmıştı (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1100 - 20 - 1/31). 1941'de Manisa, Bolu, Denizli, Sinop, İzmir, Kütahya, Kocaeli, Eskişehir, Balıkesir ve 1943'te de fuarı münasebetiyle İzmir'de sportif etkinlikler düzenlenmiştir (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1100 - 20 - 1/1-30).

Değişik yörelerdeki halkevleri, kültürel özellikler ve iklim şartlarının şekillendirdiği yörelerine has spor dallarını ve sportif faaliyetlerini CHP Genel Sekreterliğine farklı zamanlarda yazdıkları yazılarda belirtmiş olmalarına karşın, bu tamim doğrultusunda ayrıntılı bilgilendirmeler yaparak ihtiyaç listelerini de oluşturmuşlardı. Özellikle iklim şartları ve tabii coğrafi özellikleri bakımından yörelerinde devamlı kar örtüsü bulunan ülkenin Doğu ve güneydoğu kesimi dışında Bursa, Bolu, Karadeniz'in kuzey iç kesimleri, Ankara, Yozgat, Kayseri, Antalya ve Mersin'in yüksek kesimlerinde öne çıkan spor dalı kayaktı. Ağrı, Bingöl, Bitlis, Ankara, Antalya (C.A, 490-1-0-0-1101-22-1), Bursa, Diyarbakır, Tunceli, Elazığ, Erzincan, Erzurum, Giresun, Isparta ve Mersin Halkevlerinin spor şubeleri kayak sporuyla ilgili faaliyetlerini ve sportif faaliyetleri sürdürebilmek için gerekli araç-gereçlerin temin edilmesine ilişkin taleplerini bildirmişlerdi (C.A, 490-1-0-0-1101-23-1). Sportif faaliyetler içinde önemli bir yeri olan Kayak sporuyla ilgili değişik yörelerde her yıl yarışlar düzenlenmekte, etkinliklerle ilgili bilgiler hazırlanan raporlarla CHP Genel Sekreterliğine iletilmekteydi. Nitekim, Sarıkamış'ta General Kamil Başakçı'nın himayesinde gelenekselleşen kayak yarışları 27 Ocak 1945'te Gümüşhane, Bayburt, Aşkale, Erzurum, Hasankale, Göle ve Sarıkamış Halkevlerine mensup kayakçıların katılımıyla gerçekleştirilmişti (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1101 - 24 - 1/176). Yarışlar iki farklı disiplinde gerçekleştirilecekti. Birincisi 1500 metre iniş, ikincisi ise 12-18 km mukavemet kapulu inişti (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1101 - 24 - 1/180-184). Erzurum'dan Ahmet



Yağızkurt, İhsan Şafak, Zeki Ervakit, Necati Karşlı, Reşat Aksoy, Lütfi Avcıoğlu ve Cemil Kutlu isimli kayakçıların katılacağı belirtilmişti (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1101 - 24 - 1/172-173). Göle Halkeviden de Sıddık Yeni, Zeki Gültekin ve Selim Kılıç katılmıştı (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1101 - 24 - 1/175). Kazananlara bir şamdan ve iki tepsi hediye edilmişti (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1101 - 24 - 1/176). Yine aynı tarihlerde Kayseri ve Sivas kayakçılarının katılımıyla Gemerek'te bir kayak yarışı düzenlenmiş ve CHP Genel Sekreterliğince kazanan kayakçı için bir gümüş tepsi hediye edilmesi düşünülmüştü (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1101 - 24 - 1/178; C.A, 490-1-0-0- 5 - 25 – 9/1-3).

Lüks olmaktan ve yabancılarla azınlıklara münhasır bir spor dalı olmaktan çıkartılıp halkın yapabileceği bir spor haline getirilen tenis de değişik yörelerin halkevlerinde yaygınlaştırılmaya çalışılmış; müsabakalar düzenlenmiştir. Şükrü Saraçoğlu'nun kurucu üyeliğini üstlendiği Ankara Tenis kulübü de bu anlamda faaliyete geçmişti. İstanbul'da da 1946'da dört kortta yapılan tenis maçları, İstanbul valisinin gayretleriyle 1947 yılında yedi kortta yapılmaya başlamış; halkın tenise ilgisi de artmıştı. Ayrıca Gaziantep ve Elazığ gibi illerde de tenis kortları yapılmaya başlanmıştı ( C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1097 - 9 – 1/ 1-30).

Ulus Gazetesi de 18 Haziran 1941'de "Ulus maçı" adıyla tenis turnuvası tertip edeceğini duyurarak tenisin gelişimine katkı sağlamıştır (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1097 - 9 – 1/ 31). Ayrıca futbol (ayak topu) diğer bölgelerde olduğu gibi buralarda da revaçta idi. Hemen hemen her ilde ve ilçede futbol takımı mevcuttu. Çoğu yerde halkevi futbol kulüpleri oluşturulmuştu.

Halkevleri Spor Şubeleri bu süreçte, bütün dallarda sporun modern usullerle yapılmasına yönelik çalışmalara öncelik vermiş; Batıda gerçekleştirilen çalışmalar araştırılmış ve yayın faaliyetleri yakından takip edilmiştir. TİCİ Atletizm Federasyonu başkanı Burhaneddin Bey tarafından tercüme edilerek yayımlanan "Modern Atletizm, Atletin El Kitabı" CHP 6. Bürosu marifetiyle bütün halkevlerine dağıtılmış, modern anlamda atletizmin yeşertilmesine çalışılmıştır (C.A, 490-1-0-0-1100 - 20 – 1/44-328). Yine atletizmle ilgili Batılı usullerin tanıtıldığı ve 1941 yılında Burhan Felek tarafından tercüme edilen "Beynelmilel Amatör Atletizm Federasyonu El Kitabı" ile atletizm dalında amatör sporcuların yetişmesine katkı sağlamak amaçlanmıştı (C.A, 490-1-0-0-1100 - 20 – 1/329-490). Bu kitapla birlikte çeşitli spor dallarına ait hazırlanan veya tercüme edilen el kitapları da CHP 6. Büro marifetiyle Halkevi spor şubelerine dağıtılmış, eğitici yayınlarla sporcular, bilinçli bir şekilde spora yönlendirilmek istenmiştir. Örneğin "Kürekçiliğin Talim ve Terbiyesine Methâl", Kürek Federasyonu tarafından hazırlanan "Kürekçilik" ve "Atletizm levhaları" ve Kerim A. Bükey tarafından hazırlanan "Tenis" kitabı, Beden Terbiyesi Genel Müdürlüğünce çıkartılan "Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor Mecmuası" vb. basılı dokümanlar, gönderilen halkevlerince memnuniyetle karşılanmış, sporcuların hizmetine sunulacağı belirtilmiştir (C.A, 490-1-0-0-14 - 74 – 1/1-7; C.A, 490-1-0-0-1097 - 9 – 1/8; C.A, 490-1-0-0-1097 - 9 – 1/32-208; C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1300 - 320 - 2).

Halkevlerinin bir başka misyonu da 19 Mayıs gençlik ve spor bayramlarının il, ilçe ve köylerde kutlanması sırasında etkin rol almalarıdır. Valilik, il milli eğitim müdürlükleriyle işbirliği içinde CHP Genel Sekreterliğince gönderilen talimatlar doğrultusunda kutlamalar ve (C.A, 490-1-0-0-4-16-7; 490-1-0-0-198-353-5), çeşitli etkinlikler düzenlemiştir. Halkevi sporcularıyla spor

alanlarında gerçekleştirilen etkinlikleri, halkevi salonlarında verilen konferans ve konserler takip etmiştir (Aydın, 2018).

### **Sonuç**

Halkevleri Spor Şubeleri, yurt genelinde sporu ve sportif faaliyetleri yaygınlaştırarak sporda yerel kurumsal yapılar oluşturmak ve bunun devamlılığını sağlamak gibi önemli görevler üstlenmiştir. Türk milletinin ve özellikle de Türk gençliğinin spora ve beden eğitimine ilgisini artırıp sporu millî ve kişisel bir alışkanlık haline getirmeyi temel prensip edinen. Halk Evleri buldukları yerlerde; atıcılık, güreş, futbol, voleybol, basketbol, eskrim, cirit, kayak, yüzme, jimnastik, boks gibi spor dalları yanında halat çekme ve kır koşusu vb alanlarda etkinlikler düzenlemiştir. Dereceye girenler ödüllendirilmiş, spor ve sporcuyu desteklemek için gerekli malzemeler de sağlanmıştır. Bugün bile ülkemizde revaçta olmayan tenis, boks eskrim, jimnastik gibi sporlar Halk Evleri aracılığıyla ülke genelinde yaygınlaştırılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Türk İnsanın farklı spor dalları ve sportif faaliyetlerle tanıştırmayı hedefleyen Halkevi Spor şubelerinin arkasındaki güç ise CHP Genel Sekreterliğidir. Bazı spor dallarının lüks hatta yabancılar ve gayri Müslimlerin tekelinde olduğu bir dönemde Türk halkının da yapabileceği bir spora dönüştürülmesi ve yaygınlaştırılması fikri CHP Genel Sekreterliğine aittir. Türkiye İdmân Cemiyetleri İttifakı ve ardılları olan Türk Spor Kurumu ve Beden Terbiyesi Genel Müdürlüğü ile işbirliği halinde sporun yaygınlaştırılması için dönemin zor şartlarında önemli bir bütçe ayırmış; genç yeteneklerin kazanılması amaçlanmıştır.

Ne yazık ki bu kadar emek, para ve zaman ayırmalarına karşın sportif faaliyetler ulaşılamamıştır. Yurt genelinde spor şubeleri aracılığıyla başlatılan spor seferberliğiyle bugün her biri güçlü birer spor akademisi olması gereken kurumsal yapılar ve her spor dalını temsil eden amatör ve profesyonel spor kulüpleri olması gerekirdi.

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**Malatya Halkevi ve Sportif Faaliyetleri (1932-1951)**

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**Özet**

Malatya Halkevi, 19 Şubat 1932 yılında kurulan Halkevlerinden biri olup yörenin eğitim, kültür ve sanat alanında gelişmesine katkı sağlayan önemli bir misyona sahiptir. Dokuz şube halinde teşkilatını tamamlayan Malatya Halkevi'nin önemli bir çalışma alanı da sportif faaliyetlere katkı sağlamak olmuştur. Malatya Halkevi Spor Şubesi, yörenin spor potansiyelini tespit ederek spor kulüplerin kurulmasına öncülük ettiği gibi, ata sporu güreş başta olmak üzere atıcılık, boks, futbol, cirit gibi spor dallarının gelişmesine de imkân sağlamıştır. CHP Genel Sekreterliğince sağlanan maddî imkânlarla ilgili spor dalına ait fiziki mekânların oluşturulması, spor malzemelerinin temini ve sportif faaliyetlerin organize edilmesi gibi önemli görevleri yerine getirmiştir. Malatya Halkevi yakın çevresine örnek olacak şekilde kendi bünyesinde Fırıtspor adıyla bir futbol takımı da oluşturmuş, hem Malatya'da hem de çevre illerin futbol takımlarıyla deplasmanlı turnuvalar düzenlemiştir.

Malatya Halkevinin önemli bir misyonu da millî gün ve bayramlarda etkin bir rol üstlenmesidir. Bu kapsamda Cumhuriyet Bayramı, 23 Nisan Egemenlik ve Çocuk Bayramı ve 30 Ağustos Zafer Bayramının yanı sıra konumuzla yakından ilgili olan 19 Mayıs Gençlik ve Spor Bayramı etkinliklerini de düzenlemiştir; Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde Türk millî kimliğinin inşasına katkı sağlamıştır. Malatya Halkevi, 1932-1951 yılları arasında spor şubesinin faaliyetleri kapsamında yörenin değişik dallarıyla sporun gelişmesine katkı yapmış, önemli sporcuların yetişmesine imkân sağlamıştır.

Nitel bir çalışma olan araştırmamızda doküman analizi tekniği kullanılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Malatya Halkevi, spor, ata sporu, cirit, futbol

**Sportive Activities of Malatya Community Center (1932-1951)**

**Abstract**

Malatya Community Center, established on February 19, 1932, is one of the Community Centers contributing significantly to the region's development in education, culture, and the

arts. Completing its organization in nine branches, Malatya Community Center has played a crucial role in supporting sports activities. The Sports Branch of Malatya Community Center has facilitated the identification of the region's sports potential, leading to the establishment of sports clubs and contributing to the development of sports disciplines such as traditional wrestling, marksmanship, boxing, football, and javelin. It has fulfilled essential tasks, including creating physical spaces for sports disciplines, providing sports equipment, and organizing sporting activities, with financial support from the CHP General Secretariat. As an example for its surrounding areas, Malatya Community Center has even formed a football team named "Fıratspor" within its structure and organized tournaments with both local and neighboring city football teams.

Another significant mission of Malatya Community Center is its active role in national days and holidays. In this context, it has organized events for Republic Day, April 23 National Sovereignty and Children's Day, August 30 Victory Day, and particularly relevant to our topic, May 19 Youth and Sports Day. The center has contributed to the construction of the Turkish national identity in the early years of the Republic. Between 1932 and 1951, through the activities of its sports branch, Malatya Community Center has made contributions to the development of sports in various fields in the region and provided opportunities for the emergence of noteworthy athletes.

Our research, a qualitative study, utilized the document analysis technique.

**Keywords:** Malatya Community Center, sports, ancestral sport, javelin, football

## **Giriş**

Cumhuriyetin ilânıyla birlikte siyasal, sosyal, toplumsal, kültürel ve ekonomik alanda birçok inkılâp gerçekleştirilmişti. Ancak mevcut yapı içinde Türk Ocakları ile yapılan inkılâpların halka gerektiği gibi anlatılamaması sorunuyla karşı karşıya kalınmıştı (Sarınay: 1992; Üstel: 1997). Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi değerlerinin özümsemesi, inkılâpların geniş halk kitlelerince benimsenmesi için milli kimlik inşasını sağlayacak yeni bir kültür kurumuna ihtiyaç duyulmuştu. Bu anlamda arayışlar sürerken Avrupa'da öğrenim gören Vildan Aşir Savaşır'ın Ankara Radyosunda Çekoslovakya'daki Sokol adlı kuruluşlarla ilgili konuşması Atatürk'ün dikkatini çekmiş, Vildan Aşir'in önerisini uygulanabilir bulmuştu. Vildan Aşir Savaşır, Türkiye'de "halkevleri" ya da "halkın evi" adıyla yeni bir örgütlenmeye gidilebileceğini ifade etmişti(Savaşır, 1977:20-28). Sonuçta, Dr. Reşit Galip, Halkevi çalışmalarını yürütmekle görevlendirilmiş; Ankara Türk Ocağı binasında bir dizi toplantı gerçekleştirilerek Türk Ocaklarının yerini alacak şekilde Halkevlerinin kuruluşunu tamamlamıştı.

CHP bünyesinde oluşturulan Halkevlerinin kuruluş işlemlerinin tamamlandığı, CHP Genel Sekreteri, Recep Peker tarafından yurt genelinde duyurulmuştu (CHF, 1933: 90; Toksoy, 2007: 29-30). Ardından 19 Şubat 1932'de Adana, Afyon, Ankara, Aydın, Bursa, Çanakkale, Denizli, Diyarbakır, Eskişehir, İstanbul, İzmir, Konya, Samsun ve Van Halkevleri açılmıştı (Erim,1970: 411).

Halkevleri, CHP Genel Yönetim Kurulunca hazırlanan ve genel başkanlıkça onaylanan bir talimatnameyle kurulmuş ve 1951 yılına kadar Halkevleriyle ilişkilerde ilgili talimatnameler etkili olmuştur (Özacun, 2001: 1) CHP Genel Sekreterliğince 1932’de yayımlanan “Halkevleri Teşkilat, İdare ve Mesai Talimatnamesi”yle yurt genelinde halkevlerinin örgütlenmesi, yönetimi ve şubeleriyle ilgili kurallar belirlenmişti.

Halkevleri; Dil-Tarih ve Edebiyat, Güzel Sanatlar, Temsil, Spor, İçtimaî Yardım, Kütüphane ve Neşriyat, Köycülük, Halk Dershaneleri-Kurslar ve Müze-Sergi Şubelerinden oluşmuştu (CHP, 1932: 3-4). Her şube farklı görevler yüklenmesine karşın Halkevi bünyesinde şubeler arasında tam bir işbirliği hâkimdi. Bir il veya ilçe merkezinde halkevi açılırken dokuz şubenin aynı anda açılma zorunluluğu olmayıp, asgari şartlar aranmıştı (CHP, 1940: 3). Ancak en az üç şubenin oluşmasını sağlayacak üye sayısının bulunması; en az 200 kişilik bir salonu olması ve Halkevi kütüphanesinin oluşturulması şarttı.

Konumuzu ilgilendiren Spor Şubesi, en az diğer çalışma alanları kadar önemli sayılmıştı. Zirâ Spor şubeleri, Türk halkı nezdinde spor ve beden hareketlerine karşı sevgi ve ilgi uyandırıp millî bir faaliyet alanı oluşturacaktı. Halkevi spor şubeleri, dönemin yetkin spor kurumu olan Türkiye İdman Cemiyeti İttifakına bağlı olup olmamasına bakmaksızın bütün spor kuruluşlarının gelişme ve ilerlemesine yardım etmekle görevlendirilmişti. Spor kulübü bulunmayan yörelerde ise spor kulübü kurulmasını, gençlerin spor kulüplerine girmesini ve gerçek birer sporcu olarak yetişmesini teşvik edecekti (Aydın, 2016: 1681). Yine aynı şubenin çalışma programında bireylerin bir veya iki yılda bir yerel jimnastik günleri düzenlemek; üç dört yılda bir de büyük jimnastik bayramları yapmak; yaya veya vasıtalı geziler düzenlemek gibi görevleri bulunmaktaydı (CHP, 1940: 19). Halkevi bünyesinde yörenin iklim şartları ve kültürel özelliklerine uygun sportif faaliyetler içinde ata sporu olarak bilinen güreş başta olmak üzere futbol (ayak topu), jimnastik, boks, kayak, eskrim, judo, basketbol, voleybol, avcılık, atıcılık, halat çekme, kır koşusu ve süngü mübârezesi rağbet gören spor dallarıydı (CHP, 1942: 6-8; CHP, 1932: 8).

### **Malatya Halkevi**

Malatya Halkevi, CHP Malatya il merkezi olarak da kullanılan Türk Ocağı binasında açılmıştır. CHP İl Başkanı Osman Hilmi Taner’in başkanlığında 19 Şubat 1932 tarihinden itibaren çalışmalarına başlamıştır. Fizikî konumu itibarıyla Malatya Halkevi binası, bugünkü Gazi İlkokulu’nun karşısında yer alan ve Atatürk Evi olarak kullanılan taş binadır. Malatya Halkevi 1951 yılına kadar çalışmalarını sürdürmüştür (Aydın, 2016: 1683).

Spor Şubesi Malatya Halkevinin kuruluşundan itibaren önem verilen şubelerden biri olmuştur. 1932-1934 yılları arasında futbol (ayak topu), voleybol (el topu), güreş, bisiklet, cirit, avcılık, atletizm gibi birçok dalda sportif faaliyetlere imza atmıştır (CHP, 1934: 59; CHP, 1935: 78). 1933 yılında Halkevi Spor şubesine kayıtlı üye sayısı 35 kişi olarak görünmektedir. Mesleki dağılıma göre 2’si öğretmen, 8’ tüccar, 19’u işçi olmak üzere toplamda 35 kişidir (CHP, 1934:116-117).

O tarihlerde sportif faaliyetlerini müstakil olarak sürdürmekte olan Fırat Spor Kulübünü 1935’te bünyesine katarak; futbolu, Malatya’da popüler hale getirmiştir. Malatya Halkevi Futbol takımı, Elazığ, Sivas, Diyarbakır, Adana, Gaziantep, Konya, Samsun, Mersin ve Sinop

illeri futbol takımlarıyla karşılıklı futbol ve voleybol maçları yapmış, Malatya’da amatör futbol liginin oluşmasına hizmet etmiştir (CHP, 1936, 89).

Malatya’da ilk resmî kulüp 1932 ‘de kurulan Fırat Spor’dur. Kırmızı-Beyaz formasıyla Halkevi spor şubesinin en önemli temsilcisi olmuştur. Halkevi başkanlığının “**Ocak 1935’ten Aralık 1935’e kadar faaliyet raporu**” başlıklı değerlendirmede “Fırat Spor adıyla ayrı yaşayan takım da bu yıl evimize iltihak etti. Bu suretle evimiz spor kolu kuvvetlendi. Ancak il genel meclisinden 300 lira yardım gören Fırat Spor ilkin evimiz disiplinine uymakta zorluk göstermiştir. Evimiz bunlara ayrılan bütçenin, bu kola ayırt ettiği paranın üç mislini harcadığı halde yine keyif ve arzularına göre hareket etmek meylini göstermekten vazgeçmiyorlar. Bununla beraber önemli teşebbüsler ve başarılar olmuştur” diyerek Fırat Sporun Halkevi bünyesine alındığını biraz da sitemkâr bir dille açıklamıştır (C.A, 490-1-0-0-989-829-2/16). Fırat Spor, Halkevine katıldıktan sonra Malatya’ya davet edilen Sivas Spor takımıyla 26 Haziran 1935’te maç yapmış ve 1-0 kazanmıştır. Aynı zamanda voleybol maçı da gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Fırat Spor, yine Malatya’ya davet edilen Elaziz Spor takımıyla da 12 Temmuz 1935’te yaptığı iki maçtan birini 1-0 kazanmış; diğerinde de 0-0 berabere kalmıştır (Fırat Gazetesi, 1935:16 Temmuz). Fırat Spor, 28 Ekim 1935’te de Elazığ’a gitmiş; orada yapılan futbol maçında ise 1-1 berabere kalmıştır Karşılıklı davetler sonucu yapılan maçlar, Malatya Halkevine 300 liralık bir masraf çıkartmış ama gençlerin birbirlerini ve farklı yöreleri tanımaları yönünden büyük faydalar sağlamıştır.

Fırat Spor, Malatya Halkevi bünyesinde spor yapan Malatya lise takımıyla da üç futbol maçı yapılmış; maçlarda Liseliler galip gelmişti. Alınan sonuç, Malatya’da futbol alt yapısının güçlenerek geldiğini göstermekteydi. Gerçekten de Malatya’da spor kolu gençlere sağlanan imkânlar sayesinde gelişmeye başlamıştı. 1935’te Spor kolu faaliyetleri yaz-kış devam etmiş; Halkevinin karşında olan Lise ve ilkokul öğrencilerinden 10-15 yaş aralığındakiler Halkevi voleybol sahasında öğle ve akşam tatillerinde her gün voleybol oynama imkânı bulmuşlardı. 15 yaşından büyük olanlar da takım halinde antrenör ve hakem gözetiminde programlı olarak futbol oynamışlardı. Ayrıca bu yaş grubundaki sporculara Halkevinde bir oda tahsis edilmiş, Halkevi bitişiğindeki saha da bunlara verilmişti.

02 Ocak 1936 tarihli rapora göre 1935’te Spor şubesine kayıtlı üye sayısı 28 kişi görünmektedir. Mesleki dağılıma göre üyelerin sayısı 6’sı öğretmen, 22’si işçi olmak üzere toplamda 28 kişidir. Spor şubesi başkanı Ahmet Fırat çiftçi, üyelere Muammer Aktan Lise öğretmeni ve Zahit Atay da öğretmendir (C.A, 490-1-0-0-989-829-2/20; CHP, 1936: 142-143).

Spor şubesi, 1935 yılında 16 komite toplantısına katılmış; kendi bünyesinde ise iki toplantı gerçekleştirmiş ve bu toplantılara toplamda 120 kişi gelmiştir. Spor şubesi 1935’te üç etkinlik düzenlemiş ve 113 kişi etkinliğe rağbet göstermiştir. Bu sayı etkinliklere ilginin az olduğunu göstermektedir.

Halkevi bütçesinin el verdiği ölçüde sportif faaliyetlere devam eden spor şubesi, 1936 yılında bir tenis, bir voleybol ve bir futbol sahası oluşturma gayreti içine girmiş; ayrıca futbol için bir stadyuma duyulan ihtiyacı dile getirmiştir (C.A, 490-1-0-0-989-829-2/17).

Halkevi spor şubesinin katkılarıyla ata sporumuz güreşle ilgili olarak ödüllü güreş müsabakaları da düzenlenmiştir (C.A, 490 1-0-0-1005-878-1/58; C.A, 490 1-0-0-989-829-2; Malatya Valiliği, 1938: 29- 31; Fırat Gazetesi. 1935: 14 Ağustos).

Halkevi spor şubesi, 1936 yılında kurulan Türk Spor kurumuyla iş birliği içinde sportif faaliyetlere devam etmiştir. Fırat Spor da futbol maçlarını sürdürmüştü; 30 Ağustos 1936 Pazar günü İstasyon takımıyla maç yapmış ve 3-1 kazanmıştır (Fırat gazetesi,1936: 1 Eylül).

Malatya Halkevi'nin 1937 yılı ilk altı aylık raporlarına bakıldığında Spor şubesinin sportif faaliyetlerinde büyük bir sıçrama yaşandığı görülmektedir. Değişik branşlarda spor müsabakaları yapılmıştır. Halkevi civarındaki spor sahasından başka ikinci bir saha teminine ve Halkevi sporcularının federe edilmesine çalışıldığı ifade edilmektedir. Halkevi Başkanı Faruk Yakın, bu sayede oluşacak rekabetten yeni yeni kabiliyetli gençlerin sayısının artacağını belirtmiştir (C.A, 490-1-0-0-989-829-2/5).

Malatya halkevinin 01 Temmuz 1937 tarihli ilk altı aylık faaliyet kayıtlarına göre; Spor şubesine kayıtlı üye sayısı 56'dır. Bunlardan 13'ü öğretmen, 5'i tüccar, 23'ü işçi ve 15'i ise çiftçidir(C.A, 490-1-0-0-989-829-2/7). Spor şubesi başkanı Zahit Atay öğretmen, üyelerden Ahmet Fırat çiftçi, Dursun İnal da memurdur. Halkevi Kütüphanesinde sporla ilgili 27 kitap mevcuttur (C.A, 490-1-0-0-989-829-2/8). Spor şubesi mensupları, bu dönemde 17 komite toplantısına katılmış; kendi bünyesinde ise 6 toplantı yapmış ve bu toplantılara 220 kişi katılmıştır. 1937 yılı ilk altı ayında geziler tertip edilmiş; toplu, yaya, atlı yürüyüşlerle 3 kez av gezisi tertip edilmiş olup bu etkinliklere 113 kişi katılmıştır (C.A, 490-1-0-0-989-829-2/10). Bu kapsamda 1937'de Malatya'da Vali İbrahim Ethem Akıncı'nın himayesinde Avcılık Kurumu kurulmuş; Halkevi spor şubesiyle birlikte av yürüyüşleri yapılmıştır (Malatya Vilayeti, 1938; Fırat Gazetesi, 1937: 6 Ağustos). Ayrıca İsmetpaşa Parkı'ndaki yazlık sinema salonunda Malatya Halkevi Spor Şubesinin öncülüğünde birçok pehlivanın katıldığı güreş müsabakaları düzenlenmiştir. İkişer ikişer karşılaşan 8 pehlivandan Balıkesirli Ramazan pehlivan Malatya'nın Kileyik Köyü'nden Abdullah pehlivanı; Malatya Aşağıbağlar Köyünden Kadir pehlivan Hasan pehlivanı; Divriğili Ethem Göçmen pehlivan da Eyüp pehlivanı yenmişti. Kileyikli Mustafa Çavuşoğlu ise köylüsü Şükrü pehlivanla berabere kalmıştı(Fırat Gazetesi, 1937: 3 Eylül).

Halkevi, milli bayramların kutlanmasında da öncülük etmişti. Nitekim 1937 yılında 19 Mayıs Gençlik ve Spor Bayramı etkinliklerinin hazırlanmasında Vilâyet ve Belediye ile işbirliği halinde CHP Genel Sekreterliğince gönderilen talimatı uygulamışlardı. Malatya Valisi ve CHP İlyönkurul Başkanı İbrahim Akıncı'nın 03 Haziran 1937 tarihli yazısında belirtildiği gibi 19 Mayıs Bayramı, Ankara'dan gönderilen talimatnameler doğrultusunda vilayetin bütün kaza, nahiye ve köylerinde kutlanmıştı. Birçok merkez, spor hareketleriyle canlandırılmıştı. Bayram Vilayet merkezinde binlerce öğrenci, sporcu ve halk tarafından kutlanmış; yedi farklı atletizm yarışı yapılarak kazananlara Belediye ve Halkevi tarafından ödüller verilmişti. Gecesinde ise Halkevi Temsil Şubesi tarafından sporculara Mete piyesi sunulmuştu.

Malatya'ya bağlı Adıyaman'da da bayram coşkuyla kutlanmış; Gençler Birliği sporcuları tarafından futbol ve voleybol maçları tertip edilmiş, milli oyunlar oynanmıştı.



Darende’de sporcular arasında müsabakalar tertip edilmiş, cirit ve güreş müsabakaları yapılarak kazananlara hediyeler verilmişti.

Hekimhan’da da güreş müsabakaları tertip edilmiş ve cirit oyunu oynanmıştı. Arapkir’de ise bayram şenlikleri kapsamında sürat ve tahammül yarışları yapılmıştır (C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1130-124-1/113).

CHP Genel Sekreterliğine gönderilen 30 Mayıs 1938 tarihli başka bir yazıda da 1938 yılı 19 Mayıs Gençlik ve Spor Bayramı kutlamalarına ilişkin bilgiler mevcuttur. CHP İl Yönetim kurulu başkanı İbrahim Akıncı imzasıyla Ankara’ya gönderilen yazıda bayramın Vilayetin her tarafında önceki yıllara nazaran daha canlı ve neşeli bir şekilde kutlandığı belirtilmişti. Resmi geçitten sonra jimnastik hareketleri yapılmış ve gösterilerden sonra bir futbol maçı tertip edilmiştir (Fırat Gazetesi, 1938: 27 Mayıs). Gerek Parti ve Halkevi teşkilatı olan kazalarda gerekse olmayan yerlerde teşkil edilen komiteler vasıtasıyla 19 Mayıs talimatnamesine uygun olarak yapılan programlar aynen tatbik edilmiş, merkezde halkevi ve Spor bölgesinin işbirliğiyle çok heyecanlı anlar yaşanmıştır(C.A, 490-1-0-0- 1130-124-1/112; Aydın, 2018: 294).

Malatya yerel spor haberleri belirli bir tarih aralığında Malatya Halkevi Dergisi olan Derme’den de takip edilebilmektedir. Nitekim Derme’den derlenen spor haberinin ilkinde 1944’te Mıntıka futbol birincisi olan Malatya Gençlik Kulübü’nün Mersin’deki grup birinciliklerine katıldığına dair bilgiler yer almaktadır. Malatya Gençlik, ilk maçında Diyarbakır’a karşı hükmen galip ilan edilmiş, ikinci maçında Adana takımını 5-1 yenmişti. Final maçında dokuz kişi oynamak zorunda kalan Malatya Gençlik grup birinciliğini elde edememişti. Yine aynı günlerde Malatya’da sportif faaliyetlerini sürdüren dört kulüp arasında bir teşvik turnuvası düzenlenmiş ve Fırat Gazetesi de 100 lira değerinde bir kupa takdim etmişti.

1944 Nisanının ikinci haftasında başlayan ve bir ay devam eden cirit oyunları düzenlenmişti. Halkevi düzenlediği cirit oyunlarıyla heyecanlı bir etkinliğe imza atmış, ilk üç dereceye girenlere hediyeler takdim edilmişti(Derme,1944: Sayı: 14, 20).

Halkevi Spor Şubesi üyeleri, başkan Ahmet Fırat’ın Pınarbaşı mevkiine düzenlediği yürüyüşe katılmış; orada yüzme yarışları tertip edilmişti. Halkevi, 30 Ağustos Zafer Bayramı münasebetiyle Demirspor sahasında atletizm yarışları düzenlemiş, binlerce Malatyalı izleme imkânı bulmuştur(Derme, 1944: Sayı: 15, 28).

Halkevi Spor Şubesinde kır koşuları düzenlenmiş, atletlerden Cihat Tunçay, Hikmet Menekşe, Zülküfül Kızıldaş, Celal Marköç Kayseri’de yapılacak bölgeler arası yarışlarda Malatya’yı temsil etmeye hak kazanmışlardı(Derme,1945: Sayı: 16, 24).

1945 Haziranında Halkevi güreş antrenörü Necati Bey tarafından Malatya’da ilk kez ağırlık üzerine tasnif yapılmak üzere serbest güreş turnuvası düzenlenmiş,8sekiz takım davet edilmiş olmasına karşın Maraş güreş takımı gelebilmişti. İki gün süren takım müsabakalarında Maraş takımı birinci olmuştu(Derme,1945: Sayı: 17, 23).

1946 ilkbaharında Halkevi I. ve II. Atletizm koşuları gerçekleştirilmiş; yarışlara katılan yüzlerce atlet arasından dereceye girenler ödüllendirilmişti(Derme,1946: Sayı: 18, 31). Yine 1946 yılı 23 Nisan çocuk Bayramı münasebetiyle Halkevi tarafından Mensucat Fabrikası

sahasında atletizm yarışmaları düzenlenmişti. Kalabalık bir seyirci tarafından izlenen yarışlarda dereceye girenlere törenle ödül dağıtımı yapılmıştı. Ayrıca Malatya’da sportif faaliyetlerini sürdüren Malatya Gençlik, Demirspor, Mekikspor ve Havagücü futbol takımlarının katılımıyla CHP Kupası adıyla dördü turnuva tertip edilmişti. Yaklaşık bir ay devam eden maçlar sonucunda şampiyonluğu Havagücü Futbol takımı kazanmıştı. Havagücü’ne Şampiyonluk kupası CHP İl İdare başkanı tarafından 23 Nisan 1946’da verimesi kararlaştırılmıştı(Derme,1946: Sayı: 19, 24).

Halkevi Spor şubesi, gerçekleştirilecek faaliyetler için CHP Genel Sekreterliğine sık sık müracaat ederek değişik spor dallarına ait araç-gereç talep etmiş ve spor alanlarının güncellenmesini, yeni alanlar açılmasını istemiştir. Bu kapsamda Darende Halkevi de voleybol, hentbol ve boks spor dalına ait ihtiyaçlarının karşılanması için talepte bulunmuş; N. Kansu imzasıyla CHP Genel Sekreterliğinden gelen 20 Mart 1945 tarihli yazıyla isteklerinin karşılandığı ve istenilen spor malzemelerinin posta ile gönderildiği belirtilmişti. Darende Halkevi de bir voleybol ağı, bir voleybol topu, bir hentbol topuyla dört boks eldiveni istemişti (C.A, 490-1-0-0-1124-103 – 1/5). Yine aynı gerekçelerle 22 Mayıs 1946’da Malatya Halkevi başkanı M. Karaköylü imzasıyla gönderilen yazıda, Spor şubesinde kayıtlı 120 genç sporcu olduğu belirtilerek yaz ve tatil aylarında bu gençlerin çeşitli spor faaliyetlerinde bulunmalarını temin için araç-gerece ihtiyaç duyulduğu belirtilmiştir. Ayrıca Halkevinde hiçbir spor malzemesinin bulunmadığı ve acilen güreş, atletizm ve cirit oyunlarına ait malzemelerin gönderilmesi de talep edilmişti (C.A, 490-1-0-0-1124-103-1/3). Ancak olumlu cevap alınamamıştı.

CHP Genel Sekreterliğinden gönderilen cevabi yazıda “Bütçe imkansızlığı nedeniyle istenen güreş, atletizm ve cirit oyunlarına ait malzeme gönderilememiştir. Ancak evvelce temin edilmiş ve ellerinde bulunan aşağıdaki spor malzemelerini” yolladıklarını bildirmişlerdi. Gönderilebilen spor malzemeleri ise bir voleybol topu, bir voleybol ağı ve bir hentbol topundan ibaretti (C.A, 490-1-0-0-1124-103 – 1/1).

Malatya dâhilindeki bazı Halkevleri sonraki dönemlerde de yetersizlik nedeniyle spor malzemeleri talebinde bulunmuşlardı. Örneğin Pütürge Kuyucak Halkevi adına 12 Nisan1948’de Mehmet Selçuk imzasıyla voleybol malzemesi talep edilmişti. İstenilen malzemeler gelince Halkevi başkanlığı bir teşekkür yazısı yazmış ve “gönderilen koli muhteviyatı spor malzemelerini aldık. Dileklerimiz arasında aşağıda adı geçen voleybol araç-gereçleri gençlerimizin isteklerine yeter derecede cevap vermesi bakımından onların memnuniyetlerini arz eder saygılar sunarız” denilmişti. Gönderilen malzeme arasında 12 adet voleybol donu, 12 atlet voleybol fanilas, bir voleybol ağı ile bir de voleybol topu bulunuyordu (C.A, 490-1-0-0-1124-103 – 1/4).

Aynı durumda olan Darende Halkevi de voleybol, hentbol ve boks spor dalına ait ihtiyaçlarının karşılanması için talepte bulunmuş; N. Kansu imzasıyla CHP Genel Sekreterliğinden gelen 20 Mart 1945 tarihli yazıyla isteklerinin karşılandığı ve istenilen spor malzemelerinin posta ile gönderildiği belirtilmişti. Darende Halkevi de bir voleybol ağı, bir voleybol topu, bir hentbol topuyla dört boks eldiveni istemişti (C.A, 490-1-0-0-1124-103 – 1/5).

## **Sonuç**

Cumhuriyetin ilânından sonra başlatılan eğitim ve kültür seferberliğinin tabii bir unsuru haline getirilmek istenen Halkevleri, büyük ideallerle açılmış; kısa süre içinde de yurt çapında yaygınlaştırılmıştı. Amaç, Türk milli kimliğini inşa edilmesi, Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin oluşturmaya çalıştığı yeni değerleri halka tanıtmaktı. 19 Şubat 1932’de başlatılan gönül seferberliğine Malatya ve yöresi de katılmış; 1951 yılına kadar önemli çalışmalar yapılmıştır.

Malatya Halkevlerinde diğer ilgi alanlarının yanı sıra sportif faaliyetler de öne çıkmış, başta güreş, cirit ve futbol olmak üzere bugün adlarını tam anlamıyla telaffuz edemediğimiz yeni spor dallarının Malatya’da yeşertilmesine özen gösterilmişti. Jimnastik, boks, kayak, eskrim, judo, basketbol, voleybol, avcılık, atıcılık, halat çekme, kır koşusu ve süngü mübârezesi gibi spor dallarının saha ve spor araç-gereçleri temin edilerek gençlerin spor yapması teşvik edilmiş; yeni yeteneklerin keşfedilmesi amaçlanmıştı.

Ne yazık ki mevcut imkânlar ve bütçe yetersizlikleri yanında elini taşın altına koyduğunu düşündüğümüz kimi Halkevi mensuplarının samimiyetsizliği nedeniyle o dönemde spor ve sportif faaliyetlerde ideale ulaşma çabası, yine o dönemle birlikte mazi olmuştur. Eğer o günlerde atılan maya tutsaydı; bugün her biri dünya çapında ün kazanan spor akademileri haline dönüşen marka spor kulüpleri yaratılmış olurdu.

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## **II. Dünya Savaşı Yıllarında Türkiye’de Ekonomik Alanda Alınan Olağanüstü Ekonomik Tedbirler Üzerine Örnekler**

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### **Özet**

II. Dünya Savaşı döneminde Türkiye, savaş dışı kalmayı seçmiş ve savaşan taraflar arasında bir denge politikası izlemiştir. Türkiye savaş sonuna kadar bu politikayı başarılı bir şekilde sürdürmüş olsa da, pek çok alanda II. Dünya Savaşı’nın olumsuz etkilerini hissetmiştir. Türkiye bu süreçte savaşın sebep olduğu ekonomik olumsuzluklar ile başa çıkmak ve savaşa hazırlıklı olmak amacıyla çeşitli önlemler almıştır. Bu önlemler arasında Milli Korunma Kanunu, Varlık Vergisi ve Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi gibi hukuki düzenlemeler önemli bir yer tutmaktaydı. Söz konusu tedbirlerin etkileri ekonomik hayat ile sınırlı kalmamış ve ciddi toplumsal sorunların yaşanmasına da sebep olmuştur.

1940 yılında çıkarılan Milli Korunma Kanunu, Türkiye’nin savaşa girmesi durumunda Milli Mücadele yıllarındaki gibi bir yokluk durumu ile karşılaşmasını önlemek için hazırlanmıştır. Ayrıca karaborsacılığın da engellenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Ancak uygulamada ortaya çıkan aksaklıklar toplumsal hayatta CHP Hükümetine karşı ciddi bir tepkiyi de beraberinde getirmiştir.

Savaş döneminde CHP Hükümeti tarafından alınan bir diğer olağanüstü tedbir ise Varlık Vergisi idi. Varlık Vergisi’nin amacı, piyasadaki paranın azaltılması, Türk lirasının değerinin korunması ve karaborsacılığın ortadan kaldırılması idi. Söz konusu dönemde Türkiye’de servet sahibi kimselerin önemli bir kısmının gayrimüslim olmaları, Vergi’nin uygulama safhasında ciddi tartışmalara sebep olmuştur.

Bu dönemde yürürlüğe giren bir başka olağanüstü vergi uygulaması ise Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi idi. Aşar Vergisi’ne benzetilen bu vergi de benzer şekilde olası bir savaş durumuna karşı tedbir amaçlı çıkarılmıştır. Ancak verginin uygulanması sırasında ciddi aksaklıklar yaşanmış ve çiftçiler mağdur olmuşlardır.

Çalışmamızın amacı, II. Dünya Savaşı esnasında yapılan düzenlemeler etrafında dönemin siyasi, ekonomik ve toplumsal yapısını tahlil etmektir. Çalışmamız hazırlanırken resmi belgeler ile birlikte dönemin basın- yayıncı kaynakları incelenmiştir. Ayrıca konu ile ilgili telif ve tetkik eserlerden de istifade edilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** II. Dünya Savaşı, Ekonomi, Milli Korunma Kanunu, Varlık Vergisi, Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi.

## **Examples of Extraordinary Economic Measures Taken in the Economic Field in Turkey During World War II**

### **Abstract**

During the period of World War II, Turkey chose to remain neutral and adopted a policy of balance among the warring factions. Although Turkey successfully maintained this policy until the end of the war, it experienced the negative impacts of World War II in various fields. In response to the economic adversities caused by the war and with the aim of being prepared for potential conflicts, Turkey implemented various measures. The effects of these measures extended beyond economic life, contributing to the emergence of serious societal issues.

Enacted in 1940, the National Defense Law aimed to prevent Turkey from facing scarcity similar to the National Struggle years in the event of entering the war. It also aimed to prevent black market activities. However, implementation challenges led to a significant societal backlash against the CHP Government.

Another extraordinary measure taken by the CHP Government during the war was the Wealth Tax. The purpose of the Wealth Tax was to reduce circulating money in the market, preserve the value of the Turkish lira, and eliminate black market activities. The fact that a significant portion of wealthy individuals in Turkey during that period were non-Muslims caused serious debates during the implementation phase of the tax.

Another extraordinary tax implemented during this period was the Tax on Soil Products, resembling the Asar Tax. This tax, enacted as a precautionary measure in the event of a potential war, faced serious challenges during its implementation, causing distress for farmers.

The aim of our study is to analyze the political, economic, and societal structure of the period around the regulations made during World War II. In preparing our study, official documents were examined alongside the period's press and publication sources. Additionally, copyrighted and research works on the subject were consulted.

**Keywords:** World War II, Economy, National Defense Law, Wealth Tax, Tax on Soil Products.

### **Giriş**

Türkiye, İkinci Dünya Savaşı'na katılmamış olsa da, savaşın ekonomik etkilerini yoğun biçimde yaşamıştı. Savaş, haksız kazançlar elde edilmesine neden olmuş, türedi zenginler ortaya çıkmıştı. Saraçoğlu Hükümeti tarafından takip edilen ekonomi siyaseti piyasa denetimini zayıflatmış ve kolay para kazanan çevrelerin işlerini daha da kolaylaştırmıştı. Artan haksız kazançlar, vatandaşın millî vicdanını zedelemişti. Bu şartlar, ekonomik anlamda birbirinden kopuk olan iki sınıfın ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştu. Servet biriktiren azınlık bir tarafta yer alırken, diğer tarafta geçimini zor sağlayan işçiler ve çiftçiler bulunmaktaydı. Çoğunluk, günlük ihtiyaçlarını karşılamakta güçlük çekiyordu. Sermâye sahiplerinin önemli bir kısmı kazançlarını az vergilendirmiş, bu durum vergi adaletsizliğine yol açmıştı. Ortaya çıkan

olumsuz şartları gidermek için ise dönemin hükümeti Milli Korunma Kanunu, Varlık Vergisi ve Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi idi. Savaşın neden olduğu zorlu şartlarla başa çıkmak adına alınan bu önlemler, Türk Hükümeti'ne özgü olmayıp birçok ülke tarafından benimsenmişti. ABD, Almanya, İngiltere gibi ülkeler de haksız kazançları önlemek amacıyla benzer vergi önlemleri almışlardı (Aydın, 2021: 152 vd.).

### **Milli Korunma Kanunu**

Milli Korunma Kanunu, İ. İnönü'nün direktifleri doğrultusunda hazırlanmıştı. Kanun, Savaş dönemine uygun bir iktisat politikası oluşması adına atılmış ilk adım olmuştur. İktisat Vekili Hüsnü Çakır, "İktisadi Müdafaa Kanunu" tasarısını hazırlamış, Başbakan Refik Saydam, 26 Aralık 1939 tarihinde Millî İktisâdî Korunma Kanunu'nu Meclis'e sunmuştu. Partililer bu kanunu yetersiz bulunca Recep Peker'in başkanlığında farklı bir komisyon kurulmuş ve 70 maddelik tasarı "Millî Korunma Kanunu" adıyla Meclis'e sunulmuştur (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 29 Aralık 1939; Öztürk, 2013: 141 vd.).

Millî Korunma Kanunu yasa tasarısı, Refik Saydam'ın imzası ile 15 Ocak 1940 tarihinde TBMM'ye sunulmuştu. Saydam, kanun tasarısını sunarken "*Bu kanunun tensip buyuracağınız bir muvakkat encümende müzâkeresini heyet-i celilenizden istihâm ediyorum. Kabul buyurursanız bu suretle, kanun daha kısa bir zamanda çıkmış olacaktır*" diyerek işlemlerin hızlandırılmasını temenni etmişti. Tasarının hızla incelenmesi için geçici bir encümen kurulmuş ve tasarı 16 Ocak 1940'da tartışılarak TBMM'ye sevk edilmişti (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 1940: 15 Ocak: 62 vd.).

Millî Korunma Kanunu'nun genel gerekçesi, Avrupa'da yaşanan siyasi gerginlikler ve süratle yayılan savaş tehlikesine karşı alınan tedbirler etrafında izah edilmişti. Memleketin harp dışında olmasına rağmen, istisnai durumların etkilerini önlemek ve iktisadi bakımdan tedbirler almak zarureti olduğu ifade edilmiştir (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 15 Ocak 1940: s. 64).

Millî Korunma Kanunu'na göre Koordinasyon Heyeti, Başbakan veya belirlenen bakan tarafından atanarak kararlar alacak ve Bakanlar Kurulu'na sunacaktı (Madde 7). Hükümet, halkın ihtiyaçlarını ve memleketin savunma gereksinimlerini karşılamak üzere sanayi ve maden işletmelerini kontrol edebilecek, üretim programları isteyebilecek ve vatandaşlara ücretli iş zorunluluğu getirebilecekti (Madde 9). Çalışanlara normal ücret ödenecek, işçiler işyerlerini mazeretsiz terk edemeyeceklerdi (Madde 10). Hükümet, ürünleri maliyetine kâr ekleyerek satın alabilecek ve işletmelere teslim edebilecekti (Madde 11). Kredi temini amacıyla Hükümet, işletmelere ve küçük esnafa gerekli krediyi sağlayabilecekti (Madde 12). Ürünlerin stoklanması, istifçiliğin önlenmesi ve halkın zarar görmemesi amacıyla Hükümet müdahalede bulunabilecek ve gerektiğinde ücret karşılığı el koyabilecekti (Madde 13). Boşta kalmış işletmeler Hükümet tarafından işler hale getirilebilecek (Madde 15). İşletme sahipleri zararları tazmin edilecek şekilde birleştirilen işletmelerde işletilmeye devam edecekti (Madde 16). Hükümet, işletmelerin üretimini gerçekleştirememesi durumunda el koyarak tazminat ödeyebilecek (Madde 18). Günlük çalışma saatleri artırılabilir ve İş Kanunu şartları göz ardı edilebilecekti (Madde 19). Hükümet, ithalatı düzenleyebilecek, mal miktarını belirleyebilecek ve harcamaları sınırlandırabilecekti (Madde 20-21). İhtiyaç fazlası malların yurt dışına satışları, üreticilerin menfaatlerine zarar vermeyecek şekilde Hükümet tarafından belirlenecekti (Madde



24). Hükûmet, stoklama yasağı getirerek halk ve millî savunma ihtiyaçları için üretilen malların stoklanmasını engelleyecekti (Madde 25). Hükûmet, memleket mahsullerini satın alarak veya dışarıdan mal alarak halkın ve millî savunmanın ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak üzere hareket edebilecekti (Madde- 26).

Hükûmet, iç piyasada gerekli gördüğü ürünlerin fiyatlarını belirleyebilir, haksız kazanca sebep olabilecek her faaliyeti yasaklayabilecekti (Madde 31-32). Üreticiden tüketiciye mal satanların aralarında anlaşarak halkı istismâr etmeleri yasaklanmıştı (Madde 34). Hükûmet, halkın ihtiyaçları ve memleketin güvenliğini temin için gerekli gördüğü hallerde istediği yeri kira karşılığında işgâl edebilecekti (Madde 33). Ayrıca Şehir, kasaba, iskele ve istasyonlardaki gayrimenkullerin kira bedelleri belirlenmiş ve nakil araçları üzerinde düzenlemeler yapılmıştı (Madde 30).

Hükûmet, ziraat alanında çalışan vatandaşları devlet ve özel işletmelerinde çalıştırabilecek ve gerekli gördüğü hallerde bu kimselerin ziraat araçlarını kullanmalarına izin verecekti (Madde 37). Hükümet tarım kaynakları üzerinde de kesin bir kontrol sağlamıştı. Zira lüzumlu durumlarda, ekilecek ürünlerine türlerine ve çeşitlerine Hükümet'in karar vermesi, arazi sahiplerine işletme hakkı verilmesi, zirâi ilaç ve tohumları ücretsiz veya kira karşılığında dağıtabilmesi kararlaştırılmıştı (Madde 38, 39, 42).

Kanunun sorunsuz bir şekilde uygulanması içinde bir takım tedbirler düşünülmüştü. Buna göre Kanun hükümlerine uygun davranmayan kimselere para ve hapis cezası gibi cezai hükümler uygulanacaktı (Madde 43-67) (Resmî Gazete, 26 Ocak 1940; Tan Gazetesi 19 Ocak 1940).

### **Millî Korunma Kanunu'nun Sebep Olduğu Durumlar: "Ekmeğin Karneye Bağlanması"**

Millî Korunma Kanunu'nun uygulanması esnasında ortaya çıkan buğday ve un kıtlığı nedeniyle ekmek karneye bağlanmıştı (Tan Gazetesi, 23 İlk Kanun 1941; Akşam Gazetesi, 26 Kanun-ı Evvel 1941; Akşam Gazetesi, 6 Kanun-ı Sani 1942; Son Posta Gazetesi, 7 İkinci Kanun 1942). Çünkü Koordinasyon Heyeti'nin kararına göre, buğday unundan başka ürünlerin üretimi ve satışı sınırlandırılmıştı (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 23 İkinci Teşrin 1941). Sonuç olarak, ekmeğin "vesika" ile verilmesi gündeme gelmişti. Hükümet, 13 Ocak 1942 tarihinde onayladığı "Ekmek ve ekmeklik hububat İstihlâkinin tahdidi" hakkındaki kararnamesiyle ekmeğin kartla dağıtımını başlamış ve bu uygulama Millî Korunma Kanunu'nun 21. maddesine dayandırılmıştı (Resmî Gazete, 19 Ocak 1942; Bengi, 1943: 247 vd).

14 Ocak 1942 tarihinden itibaren İstanbul'da ekmek karneyle verilmeye başlanmıştı (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 14 İkinci Kanun 1942). Bu süreçte makarna başta olmak üzere diğer unlu mamüllerin üretimi ve satışı konusunda ortaya çıkan olumsuzluklar, alınan tedbirlerin yetersiz kaldığını göstermiş ve bu durum basın kaynaklarında eleştirilmişti. Refik Halit Karay, yazılarında bu yasakların bazı işletmelere uygulanmamasına tepki göstermişti (Karay, 1942: 1) Dönemin İktisat Bakanlığı Sanayi Tetkik Heyeti başkanı Şevket Süreyya Aydemir ise Türkiye'nin bu dönemde olağanüstü müdahale ve tedbirlere hazırlıksız yakalandığını ifade etmişti (Aydemir, 1999: 216).

Millî Korunma Kanunu, uygulamada kaldığı süre boyunca farklı tarihlerde değişikliklere de uğramıştı. Kanun, Refik Saydam'ın Başbakanlığı döneminde üç kez değiştirilmiş ve bu

değişiklikler, Hükümetin konu ile ilgili yetkilerini artırmıştı. Şükrü Saraçoğlu'nun Başbakanlığı döneminde de hükümet, kanunun halk üzerindeki olumsuz etkilerini düzeltmek amacıyla düzenlemeler yapmıştı. Ancak, özellikle gıda üretimindeki yetersizlikler nedeniyle bir zaruret olarak çeşitli kısıtlamalara başvurulmuştu. Bu sert ekonomik tedbirler, toplumda CHP hükümetlerine karşı tepkilere yol açmıştı.

Millî Korunma Kanunu CHP iktidarının ardından da uygulanmıştır. Demokrat Parti Hükümeti, 1955 yılında ekonomik krizle birlikte kanunu tekrar uygulamaya koymuştur. Neticede Millî Korunma Kanunu, ekonomik istikrarı sağlama amacını aşarak bir kontrol mekanizması haline gelmiştir (Aydın, 2019: 426).

### **Varlık Vergisi**

Varlık Vergisi, Savaş döneminde alınmış olan ekonomik tedbirlerin yetersiz kalması ve piyasadaki fiyatların kontrol altına alınamaması sebebiyle ortaya çıkan yeni şartlar karşısında gündeme gelmişti. İktidar, savaş döneminde diğer ülkelerde de uygulanan "kazanç vergisi"ni dikkate alarak, özellikle azınlıklar lehine işleyen ekonomik sistemi değiştirme fırsatı bulmuştur. Mâliye Bakanlığı, savaşın getirdiği olağanüstü harcamaların karşılanması için çalışmalara başlamış ve 1942'nin Temmuz ayına kadar süren bir süreç sonunda raporlarını tamamlamıştı.

Bu raporlarda, beyannameye tabi mükelleflerin sayısının artırılması, kazanç muamele defteri tutma zorunluluğu getirilmesi, 250 liradan yüksek gelir elde edenlerin beyannameli olarak kabul edilmesi gibi çeşitli düzenlemeler önerilmişti. Hükümet, bu önerileri dikkate alarak Meclis'e bir kazanç vergisi taslağı sunmuş, ancak süreç, N. Sümer'in bakanlığa atanmasıyla tekrar gözden geçirilmişti. Heyet, yeni bir raporu Bakanlığa sunmuş ve harp döneminde topluma zarar veren fevkalâde kazançların önlenmesi gerektiğini belirtmişti (Aydın, 2018: 290 vd).

Bu önerilere dayanarak hazırlanan Varlık Vergisi Kanunu, 12 Kasım 1942'de Resmî Gazete 'de yayımlanmıştı. Verginin servet sahiplerinden bir kereye mahsus olmak üzere alınmasına karar verilmişti. Mükellefler arasında tüccarlar, emlak sahipleri, büyük çiftçiler ve ticaret yapmış olan kimseler bulunmakta idi. Verginin miktarı altışar kişilik komisyonlar tarafından belirlenecek, komisyon başkanları vali ve kaymakamlardan oluşacak, maliyeti temsilen defterdar ve mal müdürleri görev yapacaktı (Resmî Gazete, 12 Kasım 1942).

Varlık Vergisi'nin uygulanması için alınan tedbirlerde, komisyonun kesin kararlarına, vergilerin tespit ve ilanına 15 günlük bir süre tanınmıştı. Verginin tahsili, bu süreyi takip eden 15 gün içinde gerçekleştirilecek ve gecikme durumlarında %1'lik bir faiz uygulanacaktı. Ödemeyenlere "Tahsil-i emvâl Kanunu" uygulanacak ve bu kişiler amele teşkilatlarına gönderilecekti. Varlık Vergisi Kanunu'nun amacı, tedâvüldeki parayı azaltmak, bu parayı memleket ihtiyaçlarına uygun olarak kullanmak, Türk parasının değerini korumak ve satışa çıkarılacak malların fiyatlarında bir denge oluşturmaktı (Akşam Gazetesi, 6 Ocak 1943: 1).

Varlık Vergisi uygulamaya konulduktan sonra, komisyonlar mükellefleri ve vergi yekûnunu belirlemek üzere çalışmalara başlamış, bu süreç Aralık ayının ilk günlerinde basında da yer almıştı. Vergi mükellefleri, "G Grubu" (Gayrimüslimler) ve "M Grubu" (Müslümanlar) olarak iki ana gruba ayrılmıştı. Her iki grupta da "Fevkalâde Sınıf", "Orta Sınıf", "Beyannameliler",

"İrâtlılar", "Seyyârlar", "Hizmet Erbâbı" şeklinde alt sınıflar bulunmaktaydı. Ayrıca Emlâk Sahipleri, Büyük Çiftçiler ve Anonim Şirketleri için de özel vergi cetvelleri hazırlanmıştı. Daha sonra da "D Grubu" olarak adlandırılan Dönmeler Grubu oluşturulmuştu (Ökte, 1951: 65 vd).

Büyük şehirlerde, özellikle mükellef ve servetin yoğun olduğu bölgelerde tespit işlemleri uzun sürmüş ve belirsizlik, keyfi uygulamalara zemin hazırlamıştı. Necmeddin Sadak'ın 7 Aralık 1942 tarihli yazısında belirttiği gibi, Varlık Vergisi'nin uygulanması noktasında yaşanacak aksaklıklar önceden ilân edilmişti. Vergi kanunlarında aranan adalet ve eşitlik, Varlık Vergisi'nde eksik kalmış, komisyonların takdir yetkisi ve hesap verme zorunluluğunun olmaması eleştirilere neden olmuştu. Sadak, Varlık Vergisi'ni bir "İnkılâp Kanunu" olarak tanımlamış ve komisyonların mükelleflere hesap verme zorunluluğu olmadığından bahsetmişti. Bu durum, Varlık Vergisi'ne yönelik en ciddi eleştirilerden biri olarak öne çıkmıştı (Sadak, 1942: 1).

Varlık Vergisi'nin ödenmesini kolaylaştırmak adına çeşitli önlemler de alınmıştı. Merkez Bankası, bankalar aracılığı ile 150 milyon liraya kadar kredi sağlayarak emtiâ veya diğer maddeler için avans verme gibi imkânlar sunmuştu. Emlâk Bankası, emlâk karşılığı avans verme yoluyla destek sağlayacaktı. Ayrıca, İhissarlar İdâresi, Sümerbank ve Ticâret Ofisi'ne mükelleflerin malzemelerini satın alabilmeleri için 40 ila 50 lira arasında kredi açmıştı. Daha sonra ise Varlık Vergisi mükelleflerine kolaylık sağlamak amacıyla bankalara ticârî krediler için belirlenen sınırların üstünde kredi açma serbestisi tanınmıştı. Ziraat Bankası, Osmanlı Bankası ve Türkiye İş Bankası, vergi ödemesini yapan mükelleflere menkul kıymet rehini karşılığında, Emlâk Bankası emlâk karşılığında, Sümerbank ise fabrika malzemeleri karşılığında borç verebilecekti. Merkez Bankası, Ziraat Bankası, Türkiye İş Bankası ve Osmanlı Bankası, iç borç tahvillerini satın almaya devam edecek ve bu tahviller karşılığında %90 avans verecekti.

Varlık Vergisi tahsilatı için verilen 15 günlük sürenin sona ermesinin ardından, verginin cezâlı ödeme süresi başlamış, 12 Ocak 1943 tarihi ise verginin %1 cezâ ile ödenmesi gereken son gün olmuştu. %2 zamlı tahsilat ise 20 Ocak 1943'te tamamlanmıştı. Açık artırma yoluyla satışlar 18 Ocak'ta İstanbul'da başlamıştı. Vergi borcu ödemeyenler için ise Tahsili Emvâl Kanunu çerçevesinde haciz işlemleri başlatılmıştı (Akşam, 18 Ocak 1943). Hacedilemeyecek menkul mallar ve gayrimenkuller belirlenmiş, borçluların evlerinin kıymeti fazla ise geride uygun bir ev alabilecekleri bir miktarın bırakılması kararlaştırılmıştı. Hacedilen malların müzâyede ile satışı başlamış, bu süreçte İstanbul'da büyük kalabalıklar toplanmıştı. İstanbul'da toplanan Varlık Vergisi miktarı, 19 Ocak 1943 itibarıyla 84.944.939 TL iken (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 20 Ocak 1943), 23 Ocak'ta 100 milyon TL'ye, 11 Şubat'ta ise 110 milyon TL'ye ulaşmıştı (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 11 Şubat 1943) Bu dönemde, borçlarını ödemeyen kimselerin ceza olarak belirlenmiş yerlere gönderilmeleri için de hazırlıklar yapılmıştı.

Vergi uygulamasına göre, borçlarını ödemeyenlerin bedeni çalışmaya tabi tutulmalarına karar verilmişti. Bu çerçevede Varlık Vergisi uygulamasına dair sevk ve haciz işlemleri, borçlarını hiç ödemiş ya da kısmen ödemiş olanlar ile yüksek vergi borcu olanlar için uygulanmıştı. Zâbıta aracılığıyla tebligat yapılan mükellefler, yiyecekleri ve yataklarıyla birlikte biriktirme yerlerinde toplandıktan sonra sevk edilecekleri bölgelere gönderilmişlerdi. Bayındırlık

Bakanlığı, 20 Ocak 1943 tarihinde İstanbul'da bulunan borçlu kimselerin Aşkale'ye sevk edilmelerini emretmişti. Yaş sınırı olmaksızın tüm borçlular sevk işlemine tabi tutulacaklardı; ancak, yaşları elli beşten yukarı olan bazı kimseler vergi borçlarını ödemedikleri halde sevk işlemine tabi olmayacaklarını düşünmüşlerdi. Bu durumda, mülkiyet durumu bulunmayanlar da sevke tabi tutulacaklarına dair bilgilendirilmişlerdi

1945 yılının başlarında Hükümet, Varlık Vergisi Kanunu kaldırma kararı almıştı. Uygulamadan beklenen başarı sağlanamamış ve 985.451 liralık bakiye tahsil edilememişti. Kamuoyunda yaratılan tartışmalar dikkate alınmış, TBMM'de Müstakil Grup üyelerinin de Varlık Vergisi uygulamasını eleştirmesiyle birlikte Hükümet, kanunun tasfiyesi için gerekli adımları atmıştı. 14 Mart 1944'te TBMM'ye gönderilen kanun teklifi, 15 Mart 1944'te kabul edilmiş ve Varlık Vergisi'nden kalan borçların silinmesi kararlaştırılmıştı. Maliye Bakanı Fuat Ağralı, mükelleflerin ödeyemediği vergi borçlarının tahsil edilemeyeceğini, bu kimseleri daha ağır sıkıntılara düşürmeden vergi borçlarını silmeye karar verdiklerini belirtmişti.

Varlık Vergisi Kanunu, 15 Mart 1944 tarihinde yürürlükten kaldırılmıştı. Bu dönemde basın kaynaklarında, genel olarak uygulamaya yönelik yapıcı bir yaklaşımın olduğu ancak II. Dünya Savaşı'nın sona ermesiyle birlikte CHP'ye muhalif kesimlerde Varlık Vergisi Kanunu'nun bir eleştiri malzemesi haline geldiği görülmektedir. Ancak, uygulamanın enflasyona karşı etkili bir mücadele aracı olduğu ve fazla paranın piyasadan çekilmesine katkı sağladığı genel olarak kabul edilmekteydi (Aydın, 2018: 297 vd).

### **Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi**

II. Dünya Harbi'ne kadar uygulanmış olan tarım politikaları, 1929 yılından sonra artan ekonomik zorluklarla çiftçi ve köylüyü olumsuz yönde etkilemişti. Vergi artışları ise bu manzarayı daha sorunlu bir hale getirmişti. II. Dünya Savaşı'nın başlamasıyla ekonomik alanda alınan sert tedbirler, çiftçileri oldukça kötü etkilemişti. Özellikle 26 Ocak 1940'ta yürürlüğe sokulan Millî Korunma Kanunu ve 15 Temmuz 1942'de uygulanan " % 25 Sistemi" ile tarım ürünleri olağanüstü vergi sistemine dahil edilmişti. Tüm bu olumsuz şartlar karşısında Hükümet, 7 Haziran 1943 tarihinde Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisini uygulamaya sokmuştu (Aydın, 2017: 4 vd).

Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi 14 Mayıs 1943'te hazırlanmış ve 15 Mayıs'ta TBMM'ye sunulmuştu. Kanun tasarısı görüşmeleri ise ancak 4 Haziran 1943'te başlamıştı (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 4 Haziran 1943.).

Kanun dokuz bölümden oluşuyordu ve vergi alınacak ürünleri belirtiyordu. Hububat, bakliyat ve diğer ürünler üzerinden vergi uygulanacaktı. Vergiden muaf tutulan ürünler arasında ise ipek kozası ve bazı diğer ürünler bulunuyordu.

Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi Kanunu'na göre, il ve ilçelerde belediyeler, köylerde ise Muhtar ve İhtiyâr meclisi üyeleri vergi miktarını belirleyen makamlardı. Her üretim yılı, Maliye Vekâleti tarafından belirlenmiş olan tarihlerde tahmini üretim miktarı ve üretim alanları hakkındaki bilgi, mükelleflerin beyânlarına göre hazırlık cetvellerine kaydedilecekti. Vergilerin toplanmasından sorumlu kimseler aynı zamanda beyânların doğruluğunu araştırmakla da yükümlüydüler. Vergiye tabi tutulan ürünlerin miktarları, darı, mısır ve çeltik dışındaki

hububatın ölçülmesiyle belirlenecek, diğer ürünlerdeyse mükelleflerin beyânları doğrultusunda tespit edilecekti. Her yıl harman zamanından önce harman yerleri, İhtiyâr heyetleri tarafından bildirilecek ve mükelleflerin bu yerler dışında harman yapması yasaklanacaktı. Ölçme kolları, belirlenen yerlerde oluşturulan harmanları ölçerek gerekli vergiyi tespit edeceklerdi (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 4 Haziran 1943)ç

4 Haziran 1943'te kabul edilen Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi, Devlet ve köylüler arasındaki ilişkilerin bozulmasına ve vatandaşlarda büyük bir hayal kırıklığı oluşmasına sebep olmuştu. Köylüler, vergi miktarını belirleyen memurların keyfî tutumlarından şikayetçi olmuşlardı. Ayrıca memurların rüşvet aldıkları yönünde ciddi iddialarda ortaya atılmıştı. Bu süreçte toplam 24.316 vatandaş, vergi adaletsizliğinden şikayet ederek ilgili makamlara başvurularda bulunmuştu. Vergi matrahının belirlenmesinde keyfî işlem yapan memurların suistimali konusundaki şikayet dilekçelerinin sayısı ise 16.816 idi. Ne yazık ki, yanlış uygulamalar nedeniyle vergisini ödeyebilmek için öküzünü ve tarlasını satmak zorunda kalan vatandaşlar bile olmuştu (Ökte, 1951: 200 vd).

1943'te Türkiye'de 2.5 milyon çiftçi ailesi bulunurken, ülkenin toplam zirai geliri 2.620 milyar lira idi. Bu durumda ortalama bir çiftçi ailesinin 1000 lira gelir elde etmesi beklenirken, ortaya çıkan pahalılık göz önüne alındığında söz konusu bu miktarın vergi ödemelerini karşılaması oldukça zordu. Üstelik vergilendirme için ayrılan memur ve bekçi sayısı ekonomik anlamda büyük bir külfet oluşturmuştu. Tüm bu şartlar altında toplanması beklenen vergi gelirinin yarısı bile toplanamamıştı (Keyder, 1959: 164 vd.).

Ortaya çıkan olumsuzluklar karşısında Hükûmet, Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi Kanunu'nda değişiklik yapma kararı almıştı. 20 Mart 1944'te yeni bir tasarı TBMM'ye sunulmuş ve 26 Nisan 1944 tarihinde Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi Kanunu'nu tekrar düzenlenmişti. yürürlüğe girdi. Ancak bu düzenlemeden de beklenen sonuç elde edilememişti. Neticede köylülerin ve çiftçilerin Hükûmet'e karşı tepkileri de artmıştı. Uygulamada yaşanan aksaklıkların bir sonucu olarak Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi 1 Ocak 1946'da yürürlükten kaldırılmıştır (Aydın, 2017: 16).

## **Sonuç**

II. Dünya Savaşı, Türkiye'nin iç ve dış politikada ciddi sorunlarla karşılaşmasına sebep olmuştu. Özellikle ekonomik alanda ortaya çıkan olumsuz şartlar, ülke genelinde hayat pahalılığına sebep olmuştu. Hükümetin almış olduğu tedbirler ise bu pahalılığı ortadan kaldırmak için yeterli olmamıştı.

II. Dünya Savaşı yıllarında Türkiye'yi yöneten hükümetler, ekonomik istikrarı sağlamak adına zaman zaman sert tedbirler de almak zorunda kalmışlardı. Savaş şartları çerçevesinde alınan bu tedbirler Milli Korunma Kanunu, Varlık Vergisi ve Toprak Mahsulleri Vergisi idi. Kağıt üzerinde oldukça gerekli ve yapıcı olan bu tedbirler, uygulama safhasında beklenen etkiyi yaratamamışlardı. Bununla birlikte söz konusu bu tedbirler toplumsal hayatta ciddi sıkıntıları da beraberinde getirmişlerdi. Söz konusu bu tepkiler ise çok partili siyasi hayata geçilmesi ile birlikte muhalefet hareketinin güçlenmesine ve en nihayetinde CHP Hükümetinin ömrünü tamamlamasına sebep olmuştu.

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## **Malatya Halkevi ve Milli Bayramlar**

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### **Özet**

Halkevleri, Cumhuriyetin ilanından sonra vatandaşlara yeni düzen çalışmalarını tanıtmak ve cumhuriyet değerlerini öğretmek maksadı ile kurulmuş yapılarıdır. Türk Ocaklarının kapatılmasının ardından Atatürk'ün emri ile kurulan Halkevleri, 1932 senesinde 14 ilde faaliyete geçmişti. Halkevleri çok kısa bir zaman zarfında teşkilatlanmasını tamamlayarak ülke geneline de yayılmışlardı. Tek parti dönemin siyasi şartları gereği CHP'ye bağlı bulunan Halkevleri, birer kültür ocağı olarak faaliyet göstermişlerdi. Özellikle yetişkinlerin eğitiminde önemli bir rol oynayan bu kurumlar, spor, müzik, edebiyat, tiyatro, resim ve heykeltiricilik gibi alanların yanı sıra okuma yazma ve meslek kurslarını da tüm köy ve kasabalara kadar ulaştırmışlardı.

Toplum hayatında milli bir bilincin yükselmesi ve bir birlikteliğin sağlanması açısından da Halkevleri önemli bir görev üstlenmişlerdi. Halkevleri bu görevlerini özellikle milli gün ve bayram kutlanmalarında yerine getirmişlerdi. Nitekim Cumhuriyetin ilanından sonra hayatımıza giren ve günümüzde de kutlanmaya devam eden milli bayramların yanı sıra, Lozan Günü ve Hatay'ın Anavatanına Kavuşuş Bayramı gibi bugün unutulmuş olan milli gün kutlamalarında en önemli vazifeler Halkevlerine verilmişti.

Çalışmamızın amacı, milli gün ve bayramların kutlanması hususunda Halkevlerinin üstlenmiş olduğu vazifeyi incelemek ve eldeki verilerin ışığında söz konusu dönemde toplumsal hayatta yer alan birlik ve beraberlik duygusunu incelemektir. Çalışmamız hazırlanırken, Devlet Arşivi belgelerinden, dönemin basın ve yayın kaynaklarından ve dönem ile ilgili hazırlanmış basılı materyallerden istifade edilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Halkevleri, Milli Bayramlar, Kutlama, Cumhuriyet, Toplum

## **Malatya Community Center and National Celebration Days**

### **Abstract**

Community Centers, established with the aim of introducing citizens to the new order efforts and teaching the values of the republic after the declaration of the Republic, were structures established by Atatürk's order following the closure of Turkish Hearth. In 1932, they became operational in 14 provinces, completing their organization across the country in a very short period. Operating as cultural centers affiliated with the Republican People's Party (CHP) during the single-party era, the Community Centers played a significant role, particularly in adult



education, by extending activities such as sports, music, literature, theater, painting, sculpture, literacy, and vocational courses to all villages and towns.

Community Centers also assumed an important role in elevating national consciousness and fostering unity in societal life. They particularly fulfilled this role during the celebrations of national days and holidays that entered our lives after the proclamation of the Republic and continue to be celebrated today. Notably, the Community Centers were assigned crucial duties in national day celebrations that are now forgotten, such as Lozan Day and the Celebration of Hatay's Reunion with the Motherland.

The aim of our study is to examine the role undertaken by the Community Centers in celebrating national days and holidays and, in light of the available data, to explore the sense of unity and togetherness prevalent in societal life during that period. In preparing our study, we drew upon documents from the State Archives, as well as press and publication sources from the era, and printed materials related to the period.

**Keywords:** Community Centers, National Holidays, Celebration, Republic, Society

### **Giriş**

Millî gün ve haftaların kutlamalarında rol oynayan tarihî, kültürel ve etnolojik unsurların belirlenmesinde, Tarih ve Antropoloji gibi disiplinler önemlidir. Antropoloji, insanlığın tarihsel değişimlerini inceleyerek sorulara cevap arar. Her milletin geçmişinde önemli olaylar, günler ve tarihî şahsiyetler bulunur. Bu, millî bilincin bayramlar, anma ve yas günleri aracılığıyla ifadesidir. Bu kavramlar aynı zamanda millî devletlerin şekillenmesinde ve siyasî meşrûyetlerinin güçlenmesinde önemli rol oynarlar. Ayrıca, millî dayanışma, toplumsal düzen, bilinç ve karakterin güçlenmesi gibi alanlarda da bu törenlerin etkisi büyüktür.

Türk devlet geleneğinde millî hafızayı canlı tutmak amacıyla düzenlenen etkinlikler, Osmanlı Devleti'nin son döneminde önem kazanmıştı. Nitekim II. Abdülhamit döneminden itibaren millî bayramlar, millî marşlar ve milli günler belirlenmişti. Bu çabalar, Osmanlı'nın çözülmeye başladığı dönemde toplumsal birliği korumak ve millî duyguları canlı tutmak gayretinden kaynaklanmıştır. İkinci Meşrutiyet döneminde de Türkçülük fikri etrafında toplanan aydınlar, milli gün ve bayram kutlamalarına önem vermişlerdi. İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası da bu konuya önem vermiş ve milli bayram kutlamalarını sürdürmüştü.

Osmanlı Devleti'nin son döneminde ortaya çıkmış Milli Bayramlar, Milli Mücadele döneminde de kutlanmaya devam etmiştir. Türk milletinin bir varlık yoklu mücadelesi verdiği bu dönemde milli bayramlar her zamankinden daha önemli bir mahiyete sahiptir. Nitekim bu dönemde Ergenekon Bayramı, 10 Temmuz Hürriyet Bayramı ve II. Meşrutiyet'in ilanı ile toplumsal hayata dahil olmuş olan "ıyd-i milli" bayramı gibi milli günler tüm olumsuzluklara rağmen kutlanmışlardır (Aydın, Aydın ve Dünder, 2016: 91).

### **Halkevleri ve Milli Bayramlar**

Türk milleti, Milli Mücadele'den zafer ile çıktıktan sonra, Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın öncülüğünde köklü bir değişim sürecine girmişti. Saltanatın kaldırılması ile başlayan bu süre

Ankara'nın başkent oluşu ve Cumhuriyetin ilanı ile devam etmişti. Türk milleti artık süratli bir yenileşme hareketinin öznesi durumuna gelmişti. Türk milletinin dünya üzerinde hak ettiği yere ulaşması için oldukça önemli olan bu adımların toplum nezdinde kabulü için devlet adamları yoğun bir mesai harcamışlardı. Bununla birlikte, özellikle Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında bu değişime karşı çıkan gruplarda bulunmaktaydı. Atatürk yeni düzen çalışmalarının aksamaması için çeşitli kanuni tedbirler almış olsa da, bu tedbirlerin toplumsal huzuru sağlamak için tek başına yeterli olmayacağını farkındaydı. Bu sebeple Atatürk'ün Türkiye'de milli bilinci artırmak için çeşitli çalışmalar yaptığı bilinmektedir. Bunlar arasında konumuzla ilgili olanlar ise milli gün ve bayramların kutlanması yönünde ki düzenlemelerdir. Nitekim devlet adamları bu dönemde milli gün ve bayram kutlamalarına her zamankinden daha fazla önem vermişlerdi. Nitekim bu dönemde; 29 Ekim, 23 Nisan, 19 Mayıs ve 30 Ağustos gibi tarihi öneme sahip günler milli bayramlar olarak kutlanmaya başlanmıştır (Bolat, 2012: 30 vd).

Türkiye'de 1930'lu yıllardan itibaren Milli Bayramların kutlanması konusunda öne çıkan yapı Halkevleri olmuştur. Bu sebeple Halkevleri ile ilgili genel bir değerlendirme yapmak doğru olacaktır

### **Halkevlerinin Kuruluşu**

Halkevleri, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi'ne bağlı çalışan eğitim ve kültür kurumları idi. Halkın inkılabları tanınması ve benimsemesi Halkevlerinin kuruluşundaki temel hedefti. Türk Ocakları'nın kapatılmasının ardından, Atatürk'ün direktifleri ile kurulan Halkevleri, ... 1932'de 14 il merkezinde faaliyete geçmişti. Halkevlerinin kapatıldığı 1952 senesinde ise memleket genelinde 478 halkevi ve 4.322 halkodası bulunuyordu.

Halkevleri, faaliyetlerini dokuz şube marifeti ile gerçekleştirmişti. Bu şubeler ise şunlardı: Dil, Tarih ve Edebiyat, Güzel Sanatlar, Temsil, Spor, Sosyal Yardım, Halk Dershaneleri, Kütüphane ve Yayın, Köycülük, Müze ve Sergi şubeleri.

Halkevleri, yetişkin nüfusun eğitiminde önemli bir vazife üstlenmişti. Okuma-yazma kursları ve meslek edindirme kursları marifetiyle kadın- erkek fark etmeksizin tüm vatandaşların sağlıklı bir şekilde eğitilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bununla birlikte Halkevleri aracılığı ile memleket genelinde ki en uzak köy ve kasabalara kadar, spor, müzik, resim ve tiyatro gibi kültürel etkinlikler de ulaştırılmıştır.

Kendi muhitlerinde eğitim ve kültür faaliyetleri bakımından bir toplanma yeri olan Halkevleri, milli gün ve bayramların kutlanmasında da her zaman önemli bir rol oynamıştı. Milli gün ve bayramların Halkevleri marifeti ile nasıl kutlandığı konusunda ise Malatya Halkevi bünyesinde gerçekleştirilen etkinlikler önemli bir yer tutmaktadır (Aydın, 2021: 117 vd.).

### **Malatya Halkevi ve Milli Bayramlar**

#### **Malatya Halkevi ve Yapısı**

Malatya Halkevi 19 Şubat 1932'de kurulmuş olan ilk 14 halkevi arasında yer almıştır. Başlangıçta Halkevi şubelerinin tamamı açılmamış olsa da, zaman içinde Müze ve Sergi, Halk Dershaneleri ve Kurslar şubelerinin açılması ile teşkilatlanmasını tamamlamıştır. Halkevine bağlı şubelerin tam olarak faaliyete geçmesi ile birlikte üye sayısının da arttığı bilinmektedir.

1938'de Malatya Halkevine bağlı olmak üzere Arapgir ve Adıyaman, 1939'da ise Pütürge ve Darende'de Halkevleri açılmıştır. Ardından da Akçadağ, Akpınar (Adıyaman), Kemaliye ve Kuyucak Halkevleri faaliyete geçmiştir (CHP Raporu 1939: 18 vd).

1940 yılından itibaren, halkevi kurulması mümkün olmayan yerlerde halkodaları açılması kararlaştırılmış, bu doğrultuda Malatya Halkevine bağlı olmak üzere Kâhta, Hekimhan ve İsmetpaşa Halkodaları açılmıştır. 1948 yılı verileri incelendiğinde Malatya'da 8 Halkevinin ve 54 halkodasının faaliyet gösterdiği görülmektedir.

23 Nisan Millî Hâkimiyet ve Çocuk Bayramı, 19 Mayıs Gençlik ve Spor Bayramı, 30 Ağustos Zafer Bayramı, 26 Eylül Türk Dil Bayramı, 29 Ekim Cumhuriyet Bayramı, 10 Kasım Atatürk'ü Anma ve Atatürk Haftası etkinlikleri gibi ulusal gün ve haftalarda Malatya Halkevi, yerli malı kullanımı ve millî varlığın korunmasına yönelik Millî Tasarruf ve Tutum Haftası'nda etkinlikler düzenlemiştir (Aydın, Aydın ve Dündar, 2016: 94).

### **Malatya Halkevleri Marifetiyle Kutlanan Milli Bayramlardan Örnekler**

Malatya Halkevi kendi muhitinde mili gün ve bayramların kutlanmasında önemli bir merkez olmuştur. CHP Genelsekreterliği tarafından ana hatları belirlenen kutlama programları her ilde olduğu gibi Malatya'da da uygulanmıştır. Bununla birlikte muhitin yerel özellikleri de bu kutlamaları şekillendirmiştir.

Çalışmamızda, Devlet Arşivi belgeleri ile dönemin basınına yansıyan veriler ışığında Malatya Halkevi bünyesinde kutlanan milli gün ve bayramlara örnek olarak şunlar seçilmiştir: 30 Ağustos Zafer Bayramı, Dil Bayramı, Cumhuriyet Bayramı, 23 Nisan Millî Hâkimiyet ve Çocuk Bayramı.

#### **30 Ağustos Zafer Bayramı kutlamaları**

Zafer Bayramı kutlamaları, tüm halkevleri tarafından büyük bir özveri ile gerçekleştirilmişti. Malatya Halkevi'ne ait belgeler, bu süreci detaylı bir şekilde açıklamaktadır. Malatya'daki yerel basının önemli temsilcisi olan Fırat Gazetesi'nin 1934 tarihli nüshalarında yer alan haberlerden biri, Malatya Lisesi'nde düzenlenen bir sergiye odaklanmıştır. "Lisede Sergi" başlıklı haberde, 26 Ağustos'un Türk tarihindeki büyük zaferin başlangıcı olduğu ve bu milli gün için lisede resim ve el işi sergisi açıldığı belirtilmiştir. Sergi, parasız ve herkesin katılımına açıktı (Fırat Gazetesi, 27 Ağustos 1934: 1).

Malatya'da gerçekleştirilen bayram törenine dair haberde, "Zafer Bayramına Hazırlık" başlığı altında 30 Ağustos Zafer ve Tayyare Bayramı'nın kutlama hazırlıklarının tamamlandığı ve törenin önceki yıllardan daha görkemli olması için azami çaba harcandığı bilgisi paylaşılmıştı. Törenden sonra asker ve öğrencilerin katılımıyla büyük bir geçit resmi ve gece de fener alayı düzenleneceği belirtilmişti. Ayrıca bayram akşamında Halkevi'nde müzikli ve danslı bir eğlence düzenleneceği, milli kuruluşlar, resmi daireler ve okulların bayraklarla gündüz, fenerlerle gece donatılacağı ifade edilmişti.

30 Ağustos Zafer Bayramı töreni, belirlenen programa göre sabah saat 08:45'te Malatya Alay Kumandanı'nın garnizondaki subay ve askeri personelin tebriklerini kabul etmesiyle başlamıştı. Saat 09:15'te Cumhuriyet Meydanı'nda toplanan asker, öğrenci ve halk, bayramı coşku ile

kutlamıştı. Daha sonra genç bir subay tarafından "Büyük günümüzün yüceliği ve ordumuzun İstiklal Muharebesinde gösterdikleri kahramanlıklar" başlıklı bir konuşma yapılmıştı. Konuşmalardan sonra asker ve öğrenciler resm-i geçit törenine katılmış ve gündüz etkinlikleri sona ermişti. 30 Ağustos Zafer Bayramı münasebeti ile Malatya genelinde gerçekleştirilen törenlerin sevk ve idaresi ise Halkevleri mensupları tarafından gerçekleştirilmişti.

Bayram kapsamında saat 15:00'te İsmet Paşa Parkı'nda askerî oyunlar düzenlenmiş, akşam ise halkın katılımıyla fener alayı gerçekleştirilmişti (Fırat Gazetesi, 27 Ağustos 1934: 2)

### **Dil Bayramı Kutlamaları**

Yine Malatya Halkevi'nin faaliyetleri üzerinden verilebilecek bir başka bayram kutlaması örneği ise Dil Bayramı Kutlamalarıdır.

1936 yılında düzenlenen 26 Eylül Türk Dil Bayramı kutlamaları Malatya Halkevi'nde geniş kapsamlı bir şekilde kutlanmıştı. Türk Dil Kurultayı'nın çalışmalarına Malatya adına Hüsnü Eke gönderilmişti. Ayrıca Kurultay çalışmalarına dair radyo yayınlarının hoparlörler aracılığıyla halka dinletilmesi için de hazırlıklar yapılmıştı. Törende açılış nutku radyo üzerinden dinletilmiş, İstiklâl Marşı coşkuyla okunmuş, Dil İnkılabı hakkında bir şiirin okunması ise alkışlar eşliğinde gerçekleştirilmişti.

Dil Bayramı kutlamaları dört gün boyunca devam etmişti. Halkevinde düzenlenen konferans ve konserlere halkın yoğun ilgi göstermişti. CHP Malatya İl Başkanlığı tarafından düzenlenen etkinlik programında ise açılış nutku dinletisi, Cumhuriyet Meydanı'nda düzenlenen tören, nutuklar, şiirler ve konserler gibi çeşitli etkinlikler yer almıştır (Aydın, Aydın ve Kaya, 2016: 10 vd.).

Programa göre, açılış nutkunun ve Cumhuriyet Meydanı'ndaki törenin ardından Halkevi üyelerinden Belkıs Hanım bir konuşma yapmış, şehirdeki mekteplerden seçilen öğrenciler şiirler okumuş ve Halkevi Müzik Şubesi bir konser vermişti. Ayrıca yine Halkevi üyelerinden İhsan Bey, Şevki Sözen ve öğretmen Bay Zahit tarafından da konferanslar verilmişti (BCA: 490.1.0.0 -1169 .106.1/3,5).

### **Cumhuriyet Bayramı Kutlamaları:**

29 Nisan 1925 tarihinde Resmî Gazete'de yayımlanan kanunla birlikte 29 Ekim "Cumhuriyet Bayramı" olarak ülke genelinde ve dış temsilciliklerde kutlanmaya başlamıştır. Cumhuriyetin 10. Yıldönümü kutlamalarına ise ayrıca büyük bir önem verilmiş ve geniş katılımlı bir kutlama programı hazırlanmıştır (Çevik ve Haykır 2014: 195 vd).

11 Haziran 1933'te kabul edilen 2305 sayılı "Cumhuriyet'in İlanının Onuncu Yıl Dönümü Kutlama Kanunu" ile kutlamaların üç gün süreceği, bu günlerin resmî tatil olacağı ve özel etkinliklerin düzenleneceği belirtilmiştir.

Kanunla birlikte Başbakanlığa bağlı komisyonların yanı sıra illerde de komisyonlar oluşturulmasına ve kutlamaların düzenli bir şekilde yapılmasına karar verilmiştir. Cumhuriyetin 10. Yıl dönümü kutlamaları için hazırlanan programlarda resmî törenler, konferanslar, konserler, hatıra madalyası basımı gibi etkinliklere de yer verilmiştir (Resmî Gazete Haziran 1933: 2437).

Malatya Halkevi, 29 Ekim Cumhuriyet Bayramı kutlamalarına kendi muhitinde öncülük etmiş ve 1933 yılındaki kutlamalara özel bir ihtimam göstermiştir. Şehirdeki meydanlarda kürsüler kurularak yapılan konuşmalar, halkın büyük ilgisiyle karşılanmış ve bayram coşkusu Malatya'nın her köşesine yayılmıştır.

29 Ekim günü yapılan kutlamalara dair Malatya CHF İl Başkanlığı ve Halkevi tarafından hazırlanan raporda, şehrin her tarafının bayraklar, levhalar ve vecizelerle donatıldığı ifade edilmiştir. Ayrıca, yapılan konuşmalar ile Cumhuriyetin kazanımları vurgulandığı ve halka aydınlatıcı bilgiler verildiği ifade edilmiştir.

Gece saatlerinde düzenlenen fener alaylarına Malatya halkı büyük bir coşku ile katılmıştır. Malatya Halkevi bu hususta önemli bir toplanma yeri olmuştur.

Elektrik kullanımının kısıtlı olduğu dönemde şehrin ışıklandırılması, bayramın atmosferini daha da özel kılmış ve Malatya'nın "nurlar içinde yüzdüğü" ifade edilmiştir. Malatya CHF ve Halkevi binası, Cumhuriyetin 10. Yıl dönümü için özel olarak süslenmiş, şehirdeki meydanlarda yapılan konuşmalar ve geçit resmiyle birlikte halk bir araya gelmiş ve Cumhuriyet coşkusu paylaşmıştır.

Bu özel günün gündüz ve gece etkinlikleriyle Malatya halkı, Cumhuriyetin 10. Yıl dönümünü büyük bir coşku ve heyecanla kutlamış ve gece düzenlenen etkinliklerle birlikte şehirde adeta bayram havası oluşmuştur. Malatya Halkevi üyeleri ile birlikte şehirde gerçekleştirilen törenleri sevk ve idare etmiştir (BCA: 490.1.0.0-1146. 22. 1-18).

### **23 Nisan Millî Hâkimiyet ve Çocuk Bayramı kutlamaları**

23 Nisan Millî Hâkimiyet ve Çocuk Bayramı kutlamaları ilk olarak Türk Ocakları ardından da Halkevleri tarafından düzenlenmiştir. Malatya'da gerçekleştirilen etkinliklere ise Halkevlerinin yanı sıra Himâye-i Etfâl Cemiyeti ve Maarif Müdürlüğü de katılmıştır..

Malatya Halkevi, 23 Nisan Bayramı'nı her zaman CHP tarafından belirlenen program dahilinde kutlamıştır. Devlet protokolünün katıldığı bayram törenlerinde Malatya'daki tüm okullar resmi geçit törenlerine katılmışlardır. Malatya Halkevi de, Maarif Müdürlüğü ile işbirliği içinde halka ve öğrencilere yönelik etkinlikler düzenlemiştir. Temsil şubesinde hazırlanan gösteriler ve açık balolar bu konudaki önemli örneklerdir. Ayrıca 23 Nisan kutlamaları için Halkevleri marifetiyle saz konserleri ve konferanslar da düzenlenmiştir.

1936 yılında yapılan kutlamalara dair 6 Nisan tarihinde yayınlanan bir gazete haberinde Malatya Halkevi'nin bayram hazırlıklarına başladığı ve Sosyal Yardım Kolu tarafından bir balo düzenleneceği bildirilmiştir. 21 Nisan tarihli başka bir haberde, 23 Nisan Çocuk Bayramı etkinliklerinin geçen yıllardan daha parlak geçmesi için hazırlıkların yoğun bir şekilde devam ettiği ifade edilmiştir.

24 Nisan 1936 tarihli Fırat Gazetesi'nde "Çocuk Bayramı Güzel Geçti" başlığıyla 23 Nisan günün yapılan kutlamalar anlatılmış ve bu kutlamaların halkın yoğun ilgisi ile gerçekleştirildiği belirtilmiştir. Söz konusu habere göre bayram töreni için tüm şehir bayraklarla süslenmiş, Malatya halkı sokakları doldurmuş ve öğrenciler bayram törenine gelenlere Himâye-i Etfâl rozetleri takmıştır (Fırat Gazetesi, 24 Nisan 1936).

## **Sonuç**

Cumhuriyetin temel dinamiklerinin halk arasında benimsenip yaygınlaşmasında Halkevleri önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Halk eğitimi için oldukça önemli kurumlar olan Halkevleri, Türk milletinin sosyal alışkanlıklarının değişmesinde de önemli bir rol oynamıştır

Halkevleri, milli gün ve bayramların toplum tarafından idrak edilmesi ve böylece toplumsal birlik ve beraberliğin sağlanması konusunda da etkili bir kurum olmuştur. Çalışmamızın konusu olan Malatya Halkevi de bu konuda üzerine düşen vazifeyi yerine getirmiş ve kendi muhitinde milli gün ve bayramların kutlanması hususunda önemli bir sorumluluk üstlenmiştir.

Malatya Halkevi, dönemin şartları gereği Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi'ne bağlı bir kurum olarak çalışmıştır. Özellikle bayram kutlamaları konusunda Ankara'dan gelen direktifleri sıkı sıkıya yerine getirmiştir. Bununla birlikte Malatya Halkevi'nin düzenlediği etkinlikler, görev savma kabilinden olmamıştır. Bunu Malatya Halkevi'nin öncülüğünde gerçekleştirilen etkinliklere halkın gösterdiği büyük teveccühten de anlamak mümkündür. Halkevleri 1952 yılında kapatılana kadar, Malatya Halkevi milli gün ve bayram kutlamalarında halk için önemli bir toplanma yeri olarak hizmet etmiştir.

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## **Meşrutiyet'ten Milli Mücadele'ye Sinop Ermenileri: Olaylar, Sorunlar**

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### **Özet**

Türklerin idaresinde müreffeh bir hayat süren Ermeniler, 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına kadar devlete bağlılıklarını sürdürdüler. Ancak, 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Rus ve İngiliz kışkırtmalarına alet olarak Türklere karşı isyana kalkıştılar. İsyanlar üzerine devlet, isyancılar hakkında soruşturmalar açıp takibata başlayınca, isyancıların elebaşları ülke dışına kaçtılar. Çetecilerden Rusya'ya kaçanlar arasında Sinop'ta yaşayan Ermeniler de vardı. II. Meşrutiyet'in ilanından sonra ülkede ılımlı bir hava oluşunca, yurtdışına kaçan ermeni çetecilerinin bir bölümü ülkeye geri dönmeye başladılar. Dönüşlerin başladığı günlerde Papaz Vartenez, 11 Ekim 1910 tarihinde Sadarete Sinop'a geri dönen Ermenilere, yerleşmeleri için yer tahsisi ve evlerin yapılması konusunda destek verilmesi talebinde bulundu. Ancak, bu sırada bir gurup Ermeni'nin Gireğöz ormanında izinsiz bir şekilde meskenler yaparak yerleşme girişimleri, çeşitli sorunların çıkmasına sebep oldu. Bu sorunlar, Sinop Mutasarrıflığını ve Kastamonu vilayet idaresini uzun bir süre uğraştırdı. I. Dünya Savaşı'nın başında Doğu Anadolu'da Ermeni isyanları başlayınca, hükümet tehcir yasasını çıkarıp uygulamaya koydu. Tehcir uygulamasının ilk etabında, Sinop Sancağındaki Ermeniler tehcire tabi tutulmadı. Ancak, ilerleyen zamanda artan asayiş sorunları ve İtilaf Devletleri ile ilişkileri nedeniyle, Sinop Ermenileri de tehcire tabi tutuldu. Savaşın kaybedilip mütarekenin imzalanmasından sonra, tehcirle gönderilen Ermeniler, Sinop'ta eski yerlerine geri dönmeye başladılar. Geri dönenler, Ermeni Papazı Dacat Efendi'nin himayesinde eski mallarını zorla geri almaya, Türklere karşı hakaretamiz tavırlar sergilemeye başladılar. Güya, Sinop'taki Ermenileri teftişe gelen Dacat Efendi, Mutasarrıflık makamında huzuruna getirttiği, Müslüman olup Sinop'ta kalmış olan Ermeni asıllı kadınların başlarındaki çarşafı yırtmaya ve onları tekrar Hıristiyan olmaya zorlamıştır. Sinop'ta Milli hareketin güçlenmesi, Batı Cephesi'nde kazanılan zaferler, Papaz Dacat Efendi'nin ve çeteci Ermenilerin tavırlarını değiştirerek, milli hareketi destekler tavırlar içerisine girmelerine sebep olmuştur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Sinop, Ermeniler, Meşrutiyet, I. Dünya Savaşı, Milli Mücadele

## **Sinop Armenians from the Constitutional Monarchy to the National Struggle: Events, Problems**

### **Abstract**

Armenians, who lived a prosperous life under the rule of the Turks, continued their loyalty to the state until the second half of the 19th century. However, in the second half of the 19th

century, they attempted to rebel against the Turks as a tool of Russian and British provocations. After the riots, the state launched investigations against the rioters and started prosecution, and the leaders of the riots fled the country. Among those who fled to Russia from the gangs were Armenians living in Sinop. II. When a moderate atmosphere emerged in the country after the declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy, some of the Armenian gangsters who had fled abroad began to return to the country. In the days when the returns began, Pastor Vartenez requested the Grand Vizier to allocate land for the Armenians who returned to Sinop to settle and support them in the construction of houses, on October 11, 1910. However, in the meantime, a group of Armenians' attempts to settle by building houses in the Gireğöz forest without permission caused various problems. These problems troubled the Sinop Governorship and Kastamonu provincial administration for a long time. When Armenian revolts began in Eastern Anatolia at the beginning of World War I, the government passed and implemented the deportation law. In the first stage of the deportation, the Armenians in the Sinop Sanjak were not subjected to deportation. However, due to increasing public order problems and relations with the Allied Powers, Sinop Armenians were also deported. After the war was lost and the armistice was signed, the deported Armenians began to return to their old places in Sinop. Those who returned began to take back their old property by force, under the protection of the Armenian Priest Dacat Efendi, and to display insulting attitudes towards the Turks. Supposedly, Dacat Efendi, who came to inspect the Armenians in Sinop, brought before him in the Governor's office, and forced them to tear the sheets off the heads of the women of Armenian origin who had converted to Islam and stayed in Sinop, and forced them to become Christians again. The strengthening of the National movement in Sinop and the victories gained on the Western Front caused Pastor Dacat Efendi and the Armenian gang members to change their attitudes and support the national movement.

**Keywords:** Sinop, Armenians, Constitutionalism, World War I, National Struggle.

## **Giriş**

Anadolu'nun Türkler tarafından fethinden başlayan Türk–Ermeni ilişkilerinde, Türk devletlerinin hakimiyeti altındaki insanlara sunduğu hoşgörü sayesinde Ermeniler, Anadolu'da 1870'lere kadar Türklerin himayesinde, huzurlu ve güvenli ortamda refah içinde, her türlü değerlerini muhafaza ederek yaşadılar. Ticaretle, ziraatla ve iyi gelir getiren zanaat dallarında çalışarak servet sahibi olan Ermeniler, zamanla memurluk, vekillik ve hatta bakanlık yaptılar. Osmanlı Devletine olan sadakatleri sebebiyle, kendileri “Milleti Sadıka” olarak görüldü ve tanımlandı (Sonyel, 1987, s.89-91). 20. Yüzyılda Osmanlı tebaası olan Balkanlardaki çeşitli unsurlar, milliyetçilik fikrine kapılarak devletten ayrılma yönünde faaliyetlerde bulunmalarına rağmen, Ermenilerin bu yönde bir hareketleri olmamıştı. Ne zamanki, emperyalist güçler kendi çıkarları için Ermenileri kurdurdukları cemiyet görünümlü terör örgütleriyle istismar ederek oyunlarına alet etme teşebbüsünde bulundu, işte o zaman, Türklere karşı saldırılar başlamış oldu. Ermenileri, Türklere karşı ilk defa kullanma yoluna giden ülkeler Rusya ve İngiltere oldu, daha sonra diğer Batılı emperyalist güçlerde bu oyuna dahil oldu (Ermeni Komitelerinin..., 1981, s.9-10).



Tanzimat'la ve Islahat fermanıyla kazandıkları avantajları, Avrupalı devletlerden aldıkları destekle istismar eden Ermeniler, 1860'larda içeride ve dışarıda dernekler kurarak işe başladı. 1877 tarihinde Cenevre'de "Hınçak Komitesi", 1890'da "Taşnaksütyun" cemiyeti kuruldu. Sonra da dışarıdan aldıkları teşvik ve destekle, Osmanlı Devleti'ne karşı ayaklanmayı gerçekleştirecek komiteler kuruldu (Ethemoglu, 1987, s.18-20; Kodaman, 1997, s.30). Bu komiteler 1878 tarihli Berlin Antlaşması'nın şartlarından faydalanarak, Türklere karşı ihtilalci, isyancı çeteler kurdu. Ardından da kendi cemaatlerini tahrik etmeye başlayan Ermeniler, ortaya koydukları tavır ve davranışlarla, yüzyıllardır huzur içinde sadık bir tebaa olarak yaşadıkları Osmanlı Devleti'ne karşı adeta bir savaş açtı (Kodaman, 1997, s.30). 1890'da Erzurum olayı, Kumkapı Gösterisi, 1892-1893 yıllarında ise Merzifon, Kayseri ve Yozgat olayları vukuu bulmuştur (Akşin, 1998, s.31; Karaca, 1993, s.108). Ermenilerin Sason'da 1904'de ikinci defa isyan etmeleri üzerine, devlet askeri müdahalede bulunarak isyanı bastırılmış, ancak gözü dönmüş bir halde hareket eden Ermeni terör gurupları, 1905 yılında bu sefer devletin en tepesindeki isme, Sultan II. Abdülhamid'e suikast girişiminde bulunmuşlardır. Sultan II. Abdülhamit, Ermeni teröristlerin arabasına yerleştirdikleri saat ayarlı bombadan şans eseri kurtulmuş, fakat bombanın infilakı çok sayıda günahsız insanın ölümüne ve aralanmasına sebep olmuştur (Tansel, 1991, s.108). Yaşanan olaylar üzerine geniş kapsamlı soruşturmalar açılmıştır. Devlet takibata başlayınca, Ermeni çetecilerinin bir kısmı çareyi yurt dışına kaçmakta bulmuştur.

### **Sinop Ermenileri: Olaylar, Sorunlar**

#### **II. Meşrutiyet'ten Birinci Dünya Harbi'ne Sinop Ermenileri**

II. Meşrutiyet'in ilanını müteakip idareyi ele alan İttihat ve Terakki, sorunların iyi niyetle demokratik bir anlayışla çözüleceği kanaatine sahip olduğundan, bütün unsurlara karşı olabildiğince hoş görülmesi bir tavır ortaya koymuştur. Bu anlayışın bir tezahürü olarak, Ermenilere karşı da daha sıcak bir yaklaşım sergilenmiş olduğundan, taraflar arasında karşılıklı olumlu bir hava esmeye başlamıştır. Hürriyetin her şeyi halledeceği zannedilirken, çok geçmeden işin hiçte zannedildiği gibi olmadığı görülmüştür (Gürün, 1983, s.176). II. Meşrutiyet'tin ilanından önce, devletin takibatı nedeniyle yurt dışına kaçan Ermeni çetecilerin bir kısmı Rusya'ya göç etmişti. Rusya'ya göç edenler arasında Sinop'ta yaşayan Ermenilerinde bulunduğunu, Papaz Vartenez'in Sadaret makamına çektiği telgraflardan anlaşılmaktadır. Sinop'ta yaşayan Ermeni milleti adına Papaz Vartenez, 11 Ekim 1910 tarihinde Sadarete çektiği bir telgrafta: Sinop Sancağında yaşayan Osmanlı tebaası bir gurup Ermeni'nin Sultan II. Abdülhamit Devrinde "zulüm ve istibdat" nedeniyle mal ve mülklerini bırakarak Rusya'ya göç ettiklerini iddia etmektedir. Vartenez, Ermeniler Rusya'ya gidince geride kalan emlak ve arazilerinin devlet tarafından muhacirlere verildiğini söylemektedir. Meşrutiyetin ilanından sonra, Rusya'dan geri dönen Ermenilerin yerleştikleri yerlerden çıkartıldıklarını, yaptıkları evlerin yıkıldığını evsiz barksız, çoluk çocuk dağların başında kaldıklarından yakınmaktadır. Papaz Vartenez telgrafında, bu zalim muameleye bir son verilmesini, evlerini tekrardan yapabilmeleri için gerekli olan kerestenin ve maddi desteğin verilmesini, yerleştikleri yerlerden Ermenileri çıkartan memurlar hakkında tahkikat yapılarak cezalandırılmalarını istemiştir (BOA, 28 Eylül 326).

Dâhiliye Nezareti, Papaz Vartenez'in bu telgrafı üzerine 12 Ekim 1910 tarihinde Kastamonu Vilayetine konuyla ilgili bir araştırma yaparak sonucun kendilerine bildirilmesi talimatını verir (BOA, 29 Eylül 326). Kastamonu Vilayeti, Dâhiliye Nezareti'nden aldığı talimat hakkında Sinop Mutasarrıflığına araştırma yapılmasını ister. Sinop Mutasarrıflığı, yaptığı tahkikat sonucunda, şikâyet konusu edilen Ermenilerin Giregöz Ormanı'nın Bağcı Köyü mevkiinde kimseye sormadan yerleşme teşebbüsünde bulduklarını, ancak yerleştikleri alanın mîrî ormanı olduğunu, burada iskân yasak olduğu halde kanun ve nizama aykırı olarak yerleştiklerini ve ormanı tahrip ettiklerini tespit eder. Sinop Mutasarrıflığı, izinsiz bir şekilde iskân ve ormanı tahrip edenlerin Rusya'dan geri dönen Ermeniler olmadığını, bunlardan altı hanenin Sinop'un Koyluş Karyesinden, ikisinin de Trabzon'un Çarşamba ve Terme kazalarından olduklarının tespit edildiğini ve yerlerine gönderileceklerini Kastamonu Vilayetine bildirir. Kastamonu Valiliği de Sinop Mutasarrıflığının gönderdiği tahkikat sonucunu, 25 Ekim 1910 tarihinde Sadarete bildirir (BOA, 12 Teşrinievvel 1326).

Kastamonu Valiliği, 25 Ekim 1910'da Sadarete sunduğu tahkikat raporuna ek olarak, 11 Kânunuevvel 326 (24 Aralık 1910) bir rapor daha sunar. Bu ek raporda: Sinop dâhilinde Giregöz Ormanı'na izinsiz bir şekilde girerek arazi açan, ormandan çıkmamakta direnenlerin künyelerini bildirir. Bildirilen listede yer alanlar: Sinop'un Koyluş Karyesinden; Kıyıcı oğlu Kiğork, Bahar oğlu Haçık, Bahar oğlu Ohannes, Topal oğlu Mandus, Meletli oğlu Nersis, Samsun Sancağının Çarşamba Kazasında Martil Karyesinden Ğasem oğlu Bogos ve Kara Artin oğlu Danit (BOA, İD., 11/1-2 Sinop Sancağı Tahrirat Kalemi). Bu raporda, tebligat gereğince ormandan çıkartılanların listedekilerden ibaret olmadığı, Haçator, Kalus, Mersob, Kirkor, Hacı Kostantin oğlu Todoraki ve Demirci Bogos isimli şahısların da ormandan çıkartılanlar arasında bulunduğu ifade edilir. İsmi zikredilen şahısların, orman içinde âdî bir şekilde yaptıkları kulübelerin kaldırıldığı ve bir kısmının köylerine geri gönderildiği, diğerlerinin memleketlerine gönderildikleri bildirilir. Adı geçen Ermenilerin orman içine sokulmaları ve muhtelif nam ve unvanlarla resmi makamlara müracaatta bulunmalarının Sinop'ta yaşayan Ermeni cemaatine mensup bir iki kimse tarafından tertip ve teşvik edildiğinin tespit edildiği vurgulanır (BOA. 11 Kânunuevvel 326). Dâhiliye Nezareti, 3 Ocak 1911 tarihinde Kastamonu Valiliği'ne, Sinop Sancağı dâhilinde yer alan Giregöz Ormanı'nda izinsiz yerleşen şahısları teşvik ve tahrik ettikleri bildirilen Sinop'ta mukim iki Ermeni hakkında da gerekli tahkikatın yapılarak, sonucun bildirilmesi talimatını verir (BOA. 21 Kânunuevvel 326).

Rahip Ağışe, 8 Ocak 1911 tarihinde Kastamonu Vilayetine müracaatta bulunarak, Rusya'dan dönen 300 hanelik Osmanlı tebaası Ermenilerin Sinop'un Giregöz Nahiyesinde yerleştirilmelerini talep eder. Giregöz Nahiyesinde iki bin haneye yetecek büyüklükte metruk halde arazi bulunduğunu, bu araziden 50 veya 60 hanenin yerleşebileceği bir kısmın devlet tarafından kendilerine bedelsiz olarak verilmesini, bedelsiz olarak verilmesi kabul edilmez ise bedeli karşılığında verilmesini ister. Rahip Ağışe başvuru dilekçesinde; talep edilen yerin iskâna uygun olduğunu, miri ormanına zarar vermediği ve hiç kimsenin tasarrufunda bulunmadığı için Defter-i Hâkânî memurlarının oluruyla Ermeniler tarafından 25 baraka inşa edildiğini, ancak daha sonra hükümetin kararıyla, jandarma tarafından bu barakaların yıkıldığını iddia eder. Buradan çıkartılan Ermenilerin Sinop Liva merkezine götürüldüklerini ve sekiz on gündür orada olduklarını, durumun Sinop Mutasarrıflığına bildirildiğini, ancak

kendilerine herhangi bir cevap verilmemesi nedeniyle Kastamonu Vilayetine müracaatta bulduklarını dilekçesinde zikretmektedir (BOA. 26 Kânunuevvel 326).

Sinop Mutasarrıflığı, 2 Mart 1911 tarihinde Kastamonu Vilayetine çektiği telgrafta; Rahip Ağışe tarafından yapılan müracaatta anlatılanların doğru olmadığını, Giregöz Nahiyesinde Ermenilerin yerleştiği alanın miri arazi olduğunu, buraya yerleşenlerin öyle söylendiği gibi Rusya'dan göçmediklerini bildirir. Ormana yerleşen iki şahısın Çarşamba Kazasının Martil Karyesinden, büyük bir bölümün ise Sinop köylerinden olduğunu ve hiçbir izin almadan adı geçen yerde yerleştikleri ifade eder. Ayrıca, mutasarrıflık müracaatta bulunan Rahip Ağışe'nin resmi bir sıfat ve unvana sahip olmadığını, ormana girişlerin Rahibin bölgeye gelmesinden sonra olduğuna dikkat çekerek, bu gelişmelerin onun teşvikiyle olduğunu söyler. Hatta Rahip Ağışe'nin Sinop'a çok yakın bir Ermeni köyü halkından hükümeti haberdar etmeksizin okul yaptırmak bahanesiyle para topladığının tespit edildiğini, hakkında hukuki işlem yapılması ve resmi bir hüviyetinin olmaması nedeniyle müracaatının Sinop Mutasarrıflığı tarafından kabul edilmediğini bildirir (BOA, 17 Şubat 326). Kastamonu Valiliği, Sinop Mutasarrıflığı tarafından 17 Şubat 326'da kendilerine gönderilen tahkikat neticesini, 12 Mart 1911 tarihinde Dâhiliye Nezareti'ne gönderir (BOA, 27 Şubat 326).

Kastamonu Valiliği 16 Mart 1911 tarihinde, Sinop Mutasarrıflığından Giregöz Ormanı'nda izinsiz yerleşen şahısları teşvik ve tahrik eden iki Ermeni (Rahip Ağışe ve Sinop merkezde dava vekilliği yapan Kiğork Ağa) hakkında gerekli hukuki takibatın yapılarak neticenin kendilerine bildirilmesini ister (BOA, 3 Mart 327). Valilik, Sinop Mutasarrıflığından aldığı soruşturma neticesini 27 Mart 1911 tarihinde Dâhiliye Nezareti'ne bildirir. Kastamonu Valiliği, Giregöz Ormanı'nda izinsiz olarak yerleşmiş olan Ermenileri teşvik edenlerden biri olarak ifade edilen Kiğork Ağa hakkında kesin bir delil bulunamadığından, hakkında tahkikat ve takibata gerek olmadığı bilgisini verir (BOA, 14 Mart 327). Giregöz Ormanı'na izinsiz bir şekilde yerleşen Ermenilerle ilgili kesin kararın kurulan keşif heyetinin raporuna göre verilmesi uygun görülür. 22 Mayıs 1911 tarihinde Dâhiliye Nezareti'nden, Adliye ve Mezâhib Nezareti'ne, adı geçen Ermenilerin izinsiz olarak Giregöz Ormanı'na yerleşerek tahribata başladıklarının anlaşılması üzerine oradan çıkarılarak başka bir yere gönderildikleri bildirilir. Ermenilerin yerleştikleri arazinin iskâna elverişli olup olmadığının tayini için bir keşif heyetinin teşkil olduğu ve iskân işinin gerçekleşmesinin keşif heyetinin kararına bağlı olduğu açıklanır (BOA, 9 Mayıs 327).

### **Birinci Dünya Savaşı Yıllarında Sinop Ermenileri**

Sinop'ta yaşanan örneklerde göstermektedir ki Ermeniler, II. Meşrutiyet'le uygulamaya konulan özgürlük ortamını kullanarak, din adamlarının teşvik ve tahrikleriyle kanun ve nizam tanımadan, gerçek dışı beyanlarla resmi makamları yanıltarak, hedefleri doğrultusunda harekete geçmişlerdir. Hedefleri doğrultusunda hazırlıklarını sürdüren Ermeniler, I. Dünya Savaşı'nın başında, Doğu Anadolu ağırlıklı olmak üzere Türklere karşı isyan ve katlamalara girişince, hükümet isyancı Ermenilerin tehcirine karar vermiştir. Bu dönemde Sinop Sancağının da bağlı olduğu Kastamonu Vilayetindeki Ermenilerin tehcirine gerek duyulmamıştır. 1 Eylül 1915 tarihinde Dâhiliye Nezareti, Kastamonu Vilayetinin 17 Ağustos 1331 tarih ve 5438 numaralı telgrafına cevaben, vilayet dahilindeki Ermenilerin yerlerinde kalacaklarını bildirmiştir (BOA, DH. ŞFR, D.55, G.349, No:5438).

Vilayet ile Dâhiliye Nezareti arasında bölgedeki Ermeniler hakkında yazışmalar devam etmiştir. Dâhiliye Nezareti, Kastamonu Vilayetinin 10 Eylül 1331 tarih ve 544 numaralı yazısına, 28 Eylül 1915 tarih ve 6017 numara ile verdiği cevapta, Vilayet dahilindeki Ermenilerin şimdilik ihracına lüzum olmadığı kararını tekrarlamıştır (BOA, DH. ŞFR, D.56, G.226, No:6017). 1 Ekim 1915 tarihinde Dâhiliye Nazırı Talat Paşa imzasıyla, Kastamonu Vilayetine bir şifre telgraf çekilmiştir. Telgrafta: Kastamonu Vilâyeti dahilindeki Ermenilerin şimdilik ihracına lüzum olmadığı, buradaki Ermenilerden evlerinde silah bulunanlar hakkında gerekli kanuni muamelenin yapılması ve ayrıca ele geçirilen silahların cins ve miktarını ihtiva eden bir listenin hazırlanarak Dâhiliye Nezareti'ne gönderilmesi istenmiştir (BOA, DH. ŞFR, D.57, G. 82, No:46).

I. Dünya Savaşı'nın ilerleyen günlerinde ortaya çıkan asayiş sorunları ve İtilaf Devletleri ile ilişkileri nedeniyle Türkiye'nin diğer bölgelerinde olduğu gibi Kastamonu, Sinop ve çevresinde yaşayan Ermeniler de tehciye tabi tutulmuştur. 4 Ekim 1915 tarihinde Sinop defter-i hakani memuruna çekilen şifre telgrafta, Sinop'tan nakledilen Ermenilere ait taşınabilir mallardan kayıt ücreti alınmadan götürmelerine izin verilmesi istenmiştir (BOA, DH, ŞFR, D.56, G.273). Kastamonu Valiliği, 6 Ocak 1916 tarihinde Dâhiliye Nezareti'ne çektiği telgrafta, Vilayet dahilinde yerli ve yabancı 4.682 erkek, 4.365 kadın olmak üzere, toplam 9.047 Ermeni'nin bulunduğu bilgisini vermiştir (BOA, DH, EUM, Şube:2, 73/71).

### **Mütareke ve Milli Mücadele Yıllarında Sinop Ermenileri**

Osmanlının Mondros Mütarekesi'nin imzalayarak savaştan çekilmesi üzerine, tehcir yasası gereğince yerleri değiştirilen Ermeniler, mütareke ortamından istifade ederek, tehcirle ayrılmak zorunda kaldıkları memleketlerine avdet etmeye başladılar. Kastamonu ve Sinop havalisinden tehcirle gönderilen Ermeniler, eski yerlerine geri döndüklerinde bu çevrede etkili olan Ermeni Papazı Dacat Efendi'nin etrafında toplanırlar. Eski mallarını zorla geri almaya, Türklere kötü bakmaya ve dış gıcırdatmaya başlayan Ermenilerin bu hareketleri, bölgede yeni huzursuzluklara sebep olmuştur (Açıksözcü, 1933, s.7; Erdaha, 1975, s.209). Bu sırada Hürriyet ve İtilafçılar tarafından yeniden yayınlamaya başlayan Zafer adlı gazete, İttihatçıları eleştirme bahanesi ile bütün milletin benliğine ve varlığına saldırmaya başlarlar. Zafer Gazetesi, 1918 yılı sonundan başlayıp 1919 yılı 17 Eylülüne kadar Kastamonu'da yayınlanmış, İstanbul Hükümeti'ni destekleyen, Hürriyet ve İtilafçıların fikirlerini savunan, Milli Mücadele aleyhinde yayınlar yapan bir gazetedir (Öztoprak, 1981, s.13). Gazete, İttihatçıların Ermeni ve Rumlara kötülük ettiğini söyleyerek bir taraftan Türklüğü lekelerken, bir taraftan da Ermeni ve Rumların azgınlıklarına gerekçe hazırlıyordu. Bu tür yayınlardan da güç alan Ermeni ve Rumlar, oturdukları mahallelerden geçen Türklere laf atmaya ve onlarla alay etmeye başlamışlardır.

İtilaf Devletleri ve Hürriyet İtilafçıların tavırlarından aldığı destekle iyice şımaran Ermenilerin etrafında toplandığı Ermeni Papazı Dacat, Kastamonu Valisi bile yaya giderken, O şehirde faytonla geziyor, hükümet binasına gelirken arabasının önüne iki silahlı Ermeni oturtuyordu. Kastamonu Valisi, Papaz Dacat'ı valiliğe geldiğinde sanki büyük bir ülkenin elçisini karşılıyormuş gibi karşılıyordu. Bu manzaralara şahit olan bölge halkı, dönemin hükümetini bu kadar alçalmaya katlandığı için lanetliyor, memleketin üstünde kara bulutların dolaştığı bu

dönemde, herkes başını sallayarak burnundan soluyor ve ülkenin nereye gittiğini bir birine soruyordu (Açıksözcü, 1933, s.8-10).

Meydanı boş bulan Ermenilerin bölgedeki en önemli dini lideri olan Papaz Dacat, çevreyi dolaşmaya, Ermeni halkını teftiş etmeye başlamış. Bu çerçevede Sinop'taki Ermenileri teftişe gelen Dacat Efendi, burada az sayıda olan Ermeni cemaati tarafından karşılanmış ve doğruca Sinop Mutasarrıflık makamına götürülmüştür. Sinop'ta tehcir esnasında açık artırma ile satılan Ermeni mallarının geri alınması vesaire gibi cemaat işleriyle meşgul olurken, bir an da tehcir esnasında Müslüman olup Sinop'ta kalan Ermenileri makama çağırmaya başlar. Mutasarrıflık binası resmi bir daire olduğu halde, bu durumu kale dahi almaksızın saygısızca ve fütursuzca hareketler yapmaya başlamıştır. Papaz Dacat, huzuruna getirttiği Müslüman olup Sinop'ta kalmış olan Ermeni asıllı kadınların başlarındaki çarşafaları yırtmaya ve onları tekrar Hıristiyan olmaya zorlar (Peker, 1955, s.21). Bu olayların devamını o esnada orada bulunan Sinop Mutasarrıflığı Tahrirat Baş Kâtibi Hüseyin Hilmi Uluğ hatıralarında şöyle anlatıyor: “Hepimiz için için inleyerek bu hallere seyirci kalmak zorunda bulunuyorduk. Bu meyanda Maliye kâtiplerinden Şahin Efendi ile Elbistan taraflarında İhtiyat Zabiti bulunduğu sırada evlenmiş, çoluk-çocuk sahibi olmuş bir Ermeni kızının Dacat'a şiddet ile mukabele ederek “Pis elini çarşafıma sürme, ben kendi isteğim ve arzulla İslam oldum, evlendim bir daha bu dinden dönmem ve kocamdan ayrılmam sen bana artık karışamazsın” diye bağırarak ve ağlayarak Papaz Dacat'a mukavemet göstermişti...” ifadelerini kullanır (Uluğ, 4 Eylül 1952, s.3).

Mütarekeden hemen sonra, Kastamonu ve Sinop havalisindeki Ermeni mallarının geri alınması olayındaki acımasız davranışları ve Kastamonu Valisine karşı sergilediği saygısızlıkları, şımarıklıkları nedeniyle nefret edilen Papaz Dacat, bölgede Milli hareketin güçlenmesi ve Batı Cephesi'nden gelen haberler üzerine tavrını değiştirmiştir. Kastamonu Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti'nin başlatmış olduğu milli mücadeleye yardım kampanyasına, Ermeni Papazı Dacat Efendi'de 1920 yılı Temmuz'unda 50 lira bağışta bulunmuştur. Bu yardımdan dolayı Açıksöz Gazetesi, Papaz Dacat Efendi'ye teşekkür yazısı yayınlamıştır (Açıksöz, 15 Temmuz 1336; Peker, 1955, s.228).

Destekledikleri Yunanlıların Sakarya Savaşı'nda yaşadıkları hezimetten sonra İngilizler, Anadolu'da yaşayan gayrimüslimlere Türklerin zulmettiği, yalan propagandasına girişmiştir. İngilizlerin basın vasıtalıyla yaymaya çalıştıkları yalan haberlerin kendilerine olumsuz yansımaları olmasından korkan Anadolu'nun çeşitli yerlerinde yaşayan gayrimüslimler, Batılı basın organlarında kendileri hakkında yapılan haberlerin doğru olmadığını ifade ederek, yalan haberleri protesto etmeye başladılar (Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 1 Haziran 1922). İngilizler tarafından servis edilen yalan haberleri protesto etmek üzere çekilen telgraflarından biri de, Boyabat Ermeni ve Rum Hıristiyan cemaatine aittir. Boyabat Ermenilerinden, Kirkor Megonyan, Papas Oğlu Yenaved imzalarının yer aldığı telgraf, Hâkimiyet-i Milliye Gazetesi tarafından da yayınlanmıştır. Telgrafta; “Asırlardan beri Türk camiası arasında müreffeh ve pek mesut olarak geçirdiğimiz hayatı zehirlemek, kendi entrikalarını çevirmek için boş yere canlara kastedenler tarafından Anadolu'da Rum ve Ermenilere karşı mezalim yapıldığına dair bazı uydurma şayiaların neşredildiği hayretle görülüp işitilmektedir. Biz Türklerle evvel ve ahir daima iyi geçindik ve Türk idaresinde pek ziyade mesut olduk. Türkler bize bizden ve bize yandaş görünenlerden çok fazla refik (dost), şefkatli ve koruyucudurlar. Türklerden şimdiye kadar

gayrı adilane hiçbir muamele görmedik. Adil ve tebaasına şefik bir hükümet olan Hükümet-i Milliyemiz en medeni memleketler tarzındaki hüsn-ü idaresiyle bütün anasını (unsurları) etrafına toplamıştır. Avrupalılara, Amerikalılara rica ederiz bir takım fitne amaçlı yayınlara itibar etmesinler ve bizi kendi halimize bırakarak bizimle meşgul olmasınlar” ifadeleri yer almıştır.

Boyabat Ermenilerince çekilmiş olan protesto telgrafının nerdeyse aynısı, 1922 yılı 31 Mayısında, Gerze Hıristiyanları tarafından da çekilmiştir. Ortodoks Papaz Kastati, Hıristiyan temsilcileri Mihal Yako, Nikola Oğlu Dimitri, Kosti Oğlu Davit imzasını taşıyan bu protesto telgrafta da, 05.06.1922’de Hâkimiyeti Milliye Gazetesi’nde yayınlanmıştır (Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 5 Haziran 1922).

### **Sonuç**

1870’lere kadar, devlete bağılıklarını sürdüren Ermeniler, yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Rus ve İngiliz kışkırtmalarına alet olarak Türklere karşı isyana kalkıştılar. Ermeniler, II. Meşrutiyet ilan edildikten sonra, hürriyet ve özgürlük ortamını kullanarak, din adamlarının teşvik ve tahrikleriyle kanun ve nizam tanımadan, gerçek dışı beyanlarla resmi makamları yanıltarak, hedefleri doğrultusunda harekete geçtiler. I. Dünya Savaşı’nın başında Doğu Anadolu ağırlıklı olmak üzere Türklere karşı isyan ve katliamlar giriştiklerinde, hükümet isyancı Ermenilerin tehcirine karar verdi. Tehcir uygulamasının başlarında Sinop ve havalisindeki Ermeniler kapsam dışı bırakıldı. Ancak, I. Dünya Savaşı’nın ilerleyen günlerinde ortaya çıkan asayiş sorunları ve İtilaf Devletleri ile ilişkileri nedeniyle, Türkiye’nin diğer bölgelerinde olduğu gibi, Sinop Ermenileri de tehcir yasası gereğince uygulamaya dahil edildiler.

Osmanlı Devleti’nin Mondros Mütarekesi’nin imzalayarak savaştan çekilmesi üzerine, tehcirle gönderilmiş olan Ermeniler, Sinop’taki yerlerine geri dönmeye başladılar. Ermeniler, eski yerlerine geri döndüklerinde, bu çevrede etkili olan Ermeni Papazı Dacat Efendi’nin etrafında toplandılar. Eski mallarını zorla geri almaya, Türklere kötü kötü bakmaya ve hakaretler savurmaya başlayan Ermenilerin bu hareketleri, bölgede yeni huzursuzluklara sebep oldu. Sinop, Mutasarrıflığını ziyareti sırasında yaptığı ahlaksızca davranışları ve şımarıklıkları nedeniyle nefret edilen Papaz Dacat, bölgede Milli hareketin güçlenmesi ve Batı Cephesi’nden gelen zafer haberleri üzerine tavrını değiştirmiş, hatta Milli Mücadeleye para yardımında dahi bulunmuştur.

Sakarya Zaferi’nden sonra Batı basınında, Anadolu’da Türklerin Hristiyanlara zulüm yaptığı yönündeki yalan haberlerin kendilerini sıkıntıya sokacağından endişelenen Sinop Ermenileri, Batı basınında yer alan yalan haberleri protesto eden telgraflar çekmeye başlamışlardır. Sinop’un Boyabat ve Gerze Kazalarında yaşayan Ermeniler tarafından çekilen protesto telgrafları Hâkimiyet-i Milliye Gazetesi’nde de yayınlanmıştır. Özetle, ortamı hedefleri için uygun gördüklerinde, kendilerine asırlarca kol kanat germiş, her türlü özgürce yaşama imkânını tanımış Türklere karşı, her türlü fenalığı yapmaktan geri durmamışlardır. Ancak, şartların değişmesi Anadolu’da Milli hareketin başarılı olduğunun görülmesi üzerine, farklı bir tavra bürünerek ikiyüzlü davranışlarını devam ettirmişlerdir.

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## **İzmir'in Yunanlılar Tarafından İşgaline Sinop ve Kazalarının Tepkisi**

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### **Özet**

Türk vatanının kadim merkezlerinden biri olan İzmir, 15 Mayıs 1919 tarihinde Mondros Mütarekesi'nin ruh ve maksadına aykırı bir biçimde işgal edilmiştir. Bu işgalin bilhassa Yunanlılara yaptırılması ve onların da İzmir'e ayak basar basmaz, katliamlara ve halkın mukaddesatına karşı tecavüzlere girişmeleri, Türk Milletini derinden etkilemiştir. Yapılan zulüm ve haksızlıklara karşı Türk kamuoyu ilk tepkisini, kapalı salon toplantıları yaparak ve resmi makamlara telgraflar çekerek göstermiştir. 9. Ordu Müfettişi Mustafa Kemal Paşa, 28 Mayıs 1919 tarihinde Havza'dan bütün askeri ve mülki makamlara yayımladığı tamimle işgalleri protesto mitingleri yapılmasını, İtilaf Devletleri mümessilleri ve İstanbul Hükümeti'ne protesto telgrafları çekilmesini istemiştir. Bu çağrıdan sonra Türk Milleti, İzmir'in işgaline karşı en etkili tepkisini, yurdun çeşitli yerlerinde düzenlenen mitinglerle göstermiştir. Vatanın diğer bölgelerinde olduğu gibi, Sinop ve ilçelerinde de İzmir'in işgalini protesto mitingleri düzenlenmiş, İstanbul Hükümeti'ne ve İtilaf Devletleri mümessillerine protesto telgrafları çekilmiştir. 16 Mayıs 1919 tarihinde Sinop Belediye Reisi Rasim Bey'in önderliğinde, İstanbul Hükümeti'ne İzmir'in Yunanlılar tarafından işgali sırasında gösterdiği tavır nedeniyle protesto telgrafi çekilmiştir. Ayrıca, İzmir'in işgalini protesto etmek amacıyla, 3 Haziran 1919 tarihinde Seyit Bilal Türbesi önünde büyük bir miting düzenlenmiştir. Mitingin sonunda, alınan kararlar İstanbul Hükümeti'ne ve İstanbul'daki İtilaf Devletleri temsilcilerine gönderilmiştir. İzmir'in işgali Sinop'un Ayancık Kazası halkı tarafından da protesto edilmiştir. Ayancıklılar, İzmir'in işgalini 26 Mayıs 1919'da, Ayancık Müftüsü İsmail Hakkı ve Belediye Başkanı Mehmet Haşim önderliğinde "İstanbul Yüksek Sadarete" başlığı altında, İstanbul Hükümeti'ne gönderdikleri bir telgraf ile protesto etmişlerdir. 27 Mayıs 1919 tarihinde ise Boyabat Kazası Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası Şube Reisi Osman Nuri imzasıyla, İstanbul Hükümeti ve İtilaf Devletleri temsilcilerine İzmir'in Yunanlılar tarafından işgalini protesto eden bir telgraf çekilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İzmir'in İşgali, Yunanlılar, Sinop ve Kazaları, Protesto

## **The Reaction of Sinop And its Accidents to the Occupation of Izmir by the Greeks**

### **Abstract**

Izmir, one of the ancient centers of the Turkish homeland, was occupied on May 15, 1919, contrary to the spirit and purpose of the Armistice of Mudros. The fact that this occupation was made especially by the Greeks and that they started massacres and rapes against the sacred

values of the people as soon as they set foot in Izmir, deeply affected the Turkish Nation. The Turkish public showed its first reaction to the oppression and injustice by holding closed-door meetings and sending telegrams to the official authorities. 9. Army Inspector Mustafa Kemal Pasha, in the circular he issued to all military and civil authorities in Havza on 28 May 1919, asked for protest rallies to be held against the occupations and for protest telegrams to be sent to the representatives of the Allied Powers and the Istanbul Government. After this call, the Turkish Nation showed its most effective reaction against the occupation of Izmir with rallies held in various parts of the country. As in other parts of the country, protest rallies were held in Sinop and its districts against the occupation of Izmir, and protest telegrams were sent to the Istanbul Government and representatives of the Allied Powers. On May 16, 1919, under the leadership of Sinop Mayor Rasim Bey, a protest telegram was sent to the Istanbul Government for its attitude during the occupation of Izmir by the Greeks. Additionally, a large rally was held in front of Seyit Bilal Tomb on June 3, 1919, to protest the occupation of Izmir. At the end of the rally, the decisions taken were sent to the Istanbul Government and the representatives of the Allied Powers in Istanbul. The occupation of Izmir was also protested by the people of Ayancık District of Sinop. The people of Ayancık protested the occupation of Izmir on 26 May 1919, under the leadership of Ayancık Mufti İsmail Hakkı and Mayor Mehmet Haşim, with a telegram they sent to the Istanbul Government under the title "Istanbul Supreme Grand Vizier". On May 27, 1919, a telegram was sent to the representatives of the Istanbul Government and the Allied Powers, protesting the occupation of Izmir by the Greeks, with the signature of Osman Nuri, Head of the Boyabat District Freedom and Entente Party Branch.

**Keywords:** Occupation of Izmir, Greeks, Sinop and its Districts, Protest.

## **Giriş**

İtilaf Devletleri, Mondros Mütarekesi'nin imzalanmasından hemen sonra, asırlardır Türk yurdu olan Anadolu'nun önemli merkezlerini işgale başladılar. Bu işgal hareketine İtilaf Devletleri'nin himayesinde Yunanlılar da katıldı. Yunan kuvvetlerinin ilk işgali, 15 Mayıs 1919 tarihinde İzmir'le başladı (Villalta, 2000, s.206; Kurtuluş Savaşımız, 1973, s.26). Yunanlıların İzmir'i işgal sırasında, Yunan askerini büyük bir coşkuyla ve şımarıklıklar yaparak karşılayan yerli Rumlar, Türklere karşı kin ve nefretlerini kusmayı da ihmal etmediler (Akçora, 1993, s.4). İşgal sırasında Yunanlılarla işbirliği yapan yerli Rumlar, yağma, çapulculuk ve soykırım planlarını uygulamaya koymak amacıyla harekete geçince, İzmir'de başlayan zulüm ve cinayetler büyük bir insanlık ayıbına dönüştü (Akçakayalıoğlu, 1998, s.141). Türkleri zorla toplamaya, süngülemeye ve her türlü ağır işkencelere maruz bırakan işgalciler, Ali Nadir Paşa'yı tekmeleyerek yerlerde sürüklediler. Albay Fethi Bey ise "Zito Venizelos" diye bağırmadığı için şehit edildi (Akçora, 1993, s.5). Yunanlıların, Türklere karşı bu kadar vahşice davranmalarında, papazların "Bir Türk öldürenin günahları affedilecek, cennete gidecektir" şeklindeki sözleri etkili olmuştur (Onay, 1995, s.35).

İzmir'in işgal edilmesi, ülkenin bütününde çok şiddetli tepkilere sebep oldu. Tamamen haksız ve Mondros Mütarekesi'nin ruh ve maksadına aykırı olan bu işgal hareketinin, bilhassa Yunanlılara yaptırılması ve Yunanlıların da İzmir'e çıktıkları ilk andan itibaren, Türklere karşı

katliamlara girişmeleri, İslam ahalinin mukaddeslerine karşı saygısızca ve hakaretimiz saldırıları, Türk Milleti'nin milli duygularını büyük ölçüde etkiledi (Türk İstiklal Harbi, 1999, s.49). Bu zulüm ve haksızlıklar karşısında Türk kamuoyu ilk tepkisini, yaptıkları toplantılarla ve ilgili makamlara çektikleri protesto telgraflarıyla ortaya koydu. Türk Milleti, İzmir'in işgaline karşı en etkili tepkisini ise Anadolu'nun tamamında düzenlenen mitinglerle gösterdi (Güner, 1999, s.168). Bütün bu tepkilerin arkasından Kuvayı Milliye adı verilen silahlı mukavemet teşkilatları kurulmaya başlandı. İzmir'de başlayan işgaller, Türk Milleti'ni derinden yaralamış, ancak bu durum vatanın düşmandan temizlenmesini, milletin birliğinin tesisini ateşleyen bir başlangıcı, yani milli mukavemetin güç kaynağını oluşturmuştur. İzmir'in işgali, Türk Milleti'nin uyanışında ve Milli Mücadele'ye azimle başlamasında önemli katkılar sağlamıştır (Akçora, 1993, s.5).

İzmir'in, arkasından Manisa'nın ve Aydın'ın işgali karşısında net bir tavır ortaya koyamayan İstanbul Hükümeti'nden ümidini kesen Mustafa Kemal Paşa, 28 Mayıs 1919'da Havza'dan bütün mülki ve askeri makamlara yayımladığı tamimle, işgallere karşı halkı uyandırmak ve harekete geçirmek istemiştir. Mustafa Kemal Paşa, işgalleri protesto etmek ve halkı uyandırmak amacıyla mitingler yapılmasını, İtilaf Devletleri mümessilleri ve İstanbul Hükümeti'ne protesto telgrafları çekilmesini istedi (Atatürk, 2000, s.22-23). Yapılan mitinglerde, vatanın bütününün tehlikede olduğunun açıklanarak, milli bilincin uyandırılmasına çalışılmasını isteyen Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın çağrılarına uygun olarak, yurdun çeşitli yerlerinde protesto mitingleri düzenlendi (Akçora, 1993, s.5).

## **Sinop ve Kazalarının İzmir'in İşgaline Tepkisi**

### **Sinop'tan Çekilen Protesto Telgrafı**

Vatanın diğer bölgelerinde olduğu gibi, Sinop ve ilçeleri halkı tarafından da İstanbul Hükümeti'ne ve İtilaf Devletleri mümessillerine, İzmir'in işgalini protesto eden telgraflar çekildi, mitingler düzenlendi. İlk protesto telgrafı, 16 Mayıs 1919 tarihinde Sinop Liva merkezinden, Sinop Belediye Reisi Rasim Bey'in önderliğinde, İzmir'in Yunanlılar tarafından işgali sırasında gösterdiği tavır nedeniyle İstanbul Hükümeti'ne çekildi. "İstanbul Yüksek Sadarete" başlığı altında çekilen telgrafta, yaşanan hukuksuzlukları ve hükümetin sessizliğini protesto ettiler. Bu telgrafta imzası bulunalar, Belediye Reisi Rasim, eşraftan Halil, Kemal, Ali, Sadık, Hakkı, Vahit, Hüseyin, İsmail, Hasan, Akif, Hüsnü, Rıza, Mahmut, Salih, dava vekili Mehmet, Tevfik, Naci, Hüseyin Abdullah, Ahmet, Mustafa, Hüsnü, Ahmet, Hüseyin, Mehmet Ali, Hüseyin, Hasan, Cevdet, Sabri, Şükrü, Cevdet, Abdullah, Esat Mahmut, İbrahim, Ali, Mustafa, Mehmet, Mustafa ve binlerce ahali olarak ifade edildi.

Çekilen telgrafta: "Çok eski yüzyıllardan beri bütün ırkların kanları Osmanlı kanı ile yoğrulmuş ve büyük çoğunluğunu Türklerin ihtiva etmekte olduğu İzmir gibi Türkoğlu Türk vilayetimizin tarihi gelenekleri ve mantığı büsbütün ayaklar altına alarak Yunanistan tarafından işgali, Türklerin hayat hakkından bile yoksun bırakılacağına delil olan bu can yakıcı, dayanılmaz, feci olayı teessürle reddetmekle birlikte İzmir'in Osmanlı ülkesi olarak kalmasını son dereceye kadar savunacağımız gibi bizleri kat-i azmimizden hiçbir kuvvet ve teşebbüsün men edemeyeceğini, livamızın heyecan ve galeyana gelen kamuoyumuz adına arza cesaret eder,

başarılı müjdeli haberlerine sabırsızlıkla intizar eyeriz.” (Atamer, Temmuz 1968, s.25). İfadeleriyle Sinop halkının duygularına tercüman oldular.

### **Ayancık Kazasından Çekilen Protesto Telgrafı**

İzmir'in Yunanlılar tarafından işgali, Sinop'un Ayancık Kazası halkı tarafından da protesto edildi. Ayancıklılar, İzmir'in işgalini 26 Mayıs 1919'da, Sinop merkezden çekilen telgraftan on gün sonra, İstanbul Hükümeti'ne çektikleri telgrafla protesto ettiler. Ayancık Müftüsü İsmail Hakkı ve Belediye Başkanı Mehmet Haşim önderliğinde “İstanbul Yüksek Sadarete” başlığı altında çekilen telgrafta; İtilaf Devletleri'nin İzmir'in işgali hakkında aldıkları kararın hak ve adalete vurulmuş bir darbe olduğunu belirtilerek, hükümetin bu konuda alınmış ve alınmakta olan bir kararının olup olmadığını sorup, varsa bu kararın kendilerine bildirmesini istediler (Şahingöz, 1988, s.466).

Müftü İsmail Hakkı ve bütün ilçe halkı adına Belediye Başkanı Mehmet Haşim Bey'in, eşraftan Ahmet Mithat, Şükrü imzasının yer aldığı telgraf aynen şöyledir: “Osmanlı memleketlerinin parçalarından olan İzmir vilayeti gibi yüzyıllar görmüş bir Türk memleketinin, Yunan askerleri tarafından işgali hakkındaki İtilaf Devletleri'nin verdikleri karar hak ve adalete vurulmuş bir darbedir, bunu hiçbir suretle kabul etmeyen Ayancık ilçesinin yüz elli bin Türkü'nün protestosunun İtilaf Devletleri ve mümessillerine bildirilmesini temenni eder, bu vaziyete karşı hükümetimizin yaptığı teşebbüslerinin tesir derecesini ve bu konuda alınan, alınmış ve alınmakta olan hükümet tedbirlerini sabırsızlıkla öğrenmek isteyen milletin intizarda bırakılmamasını arz ve istirham eyeriz.” (Atamer, Temmuz 1968, s.12). Sinop Liva merkezinden sonra Ayancık Kazası tarafından da İzmir'in hukuksuz bir şekilde işgal edilmiş olması çekilen telgrafla protesto edilmiştir.

### **Boyabat Kazasından Çekilen Protesto Telgrafı**

Sinop'un Boyabat Kazası halkı adına da Ayancık Kazasından bir gün sonra, 27 Mayıs 1919 tarihinde, İzmir'in Yunanlılarca işgal edilmesini, bu konuda sorumlulukları bulunanları kınayan bir telgraf çekilmiştir. Boyabat Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası Şube Reisi Osman Nuri imzasını taşıyan telgrafta, İstanbul Hükümeti ve İtilaf Devletleri temsilcileri İzmir'de yaşanan hukuksuzluklardan dolayı kınanmıştır. Boyabat halkı adına Osman Nuri tarafından “İstanbul Hükümetine” başlığı altında çekilen telgrafta, Boyabatlıların İzmir'in işgaline karşı tepkileri şu şekilde ifade edilmiştir: “Bahtı kötü vatanın bölünmez bir parçası olan İzmir'in, Yunan askerleri tarafından işgali haberi burada yıldırım çarpmış gibi hüznün ve yas doğurdu. Bu işgal keyfiyeti bütün İtilaf Devletleri nezdinde protesto edilmekle birlikte, bütün ahalinin ağız ve gövde birliği yapmış olarak şimdiki adaletli hükümetin çalışmalarına ve durumuna emin olarak, maddi ve manevi her türlü fedakârlığa hazır ve müheyya olduğu arz olunur.” (Atamer, Ağustos 1968, s.17).

### **Sinop'ta 3 Haziran 1919 Tarihinde Düzenlenen Protesto Mitingi ve Hürriyet İtilafçıların Manipülasyon Girişimleri**

Sinop ve kazaları 1919 yılı Mayıs ayı içerisinde, İzmir'in Yunanlılarca işgal edilmesini çektikleri protesto telgrafları ile telin etmiştir. Sinoplular, Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın 28 Mayıs 1919'da Havza'dan bütün mülki ve askeri makamlara yayınlamış olduğu tamime uyararak, 3

Haziran 1919 tarihinde İzmir'in işgalini protesto etmek üzere, Seyit Bilal Türbesi önünde geniş katılımlı bir mitingi düzenlemiştir. Mitingde söz alanlar istiklallerini korumak için büyük azim ile müdafaaya çalışacaklarını ifade ettiler. Ayrıca, "Yedi asırlık bir saltanatın ortadan kaldırılmasının dünya sulhunu ihlal edeceği, saltanatı ve istiklâlin korunmasının dünyadaki siyaset dengesi için elzem olduğunun" altı çizilerek, İtilaf Devletleri'nin bu durumu dikkate alınmasının icap ettiği üzerinde durulmuştur. Mitingin sonunda alınan kararlar, İstanbul Hükümeti'ne ve İstanbul'daki İtilaf Devletleri temsilcilerine gönderilmiştir. Sinop'ta 3 Haziran'da yapılan İzmir'in işgalini protesto mitingi sonunda alınan kararları, farklı amaçlarla kullanmaya çalışanlar olmuştur. Bu mitinge ait vesikalar Harp Tarihi Arşivi'nde mevcuttur. Çok uzun olan bu mitingin mukarreratı değişik yorumlara tabi tutularak tartışılmıştır (Şahingöz, 1988, s.465-466).

Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası Sinop İkinci Başkanı Akif Bey'in, miting sonunda alınan kararları, kendi mandacı anlayışı çerçevesinde kullanmaya çalıştığına dair iddialar ortaya atılmıştır. Bu iddialarla ilgili olarak Mustafa Kemal Paşa, Nutuk'ta şöyle diyor: "Verdiğim bu talimat üzerine her yerde mitingler yapılmaya başlandı. Verdiğim talimattaki nokta-i nazarı, aleyhte kullanacak kadar, maharet gösterenler de oldu. Mesela; Sinop'a yeni tayin olunan bir mutasarrıf, orada yapılan tezahüratı bizzat tedvir ediyor ve miting mukarreratını bizzat yazıp ahaliye imza ettirdiğini söylüyor ve bize de bir suretini gönderiyor. Bu zatın, zavallı ahaliye, gürültü patırtı arasında imza ettirdiği uzun yazılar içinde, şu satırlar gizleniyordu:

"Türkler, ilerleyip gelişemediyse, Avrupa medeniyetini kabul edip benimseyemediyse bu şimdiye kadar iyi bir idareye sahip olamamasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Türk Milleti, ancak padişahının taht-ı idaresinde olmak koşuluyla ve Avrupa'nın nezaret ve denetimi altında teşkil edilecek bir yönetimle yaşayabilir." Efendiler, Sinop halkı adına 3 Haziran 1919'da İtilaf Devletleri temsilcilerine verilen bu muhtıranın ekindeki imzalara göz gezdirirken müftü vekilinin imzasından sonra gördüğüm imza, ifade ettiğim satırları yazan ve yazdıran zihniyeti bana gösterdi. O imza, Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası İkinci Reisi olan kişinin imzasıydı." (Atatürk, 2000, s.23-24). diyerek Akif Bey'in nasıl bir oyun içerisinde olduğunu ortaya koymuştur.

Akif Bey'in yapmak istediğiyle ilgili olarak Rıza Nur da hatıratında: "Yapılan mitingde ve yayınlanan mukarreratında Padişahın ve Avrupa'nın nezaret ve murakabesini isteriz ifadelerine yer verilmiştir. Bunlar doğrudur. Ancak, halk masumdur. Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası İkinci Reisi olan Akif tarafından kandırılmıştır..." ifadelerini kullanır. Geçmiş karanlık olan Akif Bey, Mütareke döneminde Sinop'ta gelerek, Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkasının teşkilatını kurmuş, Rasim Bey'i Başkan yapmış, kendisi de İkinci Başkan olmuştur. İstanbul'daki Hürriyet ve İtilafçılarla ilişki içine giren Akif Bey, halkı Anadolu'daki Milli Hareket'in aleyhinde hareket etmeye ve İngilizlere teslim olmaya teşvik etmiştir. Miting sonunda yaşananlarda Vahdettin'in yaveri olan Çerkez Zeki'nin de rolü olmuştur. Akrabalık bağlarını kullanarak Sinop Çerkezlerini Milli Hareket'in aleyhinde kışkırtmıştır (Nur, 1968, s.572-573).

### **İtilafçı Zihniyetin Tasfiyesi ve Milli Teşkilatın Teşkili**

Mütarekeden hemen sonra, memleketin bazı bölgelerinin hukuksuz bir şekilde işgali ve azınlıkların Türklere karşı saldırılara başlaması üzerine, memleketin değişik bölgelerinde milli cemiyetler kurulmaya başlanmıştır. Özellikle de İzmir'in Yunanlılar tarafından işgal edilmesi,

milli cemiyetlerin daha yaygın bir hale gelmesini ve faaliyetlerini artırmasını ateşlemiştir. Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın Anadolu'ya geçtiği günden itibaren halkın işgaller karşısında teşkilatlanması konusuyla yakından ilgilenmesi de milli teşkilatlanmaya büyük bir güç katmıştır (Sakallı, 1997, s.365). Anadolu'nun hemen bütün bölgelerinde, başlatılan milli teşkilatlanmaya paralel olarak, Sinop'ta da bu yönde çalışmalara başlanmıştır. Sinop'ta milli teşkilatlanmanın öncülüğünü Kastamonulu Binbaşı Şevket Bey yapmıştır. Kastamonu Askerlik Şubesi Reis Vekili olan Binbaşı Şevket Bey, 20. Kolordu Kumandanı Ali Fuat Paşa tarafından Kuvayı Milliye örgütlenmesini yapmak üzere Sinop Askerlik Şube Reisliği'ne görevlendirilmiştir. Şevket Bey, 1919 yılı Temmuz ayının son günlerinde Sinop'a gelmiş ve burada şehrin ileri gelenleri ile yaptığı gizli görüşmeler sonunda, Ağustosun başında milli teşkilat oluşturulmaya başlanmıştır (Efe, 2018, s.193-194).

Binbaşı Şevket Bey'in Sinop'taki çalışmalarından rahatsızlık duyan Sinop'taki Hürriyet ve İtilafçılar, onu Harbiye Nezareti'ne şikâyet edince Şevket Bey, Kastamonu Askerlik Şubesi Reis Vekilliği görevinden alınarak, geçici olarak görevlendirildiği Sinop Askerlik Şube Reisliğine atanmıştır. Şevket Bey'in kararlı tutumu sayesinde, Sinop'ta milli teşkilatlanma güç kazanmış ve arkasından da Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyetleri kurulmaya başlanmıştır. Kastamonu Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti'nin merkez şubesinin kurulmasından sonra, Vilayete bağlı Mutasarrıflıklarda da Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyetlerinin kurulmasına başlanmıştır (Açıksöz, 27 Eylül 1335; Peker, 1955, s.43-44). Sinop merkezde ve kazalarında Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyetlerinin kurulması, görevden el çektirilmiş olan Mutasarrıf Mazhar Tevfik Bey'in daha güçlü bir şekilde göreve iadesiyle büyük bir ivme kazanmıştır (Sinop 93 İl Yıllığı, 1993, s.43). Sinop Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti'ni kurucu başkanı Emekli Jandarma Binbaşı Namık Bey olmuştur (Açıksöz, 2 Teşrinievvel 1335). Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti'nin Sinop merkez şubesinden sonra Boyabat, Bey'in başkanlığında Gerze ve Ayancık kazalarında şubelerin açılmasıyla, Sinop Mutasarrıflığı dahilinde Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti teşkilatlanması tamamlanmıştır (Sinop 93 İl Yıllığı, 1993, s.43). Böylece, Sinop ve havalisinde Milli Mücadele aleyhinde faaliyetler içinde bulunan, halkı istismara yeltenen İtilafçı ve mandacı zihniyet tasfiye edilmiştir. Teşkil edilen Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyetleri, Milli Mücadele'nin başlaması ile birlikte, yapılan toplantı ve mitinglerle halkı Milli Mücadele hareketi yönünden bilgilendirmek ve destek sağlamak için büyük bir mücadele içine girmiştir.

## **Sonuç**

Mütareke ahkâmına aykırı olarak 15 Mayıs 1919'da İzmir'in İngilizlerin hamiliğinde Yunanlılara işgal ettirilmesi, İzmir'e çıkan yanan askerinin Türk halkına karşı uyguladığı insanlık dışı muamele, yerli Rumların taşkınlık ve şımarıklıkları Türk Milletinde, bir taraftan umutsuzluğa bir taraftan da büyük bir öfkeye sebep olmuştur. Türk Milleti bu haksız işgal hareketlerine karşı çeşitli şekillerde tepkilerini ortaya koymuştur. Yunan işgal hareketlerine karşı gösterilen bu tepkiler, İtilaf Devletleri'nin Türk Yurdu üzerindeki planlarını bozmuş ve milli şuurun uyanmasına kurtuluş mücadelesinin güç kazanmasına vesile olmuştur. Ülke genelinde olduğu gibi İzmir'in Yunanlılar tarafından işgali Sinop ve kazalarında da protesto edilmiş, İtilafçı zihniyetin oyunları bozulmuş ve milli teşkilatlanma gerçekleştirilmiştir. Milli teşkilatla bütünleşen Sinoplular, Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın direktifleri doğrultusunda Milli Mücadele Hareketine verebileceği her türlü desteği vermiştir.

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## **Quality of Employment in India: Dualities and determinants**

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### **Abstract**

In India, despite a liberalised economic environment and a consistently high rate of economic growth, the quality of employment is poor. In this context, this paper analyses India's employment quality across rural-urban locations and social groups using three crucial dimensions as proposed by the International Labour Organisation: 'employment opportunity', 'social security' and 'social dialogue'. The paper uses the nationally representative unit/household-level data published by the Government of India for the period when India was growing very fast. The main findings of the paper are: although the household level factors, such as age and education of the household's members, male-female ratio, socio-religious identities, household head's education etc, are significant in explaining the variations in the quality of employment at the micro-level, intriguingly, at the macro-level (sub-national state-level), aspects such as the overall volume of economic activities, the volume of organised sector activity, overall quality of governance, the flexibility of business regulatory environment and labour-law compliance either have no significant role or have significant negative influences on employment quality.

**Keywords:** Quality Of Employment, Employment Opportunity, Social Security, Social Dialogue, Dualism, India

### **1. Introduction**

Despite being one of the world's major emerging economies, India's employment condition remains poor (IHD 2014; SWI, 2018). There is jobless growth and, more importantly, growth-sans quality, where 'quality of employment'<sup>1</sup> is miserable. Furthermore, disturbingly, employment quality in India, compared to most countries in the world, is deplorable (if measured with the help of some of the ILO dimensions on decent work)<sup>2</sup>. To understand the

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<sup>1</sup>By 'quality of employment', we mean "Opportunities for women and men to obtain a decent and productive work in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity" (ILO 2008, 4).

<sup>2</sup> ILO dimensions: Employment opportunities; Adequate earning and productive work; Decent working time; Combining work, family and personal life; Work that should be abolished; Stability and security of work;



magnitude of the issue, we present the global scenario of quality of employment in the table below (Table 1).

**Table 1.** The Global scenario of quality of employment based on some of the ILO dimensions

Country groups/ Associations	Countries	ILO Dimensions						
		Employment opportunity		Stability and security of work	Social Security		Social Dialogue	
		Employment to population ratio	Share of informal workers out of total workers in the non-agricultural sector	Share of temporary workers out of total workers	Public social protection expenditure for the working-age as a share of GDP in the function of general social assistance	Active contributions to an old age contributory scheme as a share of the working-age population	Social health protection coverage as a share of the total population	Share of workers in unions out of total workers
	2012	2009-14	2010-12	2009-11	2009-11	2009-11	2011	
	OECD (countries average)	55.8	36.15	16.66	4.55	68.43	98.12	28.82
	BRICS							
	India	50.2	84.7	62.6	0.8	7.4	12.5	12.8
	Brazil	60.8	38.1	3.6	2.6	31.4		17.5
	China				1.9	46.4	96.9	37.8
	Russian Federation	64.9	9.1	8.5	2.9	48.7	88	33.9
	South Africa	39.5	32.7	13.2	1.6	3.5	100	29.3
	SOUTH ASIA							
	Afghanistan	46.2			0.2		100	
	Bangladesh	54.7		37.2	0.5	0		
	Bhutan	63.1		14.9	0	9.1	90	
	Maldives	59.5				19.9	30	
	Nepal	78.4						
	Pakistan	49.9	78.4	42		3.1	26.6	
	Sri Lanka	50.5	62.1		0	7.1	100	

Source: downloaded from ILO STAT on 17<sup>th</sup> September 2018  
(<http://www.ilo.org/ilostat/faces/oracle/webcenter/portalapp/pagehierarchy/Page3.jspx>)

Table 1 clearly shows that the quality of employment in India is not only bad but is appalling in comparison to many of the SAARC and BRICS countries.

Given this backdrop, obviously, the crucial question arises: despite a consistently high growth rate of the economy, why is the condition of employment so bad in India? Consequently, a huge literature has emerged on the quality of employment in India (Belser and Rani 2011; Bhalla 2008; Bhaumik 2013; IHD 2014; Kannan, 2022; Kantor et al., 2006; Moktan 2019; NCEUS 2009; Papola and Sahu 2012; Sakthivel and Joddar 2006; Singh 2017; Unni and Ravendraan 2007; Verick and Chaudhary, 2016).

However, most of these studies are based on a few dimensions only, such as average wages, regularisation of work and social protection (Belser and Rani 2011; Bhalla 2008; Kantor et al., 2006; Papola and Sahu 2012; Sakthivel and Joddar 2006; Singh 2017; Unni and Ravendraan 2007). Moreover, there are very few works considering the crucial dimensions as proposed by

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Employment opportunity and treatment in employment; Safe work environment; Social security; Social dialogue workers and employers representation; Economic and social context for decent work. (ILO 2012)

ILO. This ILO proposition is important as it not only considers the vital aspects of quality of employment but also indicates the multidimensionality of the issue under consideration. Furthermore, studies on the variations of this employment quality in India across rural-urban locations and social groups [scheduled caste (SC), scheduled tribe (ST), other backward classes (OBC) and general (upper caste)]<sup>3</sup> are scanty (Moktan 2019; NCEUS 2009; Papola and Sahu 2012). Whatever studies exist, they have either considered locational or gender-specific disparities (not considering these issues together). There is almost no comprehensive study in this regard, focussing on the household as a unit of analysis. Finally, studies on the probable determinants that could influence quality of employment are also limited in India.

Moreover, studies on the developed and other developing countries have also focussed only on few determinants that could explain lack of employment quality such as age (being young), gender (for females), lack of education and skills and excess labour supply and huge unemployment (Bonnieul and Kim, 2017; Burgess and Ruyter, 2000; Burgess and Connell, 2020). However, importantly, some researchers also argue that liberalization policies have aggravated the employment problems in both the industrialized and industrializing countries, including India (Das 2015; Quinlan and Sheldon, 2011; Sud 2022). According to them, the pro-business nature of the government (expressed in terms of business regulatory environment) and labour flexibility (such as allowing employers to hire and fire freely, not increasing minimum wages, using coercion to break unions and social resistance) have resulted in poor working conditions. However, the optimists believe that India is on a trajectory of high growth and development, including employment growth. (Ghose, 2014)

Given the contrasting picture mentioned above, this paper intends to examine the level of quality of employment in India across rural-urban locations and social groups; next, we analyse the probable determinants that could explain the lack of employment quality. Finally, using these probable determinants, especially the macro aspects, we construct a macro-framework analytically explaining this lack of quality of employment.

In doing so, we follow the concept of decent work proposed by International Labour Organization. The idea of the “decent work” was first articulated in 1999 by the ILO Director-General in his report to the 87th Session of the International Labour Conference, which is captured in four strategic pillars: rights at work, which are grounded in fundamental principles and international labour standards; employment and income opportunities; social protection and social security; and social dialogue and tripartism (ILO 2008, 4). This framework covers 10 substantive elements: employment opportunities; adequate earnings and productive work; decent working time; combining work, family and personal life; work that should be abolished; stability and security of work; equal opportunity and treatment in employment; safe work environment; social security; and social dialogue, and employers’ and workers’ representation

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<sup>3</sup> Scheduled Caste (SC): Scheduled castes are sub-communities within the framework of the Hindu caste system who have historically faced deprivation, oppression, and extreme social isolation in India on account of their perceived ‘low status’. Scheduled Tribe (ST): The Scheduled tribes are tribal communities as defined under Article 366 (25) and Article 342 of the Indian constitution. They also have a history of severe oppression and marginalization before and in independent India. Other backward class (OBC): Communities that have been historically marginalized groups in India, and continue to face oppression and social, economic and educational isolation, but do not fall into the SC or ST list, fall into the OBC category. Henceforth, we will use the term marginalized groups in place of SC, ST and OBC.

(ILO, 2012: 7). Out of this we focus on three important aspects of decent work due to paucity of space and data: ‘employment opportunity’, coverage of ‘social security’ and scope for ‘social dialogue’. For the three dimensions, we have selected key indicators first, and then chosen variables according to the availability of data in India. Data on these variables are collected for the period 2009-10, 2017-18 and 2018-19. Mean difference tests are used to identify variations between rural-urban locations and social groups. To find out the probable determinants of the quality of employment we take up both the micro (such as age, gender, education, skills etc) and macro level factors (i.e. growth in macroeconomic activities, formal sector activities extent of Governance etc).

This study could be an important contribution to the literature due to the following reasons: first, it looks at the pan-India quality of employment from a multidimensional perspective rather than being unidimensional; next, it considers locational and caste-based inclusions/exclusions. Further, analysis of individual, household and macro-level factors influencing quality of employment and explaining its variations could be an important contribution. Finally, an attempt to understand the problem of lack of employment quality in a country like India by using a macroeconomic framework could be relevant in the global context.

The paper is organized into six sections. Section 2 discusses methodology. In section 3, findings from data analyses are reported. Discussions on this part of the study are presented in section 4. Section 5 analyses the probable determinants of employment quality. Finally, certain policy implications of this study are discussed while concluding the paper.

## **2. Methodology**

This study is mainly based on the unit-level (household-level) secondary data of the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO), Government of India, for the year 2009-10<sup>4</sup>. This unit-level data on households for fifteen major states<sup>5</sup> within the working-age group 15-64 years have been used for our analysis. The total number of households in our sample is 59,730 (33,193 in rural and 26,537 in urban areas). In addition, the analysis also uses NSO annual reports<sup>6</sup> for the years 2017-18 and 2018-19; to understand the change in the level of employment quality, over time. The all India level data has been used for this analysis.

As mentioned above, we have used three crucial dimensions of quality of employment as proposed by ILO, as shown below in table 2. In order to measure this dimensions, certain indicators are provided by the ILO. Based on the study’s objectives, we have selected the indicators first, given as categories in column 3 of Table 2. On the basis of these, we have chosen the variables according to the availability of data in India.

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<sup>4</sup>Large-scale sample surveys are conducted by the NSSO, over almost the entire country in every five years (called quinquennial rounds). The sample size consists of around one hundred thousand household data.

<sup>5</sup>Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

<sup>6</sup>These are the first two annual reports, based on Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS) conducted by NSSO. The PLFS is different from earlier quinquennial surveys in terms of survey methodology, data collection mechanism and sampling design. Hence, the data is analysed separately in section 3.2.

**Table 2:** Dimensions, Indicators, categories and variables, taken for our study

S1 no	Dimensions (ILO)	Indicators (ILO)	Categories taken for our study	Variables taken for our study for 2009-10 (working-age 15-64, in major fifteen states)	Variables taken for our study for the period 2017-18 and 2018-19 for all India
1	Employment opportunities	employment to population ratio	workforce participation rate (WPR)	workforce out of total working-age members in the hhs	workforce participation rate (all ages)
		Informal employment	formal employment	(i). % of formal sector workers out of total workers in the hhs (ii). % of formal workers out of total formal sector workers in the hhs	% of informal sector workers in the non-agricultural sector.
		Employment by status	categories of workers	% of self-employed, casual and regular workers out of total workers in the hhs	% of self-employed, casual and regular workers out of total workers
2	Social security	share of the population benefitting from a pension.	social security benefits	% of workers getting social security benefits provided by the employers (i.e. PF/pension, gratuity, maternity benefit etc.) out of total workers in the hhs	% of workers eligible for social security benefits provided by the employers (i.e. PF/pension, gratuity, maternity benefit etc.) out of regular salaried/wage workers in the non-agricultural sector
3	Social dialogue, workers & employers representation	freedom of association & collective bargaining	Union density rate	% of workers engaged in unions out of total workers in the hhs	DATA AVAILABLE NOT

Source: “Decent Work Indicators: Concept and Definitions” (ILO,2012) table no-A: 16-17.

We have used the usual activity status<sup>7</sup> data for all. To identify the variations across rural-urban locations and social groups mean difference tests have been done. The Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regressions have been applied to find out the probable determinants of the quality of employment (given in detail in section 5). Finally, a macro-framework is presented explaining the issue of lack of quality of employment in India and its fundamental reasons.

### 3.1. Findings (general trends and mean difference tests) for the period 2009-10

#### 3.1.(i). *Employment opportunities*

The employment opportunities, in terms of the workforce participation rate seem to be moderate. In the majority of the households, more than 25 per cent of the working-age members were in workforce (figures 1-2, appendix).

Nevertheless, the picture of employment opportunities in terms of the nature of employment was poor (figures 3-4). In the majority of the households (i.e. more than 85 per cent), none of

<sup>7</sup>The activity status (principal + subsidiary) on which a person spent a relatively long time during the 365 days preceding the date of the survey is considered as usual principal activity, and those who were engaged not less than 30 days during the reference year is considered as the usual subsidiary activity (NSSO 2011).

the members was employed in the formal sector<sup>8</sup>. In addition, out of those few households having formal sector workers, around one-fifth did not have any formal work.

Furthermore, the mean difference tests indicate that though the participation rates were significantly higher in rural areas and among the marginalized groups than their counterparts, the share of formal sector workers, formal workers was lower among them than the latter.

### ***3.1.(ii). Social security***

The scenario of quality of employment in terms of social security benefits was miserable (figures 5-6). In about 80 per cent of households, none of the working age members was getting social security benefits.

The social security coverage was significantly inferior in the households of rural areas and among the marginalized groups than their counterparts. However, the condition was worse even in the urban areas and among the upper castes.

### ***3.1.(iii). Social dialogue***

Employment quality is not very encouraging when it comes to social dialogue. In more than three-fourths of households, none of the working members was engaged in unions (figures 7-8).

Moreover, the workers' voice was significantly weaker in rural areas and for the marginalized groups than others. However, the condition was miserable even among their counterparts.

## **3.2 Findings for the period 2017-18 to 2018-19**

### ***3.2.(i). Employment opportunities***

In India, on average, 35 per cent of the total population (of all ages) was found to be working during the study period (figure 9). Moreover, about 68 per cent of the workforce in the non-agricultural sector was engaged in the informal sector<sup>9</sup>. Besides, the majority of the workers were engaged as self-employed followed by casual workers, and only about one-fifth of the workers were employed as regular workers. (NSO 2020, 53)

There still exists a considerable gap in employment opportunities between rural-urban areas and social groups.

### ***3.2.(ii). Social security***

The condition of even the most privileged category of workers, i.e. the regular workers, was awful. As such, about half of the regular workers (in the non-agricultural sector) were deprived of social security benefits during the study period (figure 10). The social security coverage was worse in rural areas than their counterparts.

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<sup>8</sup> For the formal sector, we have taken into account the Government/public sector enterprises. Furthermore, coverage of social security benefits among the workers is taken as a criterion, to differentiate between the formal and informal workers within the formal sector.

<sup>9</sup> In PLFS following the 15<sup>th</sup> ICLS (International Conference of Labour Statisticians) only *proprietary* and *partnership* enterprises are considered as *informal sector* enterprises. (NSO 2020, 36)

### **4. Discussion of the above findings**

Here, in this section, we try to provide some explanations in support of the above findings (sections 3.1 and 3.2). We, in doing so, are actually trying to identify some probable factors that may affect the quality of employment in India. Further, these factors will be taken up as explanatory variables in explaining the variation in quality of employment in India in the next section, where we go for regression analysis.

Overall, the above findings indicate that the quality of employment is not only miserable in India, but the condition has not improved over time. In addition, there exists duality in employment quality across rural-urban locations and social groups. The quality of employment is significantly inferior in rural areas and the marginalized groups than their counterparts in terms of all the indicators that have been taken up in the study (excluding workforce participation rates).

One of the crucial reasons for poor employment quality in India is the lack of scope for formal employment (be it in the formal sector or informal sector). This is because, even in the formal sector, the overwhelming majority of the workers remain dependent on casual work. Only a small fraction of the labour force is engaged as regular workers with access to work-related securities. The remaining large segment of the labour force that the formal sector could not absorb is pushed to the informal sector (both agricultural and non-agricultural). Within the informal sector, a huge section is involved in self-employment based activities, i.e. own account enterprises<sup>10</sup> with low productivities (both per worker and per enterprise). Moreover, there is a domination of casual, irregular and insecure jobs, the persistence of low earnings and the absence of social protection in the informal sector. Consequently, the condition of work among the majority of the workforce is miserable.

Furthermore, the higher employment opportunity but poor working conditions in rural areas and among the marginalized groups is mainly because the rural labour force is largely dependent on the under-remunerative agricultural activities for its livelihood (due to the low entry barrier), where the scope for quality employment is absent. In addition, the marginalized groups sections, due to their extreme poverty, have no other options left than to join any type of work. The majority of the marginalized workers were found to be working in small enterprises (with low productivities), mainly as casual and temporary workers compared to their counterparts<sup>11</sup>.

It is also argued in the literature that the neo-liberalization policy, that liberalizes the market by making it free from Government intervention, essentially affects the quality of employment adversely (Das 2015; Sud 2022; Tiwana and Singh 2015). The mainstream argument is that to promote efficiency in production and distribution, there should not be much of restrictions on the mobility of factors of production. To make the factors of production mobile, entry and exit barriers should be minimized and 'Ease of doing business' should be promoted. Thus this mainstream argument proposes that as the markets are liberalized and capital is given the

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<sup>10</sup> Own-account enterprise (OAE): An enterprise which is run without any hired worker employed on a fairly regular basis, i.e. based on self-employment (NSSO 2011, 15).

<sup>11</sup>As seen from the NSSO unit-level data, and Vepa (2020)

freedom to do business as per efficiency norms, not only growth will be ensured, but also there will be social welfare. However, the critics argue that as the capitalists are given the freedom to do business, they would have an inherent tendency to informalize some parts of their production chain to reduce their input costs (Chen 2007; Heintz and Pollin 2003). This informalization undermines labour protections, wage improvements, social security measures, labour's bargaining power etc. All these adversely affect quality of employment. In this context, we could note that India's rank moved up from 142<sup>nd</sup> in 2015 to 63<sup>rd</sup> in 2022 in the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business Index<sup>12</sup>, indicating a business-friendly environment. Contrarily, it is argued that, this could be one factor in explaining India's poor quality of employment.

Thus, from the above discussions, we see that the persistence and spread of informality is one of the fundamental reasons for poor employment quality in India. In addition, government policies, in terms of the business regulatory environment and labour regulations might also influence the employment quality. Hence, we try to find out the probable determinants of employment quality simultaneously using both the micro (such as age and education of the household's members; male-female ratio, social and religious identities of the household, household head's education and employment status etc.) and macro-level factors (such as economic progress, growth in organized sector activity, quality of governance, better business regulatory environment and labour related compliance).

### **5. Probable determinants of the quality of employment**

At first, we select three specific proxy variables for the three dimensions and try to find out their probable determinants. First, we have taken the 'workforce participation rate in the household' to capture employment opportunities. Next, we take the 'percentage of workers getting social security benefits out of total workers in the household' representing social security. Finally, we take the 'percentage of workers who are union members out of total workers in the household' as a proxy for social dialogue.

We have used the Ordinary Least Square (OLS) method (corrected for multicollinearity, heteroscedasticity and normality) to determine the probable effects of relevant factors on these variables. We have taken the logarithmic values for all our dependent and independent (quantitative) variables (both at the household and macro levels). We use NSSO unit-level data with households as a unit of analysis and sub-national state-level data from Government sources like the Annual Survey of Industries of CSO (Central Statistics Office), NSSO, Planning Commission, Population Census and Public Affairs Centre (Non-Government).

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<sup>12</sup>Doing Business analyzes regulation that encourages efficiency and supports freedom to do business. It measures the processes for business incorporation, getting a building permit, obtaining an electricity connection, transferring property, getting access to credit, protecting minority investors, paying taxes, engaging in international trade, enforcing contracts, and resolving insolvency. (World Bank Group 2020)

**5.1. Regression analysis:** We now set our regression models.

**5.1. (i) Regression models:** The regression equations are given in the box below

Box 1: Ordinary least square regression models	Equation 1
$Y_{1i} = \alpha + \beta_1 X_{1i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \beta_3 X_{3i} + \beta_4 X_{4i} + \beta_5 X_{5i} + \beta_6 X_{6i} + \beta_7 X_{7i} + \beta_8 X_{8i} + \beta_9 X_{9i} + \beta_{10} X_{12i} + \beta_{11} D_{1i} + \beta_{12} D_{2i} + \beta_{13} D_{3i} + \beta_{14} D_{4i} + \beta_{15} D_{5i} + \beta_{16} D_{6i} + \beta_{17} D_{7i} + \mu_i$	
$Y_{2i} = \alpha + \beta_1 X_{1i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \beta_3 X_{3i} + \beta_4 X_{4i} + \beta_5 X_{5i} + \beta_6 X_{6i} + \beta_7 X_{7i} + \beta_8 X_{8i} + \beta_9 X_{10i} + \beta_{10} X_{12i} + \beta_{11} D_{1i} + \beta_{12} D_{2i} + \beta_{13} D_{3i} + \beta_{14} D_{4i} + \beta_{15} D_{5i} + \beta_{16} D_{6i} + \beta_{17} D_{7i} + \mu_i$	Equation 2:
$Y_{3i} = \alpha + \beta_1 X_{1i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \beta_3 X_{3i} + \beta_4 X_{4i} + \beta_5 X_{5i} + \beta_6 X_{6i} + \beta_7 X_{7i} + \beta_8 X_{8i} + \beta_9 X_{11i} + \beta_{10} X_{12i} + \beta_{11} D_{1i} + \beta_{12} D_{2i} + \beta_{13} D_{3i} + \beta_{14} D_{4i} + \beta_{15} D_{5i} + \beta_{16} D_{6i} + \beta_{17} D_{7i} + \mu_i$	Equation 3:
where, $i=1,2,3,\dots,n$ (no of households)	

The details of the variables (both quantitative and qualitative), the explanation for considering these variables and the expected sign of the regression coefficients are given below in Table 3.

**Table 3:** Details of the variables, explanations for considering these variables and expected signs of the regression coefficients<sup>13</sup>

Block no	Sl no	Variable name	Details of variables	Explanation for considering the variables	Expected signs
<b>Regressands</b>					
1	1	$Y_{1i}$	Workforce participation rate of an $i^{th}$ household	as mentioned before at the beginning of this section	NA
	2	$Y_{2i}$	The percentage of workers getting social security benefits out of total workers in an $i^{th}$ household		
	3	$Y_{3i}$	The percentage of workers who are union members out of total workers in an $i^{th}$ household		
<b>Regressors</b>					
<b>Household level quantitative variables</b>					
2	4	$X_{1i}$	The percentage of household members in middle age and above (i.e. 30yrs and above) out of total members in $i^{th}$ household	with an increase in age, an individual is supposed to gain experience, which may improve employment quality	+
	5	$X_{2i}$	The percentage of household members literate up to primary out of total members in $i^{th}$ household	education is a means to self-development; as educational level of an individual rises, opportunities for quality employment may also increase	+
	6	$X_{3i}$	male female ratio in $i^{th}$ household	males compared to females can have better employment opportunities given the social and economic environment, so households with higher number of males may have better employment quality	+
	7	$X_{4i}$	monthly per capita expenditure in $i^{th}$ household (in Rupees)	a proxy for income of the household. If the level of income is high, the members of the family (particularly females) may not search/join employment, particularly when they do not get formal sector work.	-
	8	$X_{5i}$	land assessed by $i^{th}$ household (in hectares)		
<b>State level quantitative variables</b>					
3	9	$X_{6i}$	Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) per capita (in rupees)- a proxy for macroeconomic activities	a proxy for the general strength of the macro economy needed to generate quality jobs	+
	10	$X_{7i}$	Gross value Added (GVA) of organized sector (manufacturing and service) (in rupees) as a share of NSDP (in rupees) a- a proxy for organized sector activities	share of organized sector in macro economy needed for quality job in the formal sector	+

<sup>13</sup>Following literature (IHD 2014; Moussa, 2017; NCEUS 2009), and our above analysis



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11	$X_{8i}$	Public Affairs Index <sup>14</sup>	better governance in terms of social and physical infrastructure, and free and fair socio-economic environment, could induce employment quality through both demand and supply side support.	+
12	$X_{9i}$	Workforce participation rate	overall employment opportunity at the state-level, should have an influence at the household level as well	+
13	$X_{10i}$	The percentage of workers eligible for social security benefits	general condition of social security benefits at the state-level should have a bearing at the household level as well	+
14	$X_{11i}$	The percentage of workers having unions/associations in their activity	existence of unions/associations at the state-level may give greater scope for household members to join a union	+
15	$X_{12i}$	Population size	size of the population, especially beyond a maximum threshold level, may lead to congestion and hence a drag on quality of employment.	-
Household level qualitative variables				
4	16	$D_{1i}$	Dummy for hhs head's education of $i^{\text{th}}$ household: if literate up to secondary and above=1, otherwise =0	+
	17	$D_{2i}$	Dummy for hhs head's work status of $i^{\text{th}}$ household: if self-employed=1, otherwise =0	-
	18	$D_{3i}$	Dummy for social group of $i^{\text{th}}$ household; if Upper caste=1, marginalized groups=0	+
	19	$D_{4i}$	Dummy for religion of $i^{\text{th}}$ household; if hindus=1, otherwise=0	+
State level qualitative variables				
5	20	$D_{5i}$	Type I dummy for overall business regulatory environment <sup>15</sup> :if business regulatory environment is good=1, otherwise (i.e. medium and inferior)=0	+
	21	$D_{6i}$	Type II dummy for overall business regulatory environment: if business regulatory environment is medium=1, otherwise (good and inferior)=0	
	22	$D_{7i}$	Type I dummy for labour law related compliance <sup>16</sup> : if labour law related compliance is good=1,otherwise (i.e. medium and inferior)=0	+

### 5.1.(ii). Regression results

A. The regression estimates illustrate similar results as expected for most of the household-level factors (refer to Table 4). However, in contrast to our expectation, households with a higher share of educated workers and also households with an educated head negatively

<sup>14</sup> Public affairs index is developed by Public Affairs Centre, Bangalore, India (2017:28) to measure the quality of Governance of Indian states, by taking ten broad themes, such as essential infrastructure, support to human development, social protection, support to women and children, crime, law and order, delivery of justice, natural environment, transparency and accountability of the Government, fiscal management and economic freedom. Based on these ten broad themes, scores are given to each state.

<sup>15</sup> The business regulatory environment for manufacturing units has been assessed at the sub-national state-level by the Planning commission, Government of India (2014,7), taking six parameters - (i) finance & tax related compliances, (ii) labour law related compliances, (iii) infrastructure & utility related approvals, (iv) land & building related approvals, (v) environmental clearances and (vi) other business regulatory compliances.

<sup>16</sup> As mentioned in footnote 15, the labour law related compliance is one of the parameters taken to assess the business regulatory environment for manufacturing units by the Planning Commission, Government of India (2014, 34), which covers the following: (a) time taken and effectiveness of the process for initial registration by manufacturing units under Factories Act for obtaining factory license and subsequent renewal; (b) time taken and effectiveness of the process for compliance related to other Labour Laws like Contract Labour (Regulation & Abolition) Act, Payment of Wages Act, etc. applicable in respective states

influence employment opportunities, though it has a significant positive impact on social security and social dialogue. This could be attributed to the lack of quality employment. The educated family members, particularly females, might prefer to remain unemployed or even withdraw from the labour market, rather than being engaged in inferior non-remunerative works with low work-related securities<sup>17</sup>. Additionally, the educated heads, presumably, might be engaged in better quality work (at least in terms of income), so the members may not join the labour force or remain unemployed if they cannot find quality employment. All this might have resulted in low employment opportunities (participation rates) in this type of household.

B.1. As far as the macro-level factors are concerned, the results seem to be disturbing:

(a) As expected, the increase in the overall macroeconomic activities has a significant positive influence on all the dimensions (studied) in both rural-urban areas.

(b) However, the growth in the organized sector has a significant negative impact on all the dimensions (studied). This is true for both rural-urban areas.

(c) The quality of governance has no significant influence on employment opportunities and social security, but influences social dialogue (urban areas) negatively.

(d) The better business regulatory environment either has no significant role on employment opportunities (urban areas) and social dialogue (in both areas), or influences negatively social security (urban areas),

.. The flexible labour law related compliance has no significant impact on any dimensions, or at the most negatively influences the social dialogue (rural areas).

B.2. These results (b to e) on macro-level factors might suggest that:

(i) Expansion of the organized sector spreads informality – different types of contractual jobs – more than the spread of formal jobs. Hence the expansion of the organized sector does not ensure better employment quality.

(ii) The government policies perhaps favour the big corporate houses more, presumably for enhancing economic growth as mentioned above.

**Table 4:** The OLS regression estimate

Dependent Variables	Employment opportunities(Y <sub>1i</sub> )		Social security (Y <sub>2i</sub> )		Social dialogue (Y <sub>3i</sub> )	
	Reg. 1	Reg. 2	Reg. 3	Reg. 4	Reg. 5	Reg. 6
	rural	urban	rural	urban	rural	urban
No of observations	19481	15708	2474	4014	3547	4828
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.13	0.09	0.19	0.17	0.17	0.10
Independent variables						
Age(X <sub>1i</sub> )	.113***	.136***	.271***	.273***	.273***	.232***
Primary education(X <sub>2i</sub> )	-.074***	-.051***	.104***	.129***	.050**	.054**
Male/female(X <sub>3i</sub> )	.068***	.092***	-.043***	-.040***	0.002	0.008
MPCE (X <sub>4i</sub> )	-.161***	-.11***	-.240***	-.101***	-.264***	-.132***
Land(X <sub>5i</sub> )	.020***		0.005		.006**	
HHs head's education(D <sub>1i</sub> )	-.043***	-.047***	.149***	.209***	.049***	.118***
HHs head's work status (D <sub>2i</sub> )	.018***	.022***	-.110**	-.191**	0.006	.031**
Social group (D <sub>3i</sub> )	-.025***	-0.009	0.024	-.046***	.045***	.044***
Religion (D <sub>4i</sub> )	.057***	.051***	.021	.063***	0.027	.059***

This is in support of the literature: Bairagya 2018.<sup>17</sup>

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NSDP per capita ( $X_{6i}$ )	.066***	.101***	.199***	.223***	.204***	.195***
GVA in organized sector/NSDP ( $X_{7i}$ )	-.761***	-1.19***	-1.84***	-1.90***	-2.01***	-1.44***
Public affairs index ( $X_{8i}$ )	0.067	-0.016	-0.51	-0.339	-0.509	-.772**
Type I overall business regulatory environment ( $D_{5i}$ )	.041***	0.026	0.003	-.094***	-0.035	-0.027
Type II overall business regulatory environment ( $D_{6i}$ )	0.071	.050***	-0.022	-.111***	-0.031	-0.042
Type I labour law related compliance ( $D_{7i}$ )	0.007	0.01	0.012	0.004	-.061**	-0.002
Workforce participation rate ( $X_{9i}$ )	.676***	.329***				
Social security benefits ( $X_{10i}$ )			-0.052	-0.04		
Unions/associations in activity ( $X_{11i}$ )					.040***	0.008
Population size ( $X_{12i}$ )	-0.00	-.019***	-.031**	.023**	0.051	0.025
constant	2.59***	2.80***	3.18***	1.74***	3.34***	2.72***

Note: \*, \*\* and \*\*\* imply significance at 1, 5 and 10 per cent levels, respectively.

### 6. In lieu of conclusion: summary findings and some policy discussions

The main aim of the paper has been to recognize why the quality of employment in India is poor, despite a consistently high rate of economic growth. In this context, this paper analyses quality of employment in India, across rural-urban areas and social-groups, using crucial dimensions as proposed by ILO. This study also examines the probable determinants – considering simultaneously both micro and macro level factors – that could explain the lack of quality of employment.

Our analysis suggests that the quality of employment in India in the majority of the households is poor. In addition, there exist significant differences in employment quality across rural-urban areas and social-groups. The confirmatory tests suggest that although the household level factors play a positive role on the quality of employment, most intriguingly, the macro-level aspects such as ‘economic progress’, ‘good governance’, ‘labour law compliance’ and ‘better business regulatory environment’, are perhaps not contributing in any substantial way to the quality of employment. By and large, our study suggests, that the pattern of capitalistic growth puts a drag on the quality of employment.

Overall our findings suggest that the economic progress is not leading to improvement in the quality of employment. This may further indicate that the state intervention is essential as the market on its own cannot take care of these. Going beyond government intervention, cluster-based industrialization for small enterprises and petty traders may add to the quality of employment through increases in economies of scale and enhanced bargaining power in input and output markets, as well as, through improved productivity and skills.

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**Appendix**

**LIST OF FIGURES**

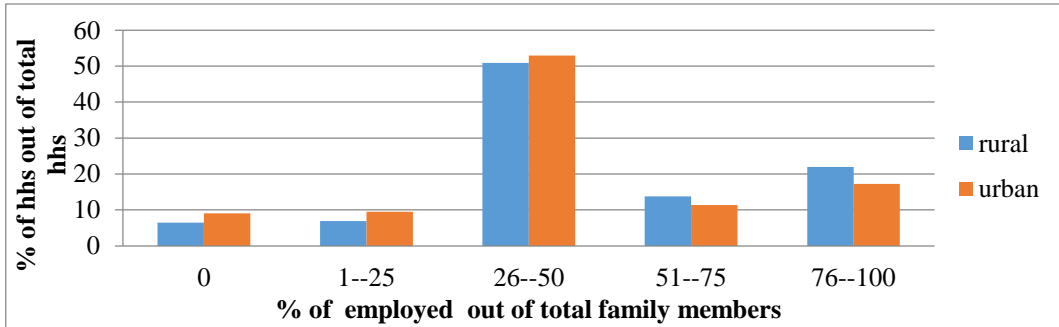


Figure 1: Workforce participation rates in the households across rural-urban areas

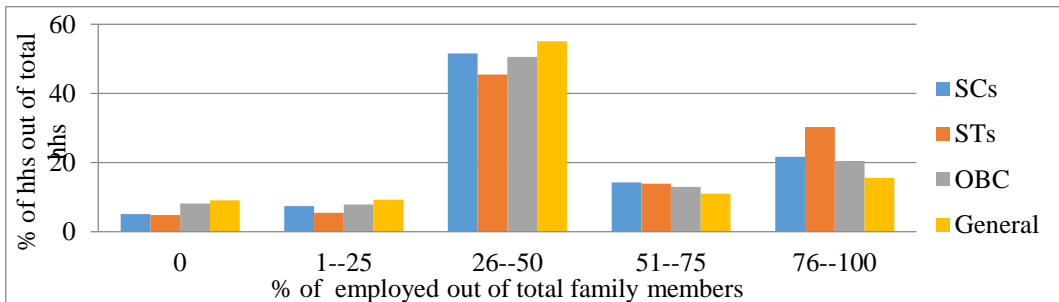


Figure 2: Workforce participation rates in the households across the social groups



Figure 3: Share of formal sector workers out of total workers in the households across rural-urban areas

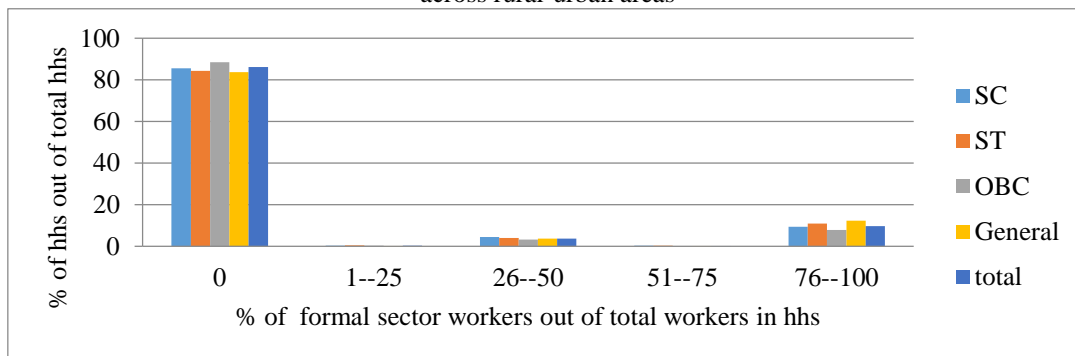


Figure 4: Share of formal sector workers out of total workers in the households across the social groups

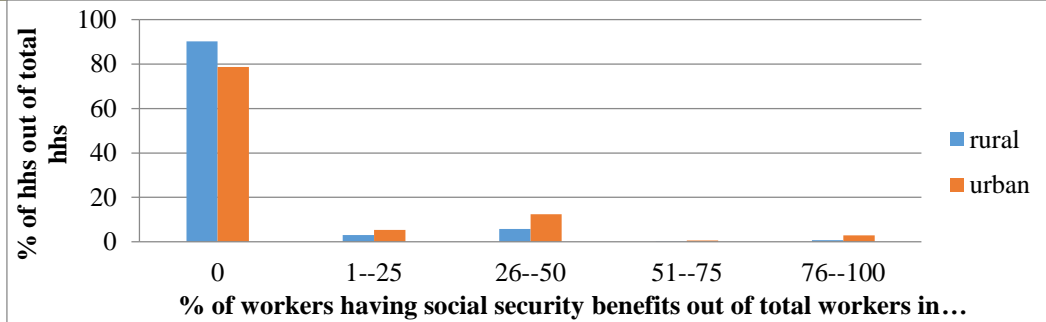


Figure 5: Share of workers having social security benefits out of total workers in the households across rural-urban areas

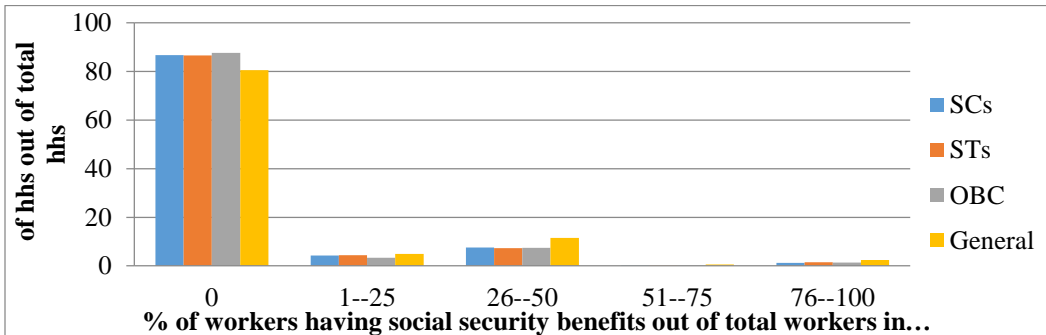


Figure 6: Share of workers having social security benefits out of total workers in the households across the social groups

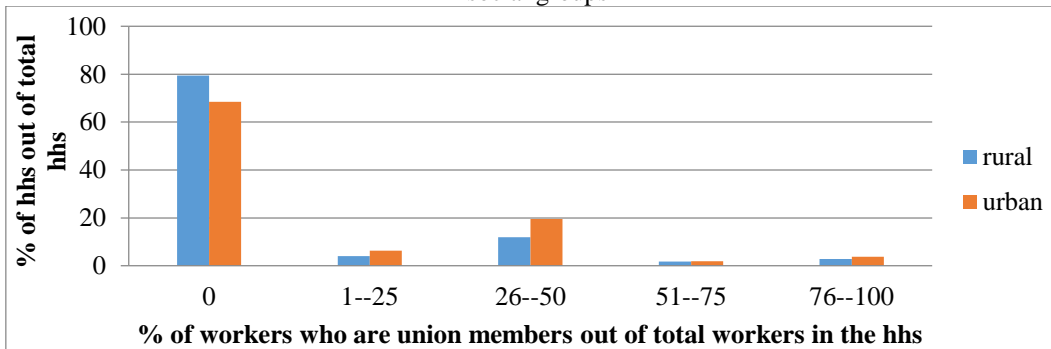


Figure 7: Share of workers who were union members out of the total workers in the households across rural-urban areas

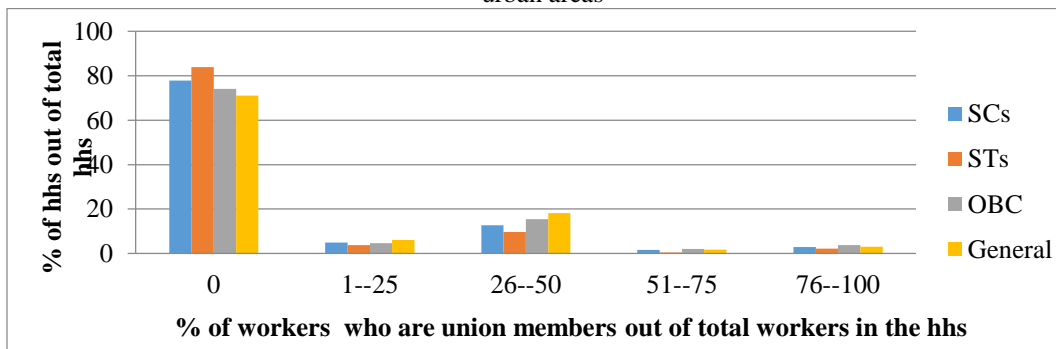


Figure 8: Share of workers who were union members out of the total workers in the households across the social groups

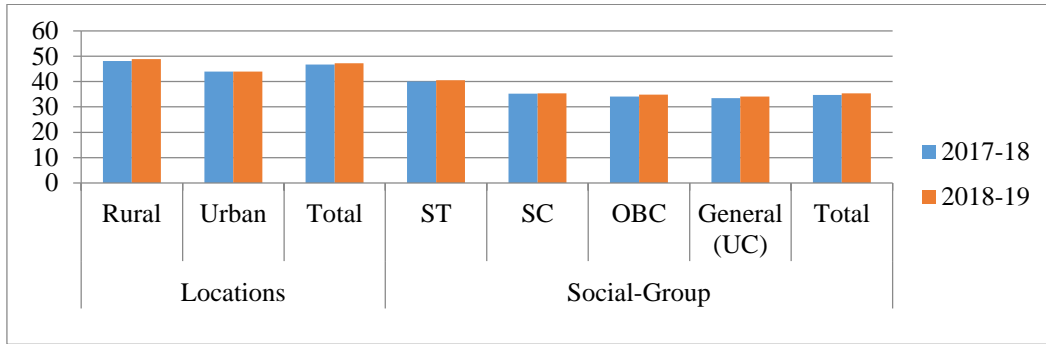


Figure 9: Workforce participation rates across rural-urban areas and social groups

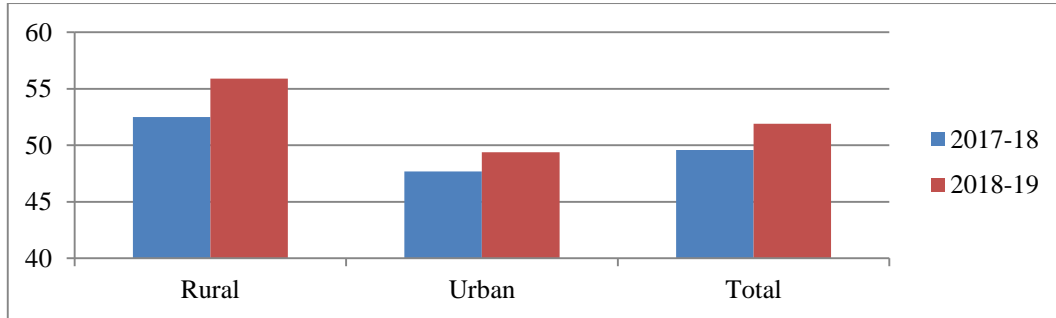


Figure 10: Share of workers not eligible for social security benefits across rural-urban areas



**Urbanisation and Labour Marginalisation:  
An analysis of slum employment in post-reform India<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract**

While the 'Urban Workforce Marginalisation' portrays an ongoing process of general economic exclusion in the urban areas of developing countries like India, slums are visible sites of exclusion in cities providing refuge to a precarious labour force. In this context, this paper seeks to understand the changing pattern of employment opportunity and marginal employment of the slum residents relative to that of urban India. It also reviews the supply and demand factors influencing such a change in relative employment opportunity and relative marginality. With this objective, the study finds that both relative employment opportunity and relative marginal employment of the slum residents are increasing over time, signifying the growing incidence of marginal employment for the slum residents. Moreover, higher marginal employment elasticity of the slum residents due to one unit rise in output denotes increasing marginal work by the workers of slums. The study also finds that the increase in the share of the slum population to urban, as a supply-side factor, has influenced both relative employability and marginality of the slum dwellers more effectively than the demand-side factors. On the demand side, the study finds that economic growth and manufacturing sector growth influence the marginal employment of slum residents. The study has been done using employment and population data of the slum and urban residents from census 2001 and 2011. The data relating to economic growth and other exogenous variables are collected from RBI, NSSO, etc. The study uses tables, charts, correlation and regression results for data analysis.

**I. Introduction**

The recent trend of 'urban workforce marginalisation' indicates increasing workers' engagement in casual and temporary contractual work, portraying ongoing economic exclusion in many developing countries across the globe. Proliferation of temporary positions for the

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<sup>1</sup>This specific version of the paper is solely prepared for publication in the conference proceedings which is based on the presented form of the paper at the International congress of Society and Science, Ankara Turkey.

growing city-working-class adds up to 'precariousness' (Standing, 2014), which is evident in a labour-intensive developing country like India (Moktan, 2017). In the post-reform period (post1991), the country witnessed a considerably flexible labour market in the cities and helped private enterprises employ temporary and casual labourers at low wage rates (Bhosale, 2014). Urban India, in this period, witnessed a rise in the casual workforce from 11.8% in 2004-05 to 14.2% in 2009-10 (NSSO, 2010). Moreover, a large section of the temporary workers have eventually become self-employed during this period.

Slums are visible sites of exclusion in cities. A considerable portion of the perilous labour force lives in urban slums, who struggle for daily sustenance with an uncertain future. This reality pushes us to doubt the capacity of Indian cities to become inclusive. Achieving inclusive urbanisation has been an essential concern for the government, yet the growing slum population in the urban areas of India makes the situation difficult (Ghosh et al, 2021). Slums are the demarcated places of the cities where people experiencing poverty live with employment of inferior quality. Hence, the employment condition of slum dwellers is one of the most critical aspects that determine their economic well-being, resulting in economic inclusion.

To what extent and why there are growing number of temporary/irregular workers in the urban slums are two essential questions that have not attracted much attention to date. The working population of the urban slums are mostly an informal labour force. Many of them are considered as the residuals of the prevailing informal labour market. They lack the technical skills to get better employment and have low productivity (Mitra, 2014; Sengupta et al, 2009). Moreover, studies revealed that they have insufficient capacity to make a significant investment and cannot manage capital formation, that pulling them down into a vicious circle of poverty (Marx et al, 2013). These are the supply-side weaknesses, usually been considered. However, apart from the supply-side limitations, exclusionary urban processes, inappropriate distribution of economic growth benefits, skewed demand for labour due to the adoption of a transformed production system, and distorted market forces are certain demand-side factors weakening employment conditions. Both supply-side inadequacy and demand-side bottlenecks could conceivably influence the employment conditions of the slum residents in urban India. So, from the analytical viewpoint, the changing condition of employment of the slum dwellers and its determining factors could be vital for assessing their advancement and, in turn, for evaluating inclusive urbanisation processes.

## **II. Objectives of the Study**

The paper aims to explore the changing level of employment of the slum residents (employment opportunity) and their changing employment conditions (irregularity of work) at the sub-national level of India. It also intends to see which probable factors are affecting such changes. To be more precise, it expects to observe the influences of the supply and demand-side factors behind the change of employability and employment conditions of the slum dwellers and which sector has more influence on bringing change in employment and its condition.

Specific objectives:

- To see the change in relative employability of slum residents
- To see the change in relative marginal employment of slum residents

- To see employment and marginal employment elasticity of slum and urban
- To see the effect of supply and demand factors on relative employability and relative marginal employability of slum residents

### III. Methodology of the Study

The study has been using the Indian state-level data for two years: 2001 and 2011. data of 22 major states and over all India have been considered. Census data segregates the total workers of slum and urban into ‘main’ and marginal’ workers. The main workers are engaged for 6 to 12 months in a year, while ‘Marginal Workers’ who are engaged for less than 6 months in a years. Here, in the study we considered ‘Marginal workers’ as ‘Irregular Workers’. In the study, ‘Numbers of Marginal Worker in slums and Urban’ denoted as ( $M_s$ ) and ( $M$ ) respectively. Similarly, Total Number of Workers in Slums and Urban denoted as ( $E_s$ ) and ( $E$ ). In the first part, the study revealed the changes in relative employment opportunities/employability and relative marginal employment. So, the main target variables elaborated in the table below:

Dimensions	Dependent Variables	Expression	Data Source
Relative employment opportunity	Share of employment of the slum residents out of the total employment of urban areas.	$E_s / E$	Census 2001, 2011
Relative irregularity of workers/Relative marginal employment	Share of marginal workers in slums out of total marginal workers of urban	$M_s/ M$	Census 2001, 2011

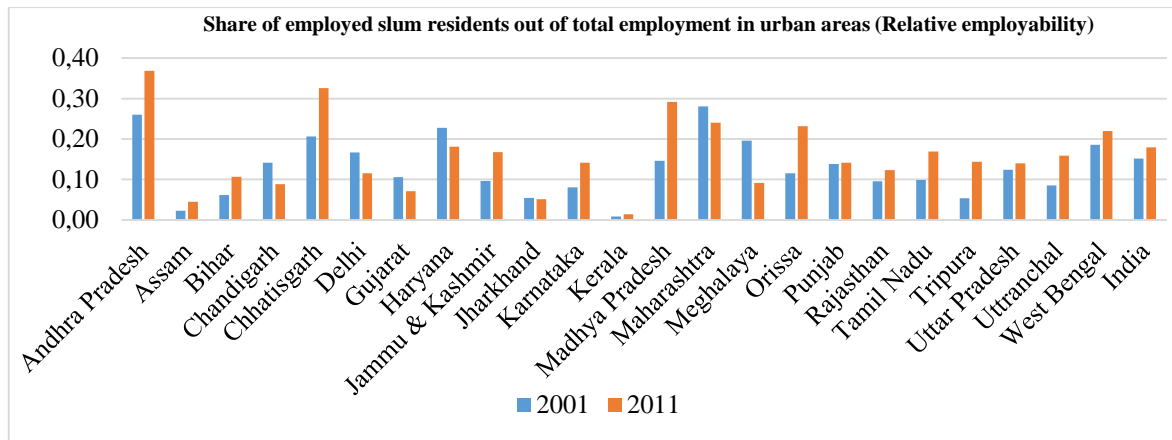
In the second part, the study intends to see the effect of the supply and demand side factors on the relative employment opportunities and marginal employment with the help correlations and regressions. Elaborations on the exogenous variables have been provided below:

Dimensions	Independent Variables	Expression	Data Source
Excess supply of reserve labour in slums	Share of Slum population out of the urban population	$S$	Census 2001 & 2011
Associations in Slums	Percentage of slums have associations out of the total slum	$A$	NSSO 58 <sup>th</sup> and 69 <sup>th</sup> Round on slum
Rate of illiteracy	Number of illiterate in slums out of total slum population	$I$	Census 2001 & 2011
Economic growth	Per capita net state domestic product	$X$	RBI
Proportion of production by the manufacturing sector	Share of net state domestic product of manufacturing	$Z$	RBI
Proportion of production by Service sector	Share of Net State Domestic Product of Services	$Y$	RBI
Output	Net State Domestic Product	$O$	RBI
Time Dummy	Year Dummy	$T$	

IV. Findings and Results

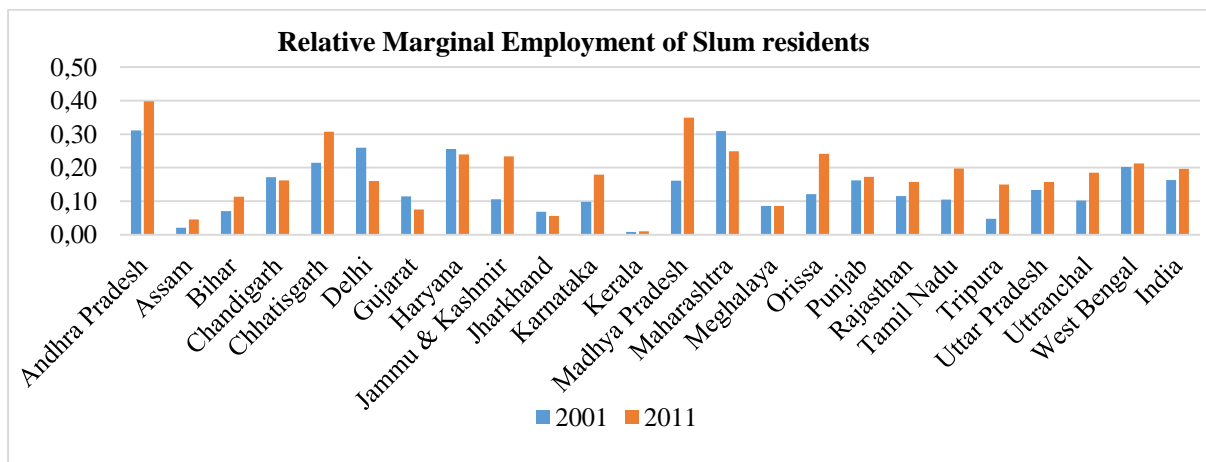
Part 1:

Figure 1:



The above figure shows, except in some of the states like Delhi, Gujarat, Maharashtra, the relative employability of the slum dwellers had increased. The paired t-test shows a positive increase in average relative employability in slums over time.

Figure 2:



Similarly, the relative marginal employment of the slum dwellers also increased across the states, except for Delhi, Gujarat and Maharashtra. The result from Paired t-test shows a positive significant increase over time. This indicates increasing **marginalisation of employment** in slum and urban areas.

Part 2:

Dependent Variable	Relative employment opportunity	Relative marginality of work/Relative Marginal Employment
Independent Variables		
Share of slum population to urban population	0.010247*** (121.44)	0.010851*** (25.67)
Slum illiteracy Rate	0.000014 (0.15)	0.0017557*** (3.89)
Percentage of slums have associations out of total slum	-0.000027 (-0.81)	-0.0004538*** (-2.75)
Per capita net state domestic product	-60.45127 (-1.52)	459.7434** (2.30)
Share of net state domestic product of Manufacturing	0.0002914** (2.12)	0.0014174** (2.05)

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Share of Net State Domestic Product of Services	0.0002005*** (2.79)	0.0004905 (1.36)
Time Dummy	-.0014217 (-0.79)	-0.0078158 (-0.87)
Constant	-.014561*** (-2.74)	-0.1001084*** (-3.76)
R-Square	0.9972	0.9435
F-Ratio	2332.15***	108.27***
Numbers of Observation	46	46
VIF (multi-colinearity test)	1.66	1.66
Hetest (test for homogeneity)	1.48	2.25

On the supply side, in both regressions share of slum Pop to urban Pop has positive significant effect on (Es / E) and (Ms/ M), signifying there is a positive connection between excess supply of population and marginal employment. Moreover, illiteracy rate in slum also has a significant positive effect on (Ms/ M), signifies the importance of education for better employment and negative significant effect of associations on (Ms/ M), signifies capacity of bargaining power. On the Demand side, positive effect of growth on (Ms/ M) reveals that the process of growth generating labour marginalisation.

### V. Concluding Remarks

There is increase in both employment opportunities and marginal employment of the slum dwellers. There is both demand and supply side influence on the increase in marginal employment of slum residents. But, the influence of supply side factors are remarkably higher on generating marginal employment for the slum residents. The excess labor force generated in slums due to migration indulged in employing themselves in self-generated work like petty services, petty trade, and they work in small production units for sustenance. Besides, lack of associations in slums is playing a vital role on deteriorating the employment condition by reducing the bargaining power and illiteracy has been playing a significant role in decreasing labor value for work. On the other hand, the growth process enhanced marginal employment of the slum residents through bringing transformation in the employment structure. This denotes an exclusionary growth process which increases marginalisation of labour as a whole. So, this poses question that can we really say Inclusive urbanisation in India is happening?

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**Modern Informal Sector – Agricultural Sector – Traditional Informal Sector Relationships in India: A Theoretical Analysis & Some Policy Propositions**

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**Abstract**

In the past two decades, the Indian economy has experienced both “jobless growth” and “job-loss growth”. Despite a sizeable expansion of the formal/modern production base, there was a markedly low degree of formal employment generation, but informal employment increased substantially. These jobless people settle themselves in the informal sector. Therefore, contrary to the old forecasts, informality has not diminished over time. The persistence in the size of the informal sector and the lack of significant structural change that reallocates workers and firms from the low-productive informal sector to the high-productive formal sector constrain the growth of aggregate productivity in the economy. We have divided the informal sector into modern and traditional. The modern segment of the informal sector is relatively more dynamic and capable of supporting the formal sector through various demand- and supply-side linkages. This interaction improves the condition of the modern informal sector. However, the condition of the traditional segment of the informal sector has become more severe because modern informal sector expansion means the extraction of more resources from the traditional informal sector. Therefore, the informal sector has been a matter of policy concern at the global level. There is no macro-level policy available for the informal sector, like in the formal sector and agriculture. Therefore, the greatest challenge for India's policymakers today is to balance the growth momentum with inclusionary policies. The strategy of inclusive growth also does not provide any appropriate policy prescription for the informal sector. In this paper, we have constructed a basic theoretical model following a structuralist approach that shows the relation between the modern and traditional informal sectors in the presence of generic resource constraints in the agriculture sector. We have analysed the outcomes of various demand- and supply-side policies that relate to the modern informal sector. Our theoretical studies show that with the expansion of the modern informal sector, the traditional informal sector either expands or contracts. We have also examined the resultant outcomes of various policies empirically. Based on our study, we can say that to achieve inclusive growth in the economy, balanced growth and balanced policy frameworks involving all the major sectors of the economy are essential.

**Section 1**

**1.1 Introduction**

‘Accumulation’ and ‘Need’ are two distinct nodal points that represent two different economic spaces in the economy, i.e., the ‘formal’ and ‘informal’. The formal sector is the site of the

accumulation economy, where capital is engaged in the production of surplus for its own expansion. On the other hand, the informal sector is the site of need economy, where the purpose of production is employment, income, and consumption (Sanyal2007). The failure of the formal sector (FS) to create a considerable formal job in spite of a sizeable expansion of modern industries leads to a painful increase in informal employment, which leads to the expansion of INFS overtime (Bangasser 2000). In the past two decades, the Indian economy has experienced not only “jobless growth” but also "job-loss growth." Using the 68th round of the NSS in 2011–12, it is estimated that the total number of workers in the Indian economy will be 467.72 million and 461.54 million for 2017–18, based on the PLFS data. This means that there has been a net job loss, in terms of workers, of 6.18 million. Most of the job losses were witnessed in the primary sector, followed by the manufacturing sector. (Kannan and Raveendran, 2019). These jobless people settle themselves in the INFS. The informal economy in India accounts for more than 80 percent of non-agricultural employment.

The estimates of the ILO suggest that more than 6 workers among 10 and 4 enterprises among 5 in the world operate in the informal economy. Therefore, contrary to the old forecasts, informality has not diminished over time and is even increasing in many countries, despite high levels of economic growth and agriculture improvement in many third-world countries. The persistence in the size of the informal sector and the lack of significant structural change that reallocates workers and firms from the low-productive informal sector to the high-productive formal sector constrain the growth of aggregate productivity in the economy. At the same time, sharp differences in earnings between workers in the informal and formal sectors and the existence of a large pool of workers in the informal sector lead to a high level of income and asset inequality, which may worsen further if the process of economic growth is biased towards the growth of the formal sector (in terms of productivity and capital accumulation) rather than the informal sector. Thus, it becomes crucial not only to incorporate the INFS in the existing macro-models of traditional agriculture-industry relations but also to balance the growth momentum with inclusionary policies (Ahmed and Varshney 2012). In fact, the agenda of ‘inclusive growth’ also talks about the construction of ‘a model of a hybrid economy that embraces the traditional and the modern, the small scale and the big scale, the informal and the formal’ (Chen 2012). The prime objective behind the adoption of this strategy is to achieve growth and inclusion simultaneously (Bardhan 2009; Heller 2011; ILO 2014). Therefore, the INFS has been a matter of policy concern at the global level (ILO 2002; WTO 2009).

### **1.2. Literature Review**

Literature on agriculture-industry linkage failed to explain the logical reason behind the development of a very large under-remunerative informal sector beyond the modern/formal segments (and outside of agriculture), despite sizeable expansion and improvements in agriculture [ILO (1972); Papola (1980)]. In the work of Chatterjee (2008) and Sanyal (2007), the issue of ‘accumulation by dispossession’ (ABD) is greatly highlighted, which talks about the process of creating the ‘development refugee’ through the capitalistic growth process. Sen (1988) highlights that there arose an inconsistency between the doctrine of accumulation-based, modern industry-centric growth and the issue of the welfare of the great masses. Bangasser (2000) argued that while informal employment and the INFS, in general, were



continuously expanding within the non-agricultural segments, there was a very low rate of job generation within the FS. While the World Bank, Institutionalists, and Neoclassical economists' views INFS in a positive light, with a significant role for the informality in the aggregate economic activity and an implicit formal-informal symbiosis/complementarity (Lanjouw and Lanjouw 2001; Maloney 2004), the structuralists view the INFS as an entity closely interlinked with the FS but simultaneously exploited by the latter in its pursuit of profits (Moser 1978). However, INFS is actually a very heterogeneous segment, having a variety of relations with the FS. More specifically, it has both complementary and conflicting relations with the broader economy, especially the FS (Chakrabarti 2016). Bardhan (2009) argued that despite the growing existence of the INFS and its non-inclusion within the very core of the FS, the conditions of enterprise and labour within the former are improving (albeit slowly)—generally in view of its direct interactions with the global market and particularly due to its direct and/or indirect linkages with the FS. It is seen that existing literature on formal-agriculture-informal relations focuses on the nature of relations that exist between the formal and informal sectors. There are very few works that deal comprehensively with the dynamics of INFS and its locus within the mainstream macroeconomic framework. Moreover, INFS is the most neglected sector from a policy perspective, as most of the literature views INFS as a residual of the capitalistic development process, which may or may not exist in the future.

### **1.3. Objective, Hypothesis and Methodology**

The primary aim of the article is to analyse the probable relationship among the different segments of the informal sector in the presence of the agricultural sector, i.e., the modern informal sector-agricultural sector-traditional informal sector relationship. Our hypothesis suggests that there is a conflict between the modern informal sector and the traditional informal sector, given agricultural resource constraints.

For analytical and theoretical analyses, we have followed the structuralist approach (Kaleckian approach). We have graphically analysed the impact of various demand- and supply-side policies related to the modern informal sector on the traditional informal sector. The empirical study would be primarily based on secondary data collected from a number of sources. The major part of the study would utilise secondary data published by the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO), (Government of India), the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE), the Economic Intelligence Service, and data from Census reports (Census of India), the Reserve Bank of India (RBI), and indiastat. Data on all the variables pertaining to our theoretical model are collected for all India levels and pooled over three periods: 1999–00, 2010–11, and 2015–16. However, we have only considered data for 20 major Indian states in our empirical analysis. Data on the values of all the variables is converted to 2021–22 prices using WPI data and expressed in million rupees. The extrapolation technique is used to derive migration data for the period 2015–16.

### **1.4. Our Contribution**

This paper contributes greatly to understanding the importance of sectoral policies related to one segment of INFS for the other segment. To do this, we have constructed a basic theoretical framework that shows the relationship between modern and traditional INFS in the presence of the agricultural sector. Next, we have analysed the outcome of various policies or strategies

that relate to MINFS on TINFS. Our theoretical studies show that one lagged policy or strategy favouring only MINFS fails to bring inclusive growth to the economy. This is because all these sectors are closely interrelated. Based on our study, we can say that to achieve inclusive growth in the economy, balanced growth and balanced policy frameworks involving all the three major sectors of the economy are essential. This balanced strategy and policy can only mitigate the conflict between modern and traditional INFS, given generic resource constraints in the agricultural sector. We have also examined the resultant outcomes of various policies empirically. Empirical results confirm our hypothesis about the theoretical model.

In Section 2, we have described the theoretical formulation of our model and analysed the resultant impact of demand and supply-side policies; in Section 3, we have performed some empirical analysis; and Section 4 contains the conclusion of our work.

## **Section 2**

### ***A Model of the Modern Informal Sector-Agricultural Sector-Traditional Informal Sector Relationship***

#### **2.1 Basic features of our model economy**

(1) There are three sectors of a closed economy: (i) the modern informal sector (MINFS), (ii) the traditional informal sector (TINFS), and (iii) a non-capitalistic generic agriculture producing a composite commodity, food.

(2) The agriculture sector is divided into two parts: (i) traditional agriculture sector 1 (TAGR 1) and (ii) traditional agriculture sector 2 (TAGR 2). TAGR 1 produces basic cereals (LVCs), which the agent of TINFS purchased, while TAGR 2 produces a better quality of food (HVCs), which the agent of MINFS purchased.

(3) A marketable surplus of food represents an agricultural supply constraint for the MINFS as well as the TINFS. Therefore, the price of food is demand-determined. However, there could be growth or contraction in the food sector in the medium and long run due to other reasons, such as natural factors, technological changes, and significant policy shifts. This agricultural supply constraint represents a generic resource pool. To capture the bundle of resources required for both the FS and INFS, food has been used as a proxy.

(4) Aggregate agricultural income is earned by selling marketable surplus in the combined food market at a single food price to the agents of both the MINFS and TINFS. The resultant income, in turn, is spent on products of both the MINFS and TINFS. This division of income depends on the amount of food demanded by the respective sectors.

(5) There is a balanced trade between TAGR2 and the MINFS on the one hand and between TAGR1 and the TINFS on the other; these are simplifying assumptions.

(6) Contrary to the FS having a capital-labour dichotomy, with accumulation logic being the driving force for production, the non-agricultural INFS (both MINFS and TINFS) is characterised by consumption motive—the logic of satisfaction of basic needs (Chatterjee 2008; Sanyal 2007: 211–13)—self-employment, and the absence of limiting or fixed capital. Moreover, there is surplus labour in the INFS. It essentially comprises ‘petty commodity producers’ who produce for the sole purpose of consumption, using only indigenous resources.

(7) Both MINFS and TINFS are self-sufficient in terms of both implements and non-food consumption. However, it has to depend on agriculture (basic resources) for food (a composite representing all the non-industrial products), which is obtained with the proceeds received through the sale of net output (the net of requirements for self-consumption and reproduction) to agriculture itself.

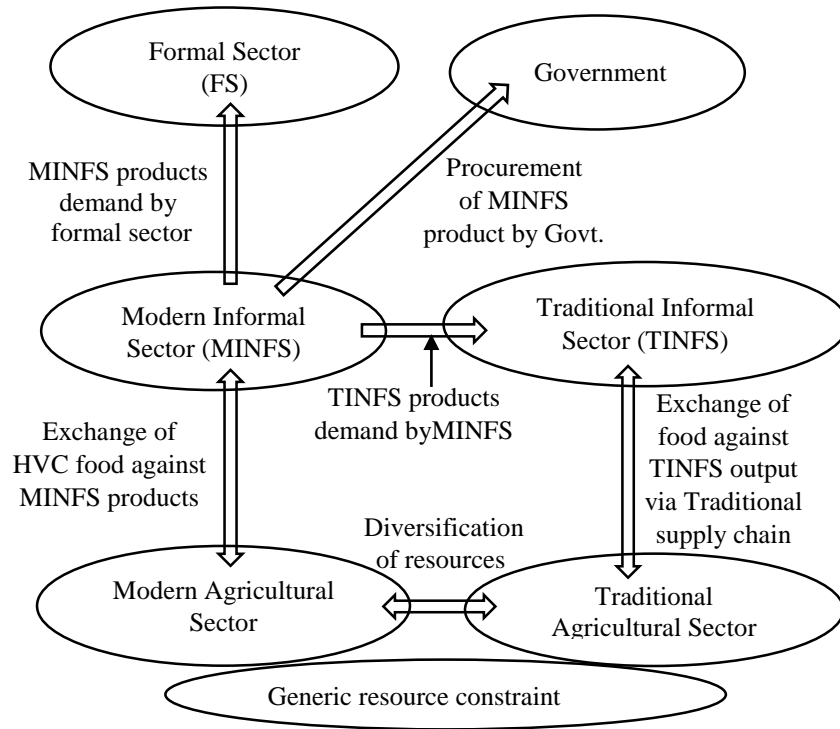
(8) There is a direct interaction between the MINFS and TINFS. MINFS demands the output of TINFS. Thus, TINFS demand has two sources: MINFS and TAGR1.

(9) MINFS interacts with TAGR2 and FS. Thus, MINFS output demand has two sources: FS and TAGR2.

(10) While the price of TINFS output is determined through interaction with TAGR1 (assumed to be given), the price of MINFS is market-determined.

(11) We have a closed economy framework and undertake a short-run analysis.

Using features 1 to 11, we have constructed the basic structure of our model economy, Flow Chart 1.



**Flow Chart 1:** Basic structure of our model economy

## 2.2. Important Notations

$Y_t^d$  = demand for the TINFS output

$Y_t^s$  = supply of the TINFS output

$p_t$  = price of the TINFS output

$\beta_t$  = the fraction of intra-sectoral utilisation of output in the TINFS for self-consumption and reproduction

$a_{fl}^s$  = per capita consumption of TAGR1 food at the subsistence level

$a_{lt}$  = per capita TINFS output produced by the labour

$\left(\frac{p_t}{p_f}\right)$  = t-o-t between TINFS and TAGR1

$\left(\frac{p_m}{p_f}\right)$  = t-o-t between MINFS and TAGR2

$Y_m^d$  = demand for the MINFS output

$Y_m^s$  = supply of the MINFS output

$p_m$  = price of the MINFS output

$a_{tm}$  = per capita consumption of MINFS output by MINFS workers

$\beta_m$  = the fraction of intra-sectoral utilisation of output in the MINFS for self-consumption and reproduction

$Y_{FS}^d$  = demand for MINFS output by the formal sector

$D_{fm}$  = demand for TAGR2 output 'food'

$S_{fm}$  = supply of TAGR2 output 'food'

$F$  = aggregate supply of marketable surpluses of 'food'

$p_f$  = price of TAGR1 and TAGR2 output 'food'

$a_{fm}$  = per capita consumption of TAGR2 output 'food' by the MINFS

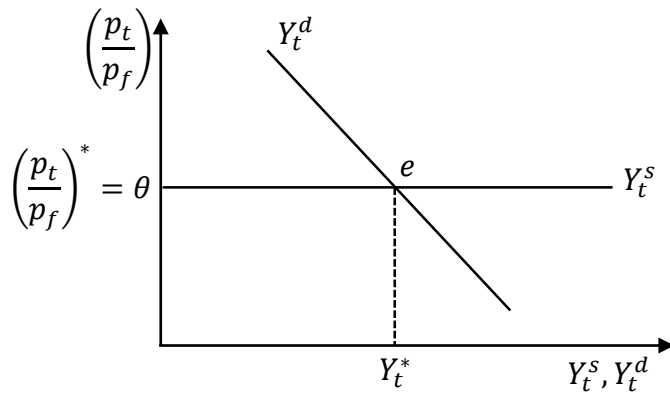
$\alpha$  = share of agricultural income transacted with MINFS

$1 - \alpha$  = share of agricultural income transacted with TINFS

### **2.3 Working of our model**

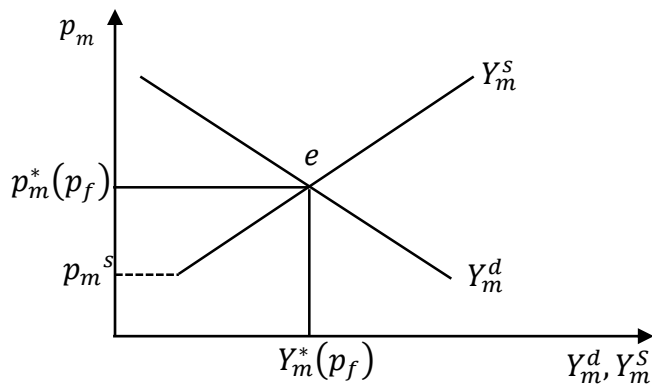
From the mathematical formulation of our theoretical model, we derived figures 1–3 (Appendix 1).

Figure 1 shows output and price determination in TINFS.



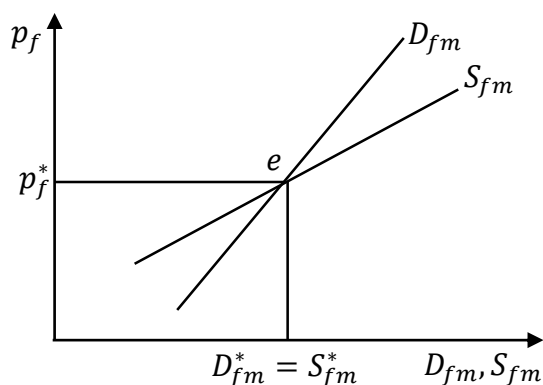
**Figure 1**

Figure 2 shows output and price determination in MINFS.



**Figure 2**

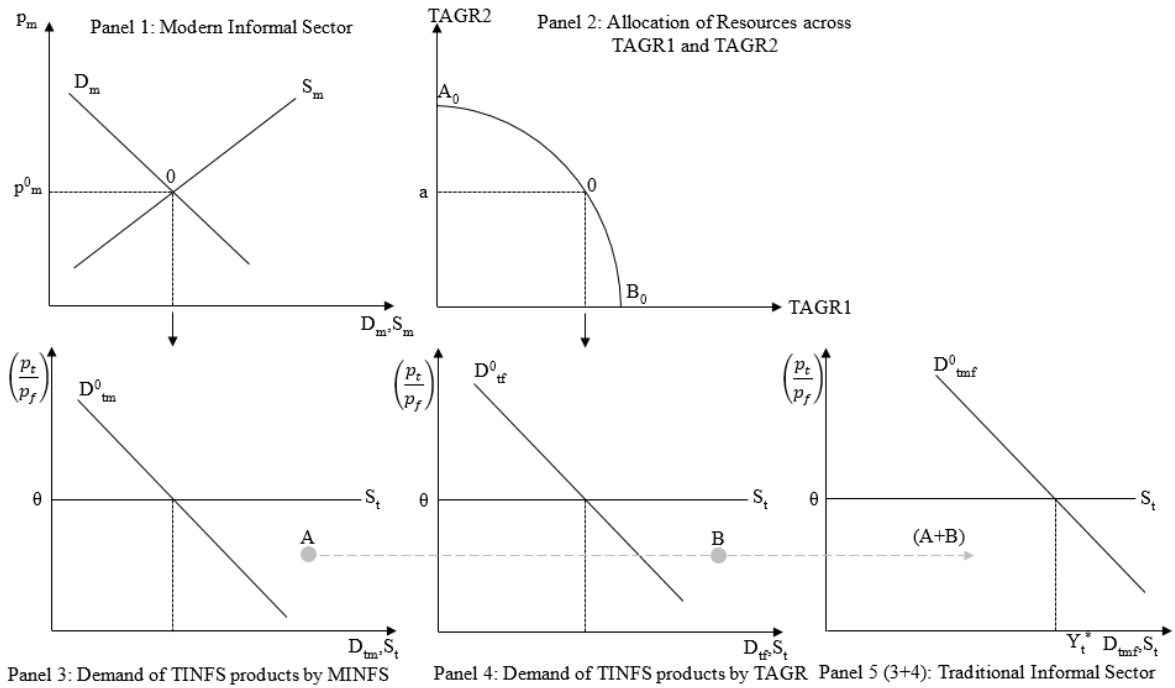
Figure 3 shows output and price determination for TAGR—MINFS.



**Figure 3**

Now, by combining figures 1, 2, and 3, we get the basic structure of our model economy, figure 4. Demand for TINFS by the MINFS is shown in Panel 3, while demand from TAGR is shown in Panel 4. Aggregate demand for TINFS is shown in Panel 5. This is the initial equilibrium of the economy.

Figure 4: Basic structure of our model

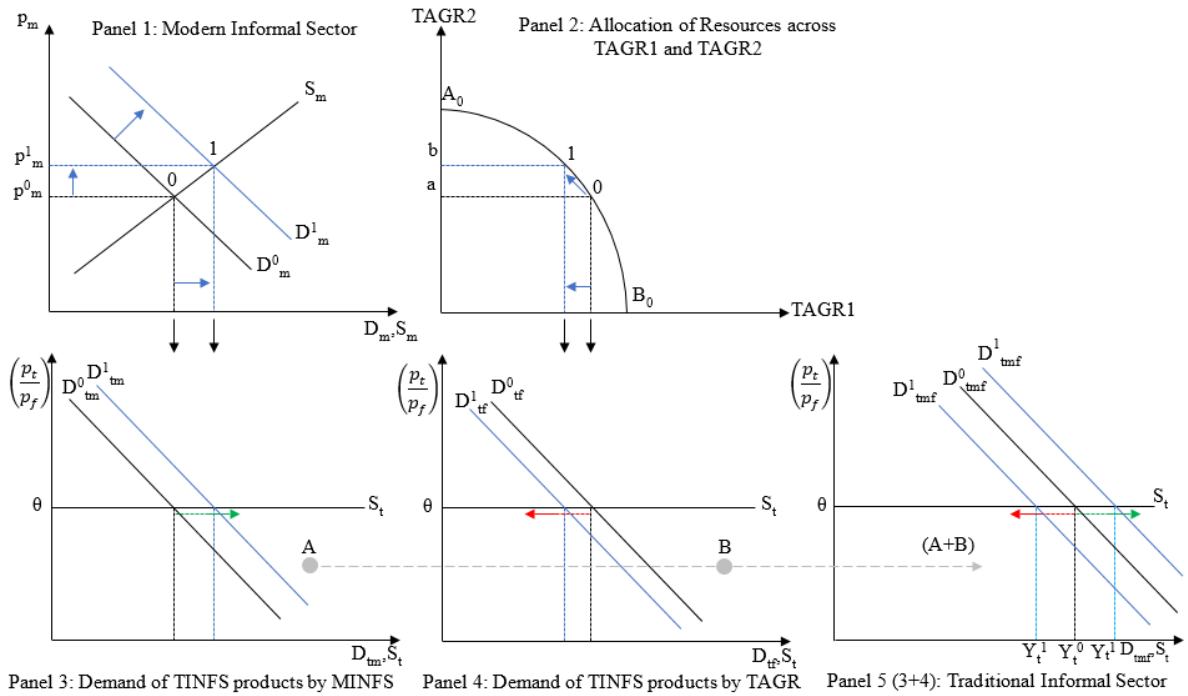


Source: Prepared by author

### 2.4 Impact of demand-side policies (viz., procurement) favouring MINFS on TINFS

Let us now see the impact of demand-side policies (viz., procurement support) favouring MINFS on TINFS. The resultant outcome is shown in Figure 5. It is seen that demand for MINFS output increases, and thus the demand curve for MINFS shifts upwards from  $D_m^0$  to  $D_m^1$ . This led to an increase in demand for TINFS output from MINFS. Thus, we have an upward shift in the TINFS demand curve from  $D_{tm}^0$  to  $D_{tm}^1$ . However, as we have agricultural supply constraints, resource diversification from TAGR1 (LVCs) to TAGR2 (HVCs) takes place. Because of this demand for TINFS output from TAGR decline, As a result, the  $D_{tf}^0$  curve shifts downward to  $D_{tf}^1$ . Now, by combining demand from MINFS (panel 3) and TAGR (panel 4), we derive the aggregate demand curve for TINFS, which may be higher or lower than the initial demand curve. This is because we are not able to graphically measure the actual increase in demand for TINFS from MINFS and the actual fall in demand for TINFS from TAGR.

Figure 5: Impact of demand side policies (viz. procurement) favouring MINFS on TINFS

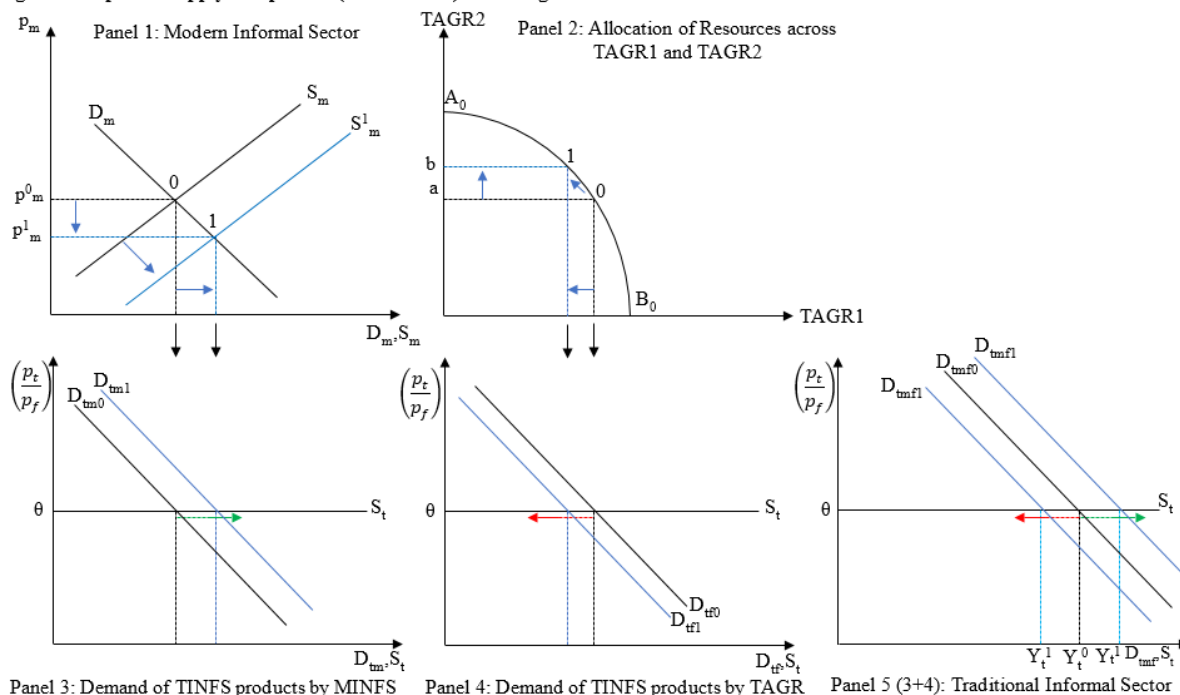


Source: Prepared by author

### 2.5 Impact of supply-side policies (viz., financial) favouring MINFS on TINFS

Let us now see the impact of supply-side policies (viz., financial support) favouring MINFS on TINFS. The resultant outcome is shown in Figure 6. An increase in financial support by the government led to an increase in the supply of MINFS output. Thus, the supply curve shifts upward from its initial level of  $S_m$  to  $S_m^1$ . Since MINFS uses TINFS output as an input in its production process, demand for TINFS output also increases. Consequently, the initial MINFS-determined TINFS demand curve shifts upward from its initial level of  $D_{tm0}$  to  $D_{tm1}$ . However, as we have agricultural supply constraints, resource diversification from TAGR1 (LVCs) to TAGR2 (HVCs) takes place. Because of this demand for TINFS output from TAGR decline, As a result, the  $D_{tf0}$  curve shifts downward to  $D_{tf1}$ . Now, by combining demand from MINFS (panel 3) and TAGR (panel 4), we derive the aggregate demand curve for TINFS, which may be higher or lower than the initial demand curve. This is because we are not able to graphically measure the actual increase in demand for TINFS from MINFS and the actual fall in demand for TINFS from TAGR.

Figure 6: Impact of supply side policies (viz. financial) favouring MINFS on TINFS



Source: Prepared by author

### 3.1 Conclusion

In this work, we have developed a theoretical framework to show the relationships between the modern informal sector – agriculture sector – traditional informal sector. We have discussed analytically, using a flow chart, the sectoral relations and the role of the government and formal sectors in promoting both TINFS and MINFS. Formal sectors interact directly with MINFS only. However, MINFS and TINFS share the same resource base, so conflict arises. We extend the basic structure of our theoretical models to analyse the impact of various sectoral policies that favour MINFS only on TINFS in the presence of agricultural resource constraints. It is seen that any policy that favours MINFS from either the demand side (i.e., procurement support) or the supply side (i.e., financial support) leads to agricultural resource ‘food’ diversification from TINFS to MINFS. Thus, conflict between MINFS and TINFS rises. Our empirical analyses also support our theoretical framework. Based on the outcome of the analysis, we suggest that to mitigate this conflict and bring inclusive growth to the economy, a balanced growth strategy as well as a balanced sectoral policy are essential.

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**Firm Structure, Market Structure, and Firm Dynamics:  
A critique of the mainstream microeconomic analysis<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract**

This paper analyses the firm structure, market structure, and firm dynamics of the micro-units engaged in two types of activities (forging-fabrication and handloom-weaving) and operating across the Indian state of West Bengal. Our primary data-based analysis shows that, barring a few, these micro-firms are intrinsically non-capitalistic, having collaboration among the intra-firm actors. In the market, there are intermediaries, especially in handloom. However, contrary to popular belief, firms enjoy a collaborative relationship with market agents. For firm growth, limited surplus seems to be a constraint. Despite this, willingness for expansion is perceptible. However, for many firms, the motive behind this expansion is survival rather than accumulation.

**JEL Codes:** D22, L22, 012, 017, P00

**Keywords:** micro-firms, competition, collaboration, accumulation, survival, India

**1. Introduction**

**1.1 Motivation**

Given its enormous workforce, the non-farm informal sector is critical to India's development (Mehrotra 2019). To develop this non-farm informal sector, the evolution of the informal micro-firms is crucial; this makes firm dynamics and thereby firm structure and market structure a crucial issue. Given the limitation of the literature, exploring the structures of the informal firms and markets and their probable impact on firm dynamics using field-level data constitute

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a crucial area of research, especially in India. Thus, we wish to study the structures and dynamics of the micro –firms.

## **1.2 Broad objectives**

This paper intends to study the (informal) micro-firms focusing on the following:

1. Firm structure, especially the labor process
2. Market structure, especially intermediary operation
3. Firm dynamics, especially survival and/or accumulation activities

## **1.3 Mapping the discourses**

Keeping in mind the research problem and the specific objectives, we need to have an understanding of the existing general literature, primarily focusing on contemporary writings in India.

### **(a) Firm Structure**

Reviewing firm structure of the informal firms, we could divide the vast literature broadly into the following three groups – The informal sector consisting of (i) only micro-capitalistic firms, (ii) non-capitalistic enterprises, and (iii) both these types of firms.

According to mainstream economists, an informal firm acts as a micro-capitalist, able to maximize profit for reinvestment (Ranis & Stewart, 1999; Chen, 2006; Marjit & Kar, 2011). Contrarily, a group of Marxists and Structuralists considers an informal sector firm as a site of petty commodity production (PCP), which is pre-capitalistic in nature, operating within a market economy and strengthening the modern capitalistic accumulation (Moser, 1978; Gerry, 1987; Breman, 2013). On the other hand, a new brand of political economy (Sanyal, 2007; Chatterjee, 2008; Sanyal & Bhattacharya, 2009) argues that these firms are predominantly non-capitalistic and constitute a need economy where the firms undertake cycles of production (through participation in the market) for the satisfaction of need – survival. Recently, researchers have revealed that the informal sector could be characterized by a capitalistic part and a dominant non-capitalistic segment. While the few capitalistic informal firms act like micro-capitalist, the majority of the firms have non-capitalistic production structures and mostly depend on household labor, with the absence of capital-labor dichotomy (Khasnabis & Nag, 2001; Kundu & Chakrabarti, 2008; Chakrabarti, 2016; Raj & Sen, 2016; Chakrabarti, Dhar & Dasgupta, 2016; Bhattacharya & Kesar, 2018).

### **(b) Market Structure**

Some economists view that informal firms can freely interact (among themselves) in the market competitively and reap the benefit of global market expansion and grow (Maiti & Marjit, 2008; Bardhan, 2009; Marjit & Kar, 2011). Another group of researchers has argued that the informal sector firms face severe extraction of surplus in the market structure due to the presence of intermediaries and various economic and non-economic aspects of the hierarchical relations with the intermediaries (Khasnabis & Nag, 2001; Harris-White, 2003; Basole & Basu, 2011; Basile, 2013; Nag, 2015; Mukherjee et al., 2019). In the context of a post-colonial economy, researchers have argued that the informal sector is completely disassociated with the

circuit of capital (Sanyal, 2007; Sanyal & Bhattacharya, 2009). Another strand of literature first distinguished the informal sector and explained how the capitalistic informal segment enjoys a benign relationship with the rest of the economy, whereas the non-capitalistic informal part faces conflict with the formal sector and even with the capitalistic informal segment (Chakrabarti, 2013; Bhaduri, 2017; Sadhu & Chakrabarti, 2021).

### **(c) Firm Dynamics**

The mainstream literature considers that informal sector firms are predominantly dynamic and experiencing an evolutionary process based on accumulation which will suppress the petty sub-segment and absorb its evicted workforce (Bardhan, 2009; Marjit & Kar, 2011). Contrarily, Sanyal & Bhattacharya (2009) consider that these firms generally do not accumulate capital and remain a major site of stagnation which is an outcome of a variety of compulsions. Besides, there is extensive literature that considers the informal sector as a complex economic space where there is a simultaneous occurrence of emergence, progression, persistence, and involution of the firms (Chakrabarti, 2016; Bhaduri, 2017; Mukherjee et al., 2019; Bhattacharya & Kesar, 2020).

### **1.4 The gaps in the literature**

While reviewing the literature, we see that researchers, whether orthodox or heterodox, put an emphasis on aspects of competition. On the contrary, the role of collaboration in the above-mentioned aspects is seriously under-researched in the literature, especially in the context of India. (Planning Commission, 2012; Chakraborty and Chakrabarti, 2022).

### **1.5. Hypothesis**

The specific hypotheses of the paper are -

1. Labour Process is non-capitalistic, and to be more focused, it is collaborative.
2. Market structure is non-competitive and hierarchical, but to be more precise, there is collaboration among different agents of the markets.
3. There is persistence of firms unlike both evolution and involution and, to be precise persisting not for accumulation but for consumption or survival.

### **1.6. Methodology and data source**

This paper is an empirical study of micro-firms based on a primary data set. Using structured questionnaires, focus group discussions (FGDs), and individual interviews, a total of 302 firm units were surveyed (following a stratified random sampling technique) from August 2017 to February 2019<sup>2</sup> across West Bengal<sup>3</sup>. This cross-section data covers two manufacturing activities (forging-fabrication and handloom-weaving) over two locations for each activity across three districts of West Bengal. For handloom, the study areas are Dhaniakhali (79 firms) and Tantipara (75 firms). For forging-fabrication, the study locations are Asansol (74 firms) and Bolpur (74 firms). The basis for choosing the specific products and corresponding locations

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<sup>2</sup>This baseline data was generated through a major ICSSR, Government of India project (F.No. 02/210/2016-17/RP) undertaken by the corresponding author. The first author was involved in the project as a surveyor.

<sup>3</sup>West Bengal is second largest in number of unincorporated non-agricultural enterprises in India (14.0%) [Government of India's NSSO Report No.582, July 2018; pp. Highlights i].

are presented in Chart 1, along with the location-wise sample units. Keeping our objectives in mind, we have done detailed exploratory analysis and confirmatory tests with appropriate post-estimation corrections using Excel and STATA.

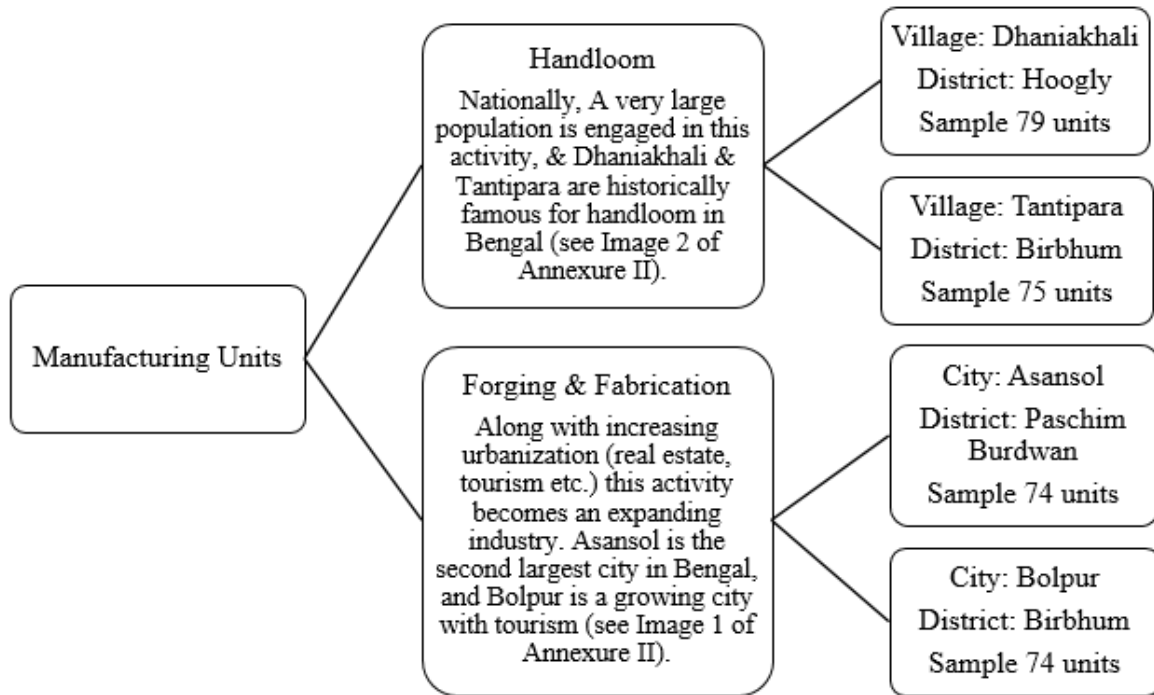


Chart 1

Source: Authors’ field experience and Mukherjee et al. (2019)

**2. Some General Firm-Level Characteristics and Some Crucial Specificities**

Handloom is deeply connected to the economic, social, and cultural history of Bengal. Dhaniakhali is a village in the Hooghly district located just 61 km away from Kolkata (the state capital). All the weavers are associated with the co-operative in Dhaniakhali. On the other hand, Tantipara is situated approximately 209 km from Kolkata. While Dhaniakhali is known for its cotton long-cloth (Sarees and Dhotis), Tantipara is known for its tussar silk (a variety of Indian silk - primarily long-cloth). For forging-fabrication, we take up Asansol and Bolpur. Asansol is an industrial city and it is the second largest city in West Bengal. Bolpur, on the other hand, is a popular tourist destination due to its century-old cultural history and natural beauty. Because both cities are experiencing increased urbanization, the forging-fabrication sector is one of the most important manufacturing activities here.

Now, table 1 gives us an overview of the characteristics of the sample firms across the manufacturing activities.

**Table 1:** General profile of the sample across locations

A general profile of the sample (Total number of firms = 302)		Asansol (74 )	Bolpur (74 )	Dhaniakhali (79)	Tantipara (75)
Work premises (number of firms)	Inside household	38	32	78	75
	Outside household	25	41	1	0
	Both	11	1	0	0
Average area of workplace (Sq ft.)		459.74	638.3	98.75	83.12
Per firm fixed asset (Rs.)		64266	57673	10968	14421
Per firm household laborer (Avg. number)		1.14	1.22	2.2	2.44
Per firm hired laborer (Avg. number)		3.72	3.6	0	0
Owner (including family labor) doing only managerial activity (number of firms)		34	22	0	0
Average age of the present unit (years)		12.71	13.21	37.63	26.77
Input Market linkages (Options) (number of firms)	Open market	74	74	1	31
	Intermediary	0	0	5	34
	Open and Intermediary	0	0	73	10
Output Market linkages (Options) (number of firms)	Open market	44	72	0	34
	Intermediary	12	2	48	22
	Open and intermediary	18	0	31	19

### 3. Empirical Analysis

#### 3.1 Firm Structure

In this section, we try to understand the labor process, focusing on the relationship among the owner, manager, skilled and unskilled laborer, and hired and household laborer, i.e., how the different agents participate and interact in the production process.

##### i) Handloom:

As we mentioned earlier, we have two types of handloom products: cotton sarees in Dhaniakhali and tassar silk in Tantipara. However, the pre-weaving processes are slightly different between the locations.

In handloom, we analyze the firm structure, focusing on the labor process from the perspective of gender. In doing so, we observe the work-based and time-based differences between male and female household laborers.

Our analysis finds work-based division across gender in the handloom where the male household laborers are primarily engaged in the weaving (paid work), and female household laborers are generally involved in the unpaid pre-loom and post-loom activities. However, the necessary contribution of female household labourers are acknowledged by the male labourers. Thus, we see this as a work-based division, not a hierarchy between male and female household labor. But, we cannot go deeper into this aspect due to the limitation of data regarding the time distribution of household labor across various types of work.

Now, we move into the analysis of labor hour distribution to capture the time-based differences across gender. Table 2 shows that as we move along the net-income category<sup>1</sup>, the number of household laborers is increasing in Dhaniakhali and Tantipara. Also, we find that male household labor contributes more labor hours than female labor in a firm across the net-income category in both locations; this indicates a time-based hierarchy in terms of gender in handloom. Thus, contrary to the popular belief of even distribution of labor hours within a family firm, we find a male bias that also increases along with the net-income.

Table 3 shows the result of regression model 1, in which the difference between male and female labor hours is the dependent variable and taking other controlling variable (table 3). From the regression result, we establish that the difference in labor hours between male and female participants increases as firm size increases in terms of net-income. Strikingly, further confirmatory analysis (Table 4) has shown that, in Dhaniakhali, for smaller firms (net-income less than or equal to 14000 Rs), the difference in labor hours across gender is insignificant. This result indicates convergence between male and female household laborers concerning labor time in smaller firms.

Overall our research indicates that, despite the intra-firm time-based hierarchy, the labor process in handloom is shaped by a variety of intra-household collaboration, community engagement, socio-cultural norms, and kinship.

**Table 2.** Distributions of household labor and labor hours across gender over net-income (NI) in handloom

Location	NI Category	Number of firms	Per firm household labor (male)	Per firm household labor (female)	Per firm household total labor	Per day per firm household labor hours (male)	Per day per firm household labor hours (female)	Per day per firm total household labor hours	Per day per person labor hours (male)	Per day per person labor hours (female)
Dhaniakhali	1	18	0.94	0.83	1.77	6.28	4.22	10.5	5.94	4.22
	2	17	0.94	0.94	1.94	6.94	4.71	11.65	6.59	4.15
	3	18	1	1.11	2.11	8.33	5.44	13.77	8.33	4.81
	4	17	1.11	1.17	2.35	10.29	6.29	16.58	8.97	5.76
Tantipara	1	18	1.27	0.88	2.16	9.67	3.53	13.2	7.86	3.42
	2	17	1.29	1.05	2.35	10	5.24	15.24	8.15	5.12
	3	17	1.23	1	2.23	10.76	6	16.76	9.03	5.71
	4	17	1.23	1.05	2.29	10.82	6.12	16.94	9.35	5.91

**Note:** NI category (Rs.)

Dhaniakhali : (1) NI ≤ 12930    (2) 12930 < NI ≤ 22058.5    (3) 22058.5 < NI ≤ 34936    (4) NI > 34936  
 Tantipara : (1) NI ≤ 48950    (2) 48950 < NI ≤ 74200    (3) 74200 < NI ≤ 92640    (4) NI > 92640

<sup>4</sup> Net-income = (Total Revenue – Total Cost); calculated by the authors.

**Table 3.** Regression Model 1

Dependent variable: (Per day per person male labor hours minus Per day per person female labor hours)	Coefficient value
Independent variables:	-
Net-income (NI)	0.00** (0.05)
(Total male laborer minus total female laborer)	4.14 (0.00)
Age of unit	0.00 (0.40)
Education of owner	-0.07 (0.33)
Annual expenditure on education	0.00 (0.00)
Location dummy [ 1 = Tantipara; 0 otherwise]	0.55 (0.45)
R-squared:	0.49
Adj R-squared:	0.46
Number of observations:	139

Note: \*, \*\* and \*\*\* imply 10%, 5% and 1 % level of significance, respectively. Standard errors are in the parentheses.

**Table 4.** Mean difference test between male and female household labor hours in Dhaniakhali when net-income $\leq$  14000

Per day per person labor hours	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean	Standard Error	Standard Deviation
Male	1.23	38	0.22	5.75	0.72	3.25
Female				4.6	0.58	2.60

**ii) Forging and fabrication:**

**Production process for forging-fabrication:**

Forging-fabrication production depends mainly on hired labor, relatively modern machines, and raw materials (iron sheets, bars, angles, paints, etc.).

Instead of intra-family dichotomy, our focus here is to understand the owner-worker relationship; whether there is any distinct feature for these micro-firms in terms of owner-worker interaction. The data shows that, as we move along the net-income category, the number of skilled and unskilled hired laborers and the number of hired labor hours used in a firm increase (table 5). However, strikingly, when we observe the labor hour of a household laborer, we find that household labor contributes more time in a day than hired labor. Also table 5 shows that for most firms (57.6% in Asansol and 69.7% in Bolpur), there is work sharing between the owner and/or household laborer and worker. In other words, household laborers are engaged in managerial work and participate in various skilled and unskilled activities, too. It shows the presence of collaboration/sharing among the owner and workers in terms of work (more intense in smaller firms than in large ones).

To explore whether this type of collaboration/sharing also exists regarding income (read wage for hired labor), we calculate the hourly net return against household labor<sup>2</sup> and hourly pay for skilled and unskilled work (Table 6). It shows that, as net-income rises, net return increases,

<sup>5</sup> Net return against labor of household laborer = Net-income of the firm – (depreciation of land and building + depreciation of machineries).



and so does the gap between the earnings of owner and worker, indicating (tentatively) labor exploitation to some extent in these micro-firms (figures 1 and 2). We run a confirmatory test to examine whether this difference is dependent on net-income, controlling other variables (table 7). From the results, we re-establish that the earning gap between household laborer and skilled hired laborer increases as firm size increases. Thus there is an income-based hierarchy between owner and worker, tentatively indicating the exploitation of hired laborers in larger firms.

**Table 5.** Distributions of household and hired labor and labor hours over net-income (NI) in forging-fabrication

Location	NI category	Number of firms	Per firm household laborer and labor hours per day*	Per firm skilled hired laborer and labor hours per day*	Per firm unskilled hired laborer and labor hours per day*	Per firm total hired laborer and labor hours per day*	Per firm total laborer and labor hours*	Per day per person household labor hours	Per day per person skilled hired labor hours	Per day per person unskilled hired labor hours	Owner-worker sharing of work (Number of firms)
Asansol	1	17	1.24 (9.76)	1.35 (10.53)	1.47 (11.76)	2.82 (22.29)	4.06 (32.06)	8	5.41	5.12	12
	2	17	1.06 (8.41)	1.71(12.82)	1.24 (9.71)	2.94 (22.53)	4 (30.94)	7.88	7.22	6.41	11
	3	17	1.24 (10.94)	1.94 (15.06)	1.88 (14.88)	3.82 (29.94)	5.06 (40.88)	8.76	7.34	5.98	10
	4	16	1 (7.44)	2.63 (21.31)	2.13 (17.28)	4.75 (38.59)	5.75 (46.03)	7.44	8.06	7.02	5
Bolpur	1	17	1.24 (9.29)	1.47 (11.71)	0.65 (5.06)	2.12 (16.76)	3.35 (26.06)	7.79	7.5	3.65	13
	2	16	1.25 (9.06)	1.25 (10)	0.94 (7.25)	2.19 (17.25)	3.44 (26.31)	7.56	6.5	6.25	14
	3	17	1.24 (9.58)	1.71 (13.53)	1.24 (9.41)	2.94 (22.94)	4.18 (32.53)	8.12	7.49	6.35	11
	4	16	1.19 (10.25)	3.75 (29.25)	2.44 (19.06)	6.19 (48.31)	7.38 (58.56)	8.81	7.83	6.83	8

[\*Within bracket, value of labor-hour is given.]

**Note:** NI category (Rs.)

Asansol : (1) NI ≤ 98080 (2) 98080 < NI ≤ 162700 (3) 162700 < NI ≤ 323100 (4) NI > 323100

Bolpur: (1) NI ≤ 95180 (2) 95180 < NI ≤ 173900 (3) 173900 < NI ≤ 325800 (4) NI > 325800

**Table 6.** Hourly net return of owner and hourly wage of hired worker (skilled and unskilled) across net-income (NI) category in forging and fabrication

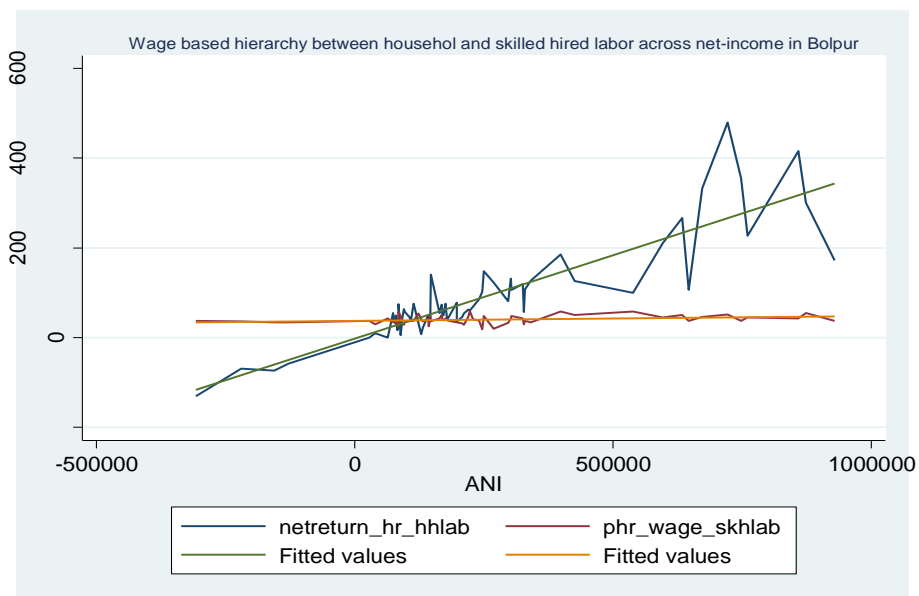
Location	NI category*	Number of firms	Per hour net return against household labor (Rs.)	Per hour skilled wage (Rs.)	Per hour unskilled wage (Rs.)
Asansol	1	17	-17.11	36.78	15.46
	2	17	58.68	35.61	15.95
	3	17	97.22	37.39	15.64
	4	16	271.56	38.60	19.53
Bolpur	1	17	4.77	36.31	18.71
	2	16	53.62	40.67	21.7
	3	17	83.37	38.43	17.42
	4	16	223.04	44.59	25.11

\* Just once, as before



Note: netreturn\_hr\_hhlab = hourly net return against household labor  
 phr\_wage\_skhlab = hourly wage of skilled hired labor  
 ANI = Net-income

**Figure 1.** Wage-based hierarchy between household labor and skilled labor across net-income in Asansol



Note: netreturn\_hr\_hhlab = hourly net return against household labor  
 phr\_wage\_skhlab = hourly wage of skilled hired labor  
 ANI= Net-income

**Figure 2.** Wage-based hierarchy between household labor and skilled labor across net-income in Bolpur

**Table 7.** Regression Model - 2

Dependent variable: (Hourly net return against household laborer minus hourly wage of skilled hired laborer)	Coefficient value
Independent variables:	
Net-income (NI)	0.00 ***(0.00)
Age of unit	-0.03(0.06)
Education of owner	1.12 (1.50)
Average experience of skilled hired laborers (in years)	-0.97 (1.18)
Location dummy [ 1 = Bolpur; 0 otherwise]	-14.68 (17.02)
R-squared:	0.68
Number of observations:	114

Source: Field Survey; authors' computation

Note: \*, \*\* and \*\*\* imply 10%, 5% and 1 % significance levels, respectively. Standard errors are in the parentheses.

However, interestingly, through further exploration, we find that firms with annual net-income below 360000 Rs. for Asansol and 320000 Rs. for Bolpur (consisting of 79.1% and 74.2% of total sample firms, respectively) show the earning differences between owner and worker to be insignificant (see table 8 and table 9). This is a crucial result as it shows a kind of collaboration between owner and worker in terms of earnings also. Therefore, most crucially, even if there is inherent exploitation in forging-fabrication, it is surpassed by collaboration.

Thus, the analysis of the firm structure reveals that along with intra-firm competition, collaboration plays an important role in the interaction of various agents within the firm.

**Table 8.** Mean difference test between hourly net return against household labor and hourly wage of skilled hired labor in Asansol, when net-income  $\leq$  360000

Asansol	t	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean	Standard Error	Standard Deviation
Hourly net return against household labor	0.91	53.25	0.36	48.04	12.12	88.25
Hourly wage of skilled hired labor				36.88	1.32	9.01

**Table 9.** Mean difference test between hourly net return against household labor and hourly wage of skilled hired labor in Bolpur, when net-income  $\leq$  320000

Bolpur	t	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean	Standard Error	Standard Deviation
Hourly net return against household labor	0.95	49.88	0.34	45.48	7.55	52.31
Hourly wage of skilled hired labor				38.21	1.32	8.78

### 3.2 Market Structure

In the context of market structure, we map various input and output market linkages and the relationship the firm owners share with different agents of the markets.

Our empirical analysis (table 10) shows that, in the case of forging-fabrication, all the firms collect inputs from the open market. However, in the output market, there is an incidence of intermediaries, especially in Asansol (different types of contractors). However, in Bolpur, only two firms from the larger net-income category are linked with intermediaries.

On the other hand, out of 69 firms in Tantipara, 27, 32, and 10 firms buy inputs from the open market, intermediaries, and a combination of these two, respectively. In the output market, 33 firms sell their output in the open market, while 21 sell their production to intermediaries, and others (15 units) are linked with both the open market and intermediaries. In Dhaniakhali, four units are solely connected with an intermediary (in this case, co-operative). Other firms interact with both open market and intermediary (but majorly depend on intermediary) in the input market. Similarly, out of 70 firms, 42 (60%) rely only on an intermediary in the output market, while 28 firms sell their outputs in a combination of open market and intermediary. Importantly, in the case of handloom, we find that smaller firms in terms of net-income are more likely to depend on intermediaries in the markets, specifically in the output market.

**Table 10.** Input-output market linkages across locations

Location	Number of firms	Input market linkages (Number of firms)			Output market linkages (Number of firms)		
		Open market	Intermediary	Open and Intermediary	Open market	Intermediary	Open and intermediary
Asansol	67	67	-	-	42	10	15
Bolpur	66	66	-	-	64	-	2
Dhaniakhali	70	-	4	66	-	42	28
Tantipara	69	27	32	10	33	21	15

**Table 11.** Beneficial (B) - Exploitative (E) relation in the input and output market across locations

Locations	No. of firms	Input market (Number of firms)		Output market (Number of firms)	
		Beneficial	Exploitative	Beneficial	Exploitative
Asansol	67	51	16	40	27
Bolpur	66	58	8	58	8
Dhaniakhali	70	66	4	63	7
Tantipara	69	54	15	54	15

During the data collection, respondents were asked about the type of relationships (either beneficial or exploitative) they shared with various input and output market agents. The field-

level observation reveals that in both handloom and forging-fabrication, firms are predominantly experiencing beneficial relationships with the input and output market agents (table 11).<sup>3</sup>

Hence, in the market context, we find the dominance of intermediaries, especially in handloom. However, strikingly, the micro-firms are experiencing a collaborative relationship with the market agents, irrespective of the nature of market linkages (competitive or non-competitive).

### 3.3 Firm dynamics

In this section, we try to understand whether the firms have any tendency towards accumulation, or they primarily carry out production for consumption/survival.

To understand the dynamics of the micro-firms, we introduce the notion of surplus to analyze the potential dynamics of these micro-firms.

We have constructed a variable called “net surplus” by improving upon the notion of “Net accumulation fund” (NAF) developed by Bhattacharya and Kesar (2018). Our net surplus is NAF minus imputed rent.

In deriving a net surplus, we have considered the monthly per capita consumption expenditure (rural and urban MPCE) of the state of West Bengal as a proxy for the imputed wage of household laborers. Moreover, we have also derived the net surplus of the firms in forging-fabrication, using our field-data on the average hourly wage of skilled and unskilled hired laborers.

Table-12 shows the average net surplus of the firms across locations over net-income categories. We find a constraint on the net surplus in handloom, which leads to the inability of firms to accumulate. On the other hand, the condition of forging-fabrication is better than handloom, but only for larger firms. Therefore, our result suggests a lack of adequate net surplus to be re-invested.

**Table 12.** Net surplus of the firms over net-income category across locations

NI category*	Net surplus (annually)					
	Asansol		Bolpur		Dhaniakhali	Tantipara
	Imputed using hired labor wage	Imputed using urban monthly per capita consumption*	Imputed using hired labor wage	Imputed using urban monthly per capita consumption*	Imputed using rural monthly per capita consumption*	Imputed using rural monthly per capita consumption*
1	-84337.81	-31712.11	-108675.1	-38911.46	-24857.74	-2216.18
2	-49911.08	47284.97	-24832.37	86818.8	-20573.98	16528.7
3	100663.8	180008.1	95697.89	168963.3	-13638.11	34363.6
4	421168.8	475938.4	435728.7	518970.9	-3140.28	63609.37

Source: Data on MPCE is collected from 68<sup>th</sup>NSSO report (2011-12), CPI Inflation adjusted for 2017 (the survey year); authors’ computation. \* Just once, as before

From the above discussion, we can only indicate the incapability of the firms to accumulate due to limited net surplus. Using the following table (table 13), we can analyze the motive of

<sup>3</sup>We are not denying the hierarchical position of the intermediaries in the market, but benefit accrues (from the firms’ ability to avoid uncertainty of market and/or lack of access to the global market) through intermediaries (See Khasnabis and Nag, 2001).

the firms (although tentatively and only subjectively). In Asansol, most firms are willing to expand their business, but the motive behind this expansion is generally survival. However, there is also a sizeable number of firms in Asansol that wish to grow with the accumulative motive. Similarly, in Bolpur also, the majority wishes to expand, and expansion for accumulation is more prevalent here. However, many firms in Bolpur also want to grow for consumption. In both Asansol and Bolpur, we find that units in the large-firm categories are more likely to accumulate, which is consistent with the trend of net surplus in forging-fabrication.

**Table 13.** Plan for expansion and motive of growth of the firms across locations

Location	Plan for Expansion (Number of firms)		
	Yes		No
	Accumulation	Consumption	
Asansol	27	29	11
Bolpur	35	23	8
Dhanikhali	-	-	70
Tantipara	20	34	15

In Dhaniakhali, no firm wishes to expand, which may indicate that these units are producing primarily for survival. However, in Tantipara, firms predominantly want to grow. However, this expansion is more because of consumption, though 20 firms exhibit an accumulative motive. Also, the accumulation motive is more likely in the higher net-income category than in smaller firms.

From this analysis, we can tentatively say that the prime objective behind production by these micro-firms is need or survival rather than accumulation.

#### **4. Conclusion**

In this paper, we intend to identify a variety of crucial traits of micro-production, using field-level data collected from different parts of the Indian state of West Bengal.

In handloom, the exploration reveals that though there is work-based division across gender, this does not lead to a work-based hierarchy. However, there exists a time-based hierarchy. In other words, male household labor contributes more time than female household labor in production. Nevertheless, we also find that for the smaller firms of Dhaniakhali, there is sharing of labor hours across gender. This indicates intra-firm collaboration in handloom.

On the other hand, in forging-fabrication, despite the significant contribution of hired labor, our analysis finds that household labor contributes more labor hours in a day than skilled or unskilled hired labor. Moreover, contrary to the conventional belief of capital-labor dichotomy, a considerable number of firms in forging-fabrication show collaboration between owner and worker in terms of sharing of work and also income, over and above exploitation. Hence, we could conclude that, barring a few, the micro-firms are inherently non-capitalistic, and there is evidence of intra-firm collaboration/sharing in handloom and forging-fabrication activities. And this collaboration works not only out of economic compulsions but also as an outcome of the collective social processes.

There are various possibilities in the market structure: from open market to intermediary operation. The intermediaries exist, especially in handloom. On the other hand, in forging-fabrication, firms can independently access the open market. However, contrary to the usual belief regarding intermediaries, our analysis suggests that, whatever the pattern of market linkage, the majority of the firms have a beneficial relationship with these market agents. However, mainly economic concerns are driving the collaborative processes, although socio-cultural drivers are not fully irrelevant.

Finally, limited surplus seems to constrain accumulation. Despite this inability, willingness for expansion exists. However, for many firms, the motive behind this expansion is survival rather than accumulation. We argue that, instead of profit maximization and accumulation as the primary objective, the logic of need or survival motive (Sanyal 2007) drives the micro-enterprises.

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**Clustered production: instances of collaboration**

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**Abstract**

The condition of the micro firms, engaging millions of people, has become vulnerable in India, and Covid has made it even worse with significant income loss and rising poverty. In that context, researchers argue for a long-term revival of these firms through cluster-based institutions. Against this backdrop, we explore the probable impacts of clustering on micro firms, focusing on their structure, market-specific aspects, inter-firm relationships, and dynamics. Using ethnographic methods, we conduct in-depth case studies focusing on the above-mentioned aspects, considering two natural clusters of handloom weaving in the Indian state of West Bengal (Tantipara of Birbhum district and Dhaniakhali of Hooghly district). Exploring these two clusters, we find significant inter-firm collaboration through a variety of tangible and intangible resource sharing in the production process. These clustered firms collectively bargain with the government and private players in markets and share bulk orders and market-related information. These collective actions reduce transaction costs. The complex production processes cannot be performed in an isolated place because they require active social collaboration. History, common cultural background, trust, and mutual reciprocity generate this social collaboration, and these elements are important for their(firm) survival in the cluster.

JEL codes- L10, R11, O43

**Keywords:** Micro-firms, Cluster, Collaboration

**1. Introduction**

**1.1 Motivation**

The Micro-small-medium enterprise (MSME) sector is essential for economic development, as it absorbs a large part of the total non-farm workforce in India. This is more so because of the overcrowding and crisis in agriculture and the limited scope of employment for the not-so-

highly-educated labour in the modern/formal sectors of the economy. So, given the nature of technology and workforce participation, the MSME segment could be a hope for fulfilling the objective of inclusive growth. The MSME sector has various organisational structures, such as stand-alone firms, clustered firms, dispersed firms, etc. Researchers argue that clustered firms are placed in a relatively advantageous position compared to dispersed units due to a variety of sharing (of tangible and intangible resources and markets, too), synergic effects, and scale economies (Abid Hussain expert committee, 1997; Sanyal, 2010; Chakrabarti et al, 2020; Kundu et al, 2021). Clusters are the geographical and sectoral agglomeration of firms, specialising in products and interlinked with informal networks and mutual trust that facilitate the cross-pollination of ideas across different agents<sup>1</sup>. Clusters accommodate an enormous number of micro-firms, especially in India (Das, 2017). So, in this regard, it is crucial to understand how millions of micro-firms survive and how a cluster facilitates their survival. This aspect of survival is quite scanty in the literature. For this, a proper, in-depth understanding of the functioning of the clusters is essential. Barring a few (Das, 2005; Nagraj, 2021), there is a lack of field-based studies considering the cluster form of organisational structure and their impact on the structure, conduct, and performance of the firms.

### **1.2. Objective of the Study**

In this regard, we intervene with in-depth case studies using ethnographic methods for two distinct handloom clusters of West Bengal. We wish to study the efficacy of firm clustering on firm dynamics through its influence on firm structure and market structure.

**The specific objectives are –**

1. To study the structure of the clustered firms and the intra-cluster interaction in terms of physical space, technology, knowledge, skill, design, resource, labour, tools and market.
2. To study the market structure of these firms. To understand how the firms within the cluster have better access to and bargaining power in the broader output and input markets.
3. To study the dynamics of the clustered firms, especially the income-expenditure pattern and production, appropriation, and utilisation of surplus (if any).

This work would generate crucial theoretical insights regarding the cluster form of organisation. The plan of the paper is as follows- we have mapped the existing discourse focusing on intra-cluster-inter-firm relations, the market structure of the clustered firms, firm dynamics, and the research gap. The following section deals with the case studies, separately for the two clusters, and finally, we conclude.

### **1.3. Literature on the Clustered Firms**

Summarising the surveyed literature regarding firm clustering, we can point out that while the mainstream has identified three elements: labour market pooling, growth of subsidiary trades, and knowledge spill over in enhancing firm productivity (Marshall, 1920; Krugman, 1991;

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<sup>1</sup>There might be other definitions, but the basic building block of cluster is- geographical and sectoral agglomeration of firms.

Nagraj, 2021), heterodox researchers have argued that, through joint action, clustered firms can achieve collective efficiency instead of only incidental economies of scale (Schmitz & Nadvi, 1999; Das, 2017). Institutionalists have argued that proximity reduces transaction costs, and under such circumstances, the cost of organising production would be lower (Coase, 1937). In the case of market structure, clustering of firms could strengthen the forward and backward linkages (Porter, 1998). Moreover, clustering raises the bargaining power of the MSME firms both in the input and output markets (Kundu et al., 2021; Chakrabarti et al., 2020). However, in the absence of collective marketing arrangements/facilities, clustered firms resort to local traders and intermediaries. In the developing countries cluster, the relationships between traders and producers linkages seem to vary with the market segment to which the product is targeted. Quality-driven arrangements are more collaborative, on the contrary, at the predominantly low quality-low price end of the market, the producer-trader relationship is hierarchical and involves little exchange of knowledge between them (Knorrington, 1992; Cawthorne, 1990). Lastly, on the dynamics of the clustered firms, on the one hand, firms are seen as expanding and capable of generating surplus (Piore & Sable, 1984; UNIDO, 2010; GOI, 2011). In the context of the Global South, a substantial body of empirical research compared clustered and dispersed firms for labour-intensive manufacturing industries such as textile, metal-works, and leather and concluded that the average earning of clustered firms is higher than dispersed firms (Tanaka et al., 2017; Ali & Peering, 2011; McCormick, 1999; Lin et al., 2011; Zhnag et al., 2009; Visser et al., 1999; Narayana, 2014). On the other hand, a group of heterodox researchers argues that not all clusters in LDCs exhibit high-road growth characterized by innovation and dynamism; some of them may witness stagnation and low-road growth, and many of them are on the verge of extinction (Pyke & Sengenberger, 1992; Amin, 1994; Mukherjee et al., 2019; Basole, 2015).

#### **1.4 Research Gap**

However, primary data-based research on firm structure, market structure, and firm dynamics (all three together) and their interrelations considering the clustered form of production organisation in handloom sector is scanty in the literature, specifically in the Indian context.

#### **2. Case studies of two Handloom Clusters of West Bengal**

Among all the MSME clusters of India, the share of Handloom clusters is the largest, and this is the dominant sector in terms of non-farm employment generation. So, a study on handloom clusters is of great importance. Historically, handloom weaving carries the economic and cultural legacy/heritage of India as well as Bengal, owing to its exquisite beauty. We have chosen two locations in West Bengal, specialising in two different handloom products, such as Dhaniakhali (for cotton weaving) and Tantipara (for tassar silk weaving), two age-old natural clusters of Bengal. In these two locations, we have conducted an in-depth conversation with various agents of the cluster (weavers, output and input market agents, community labour associations, and cooperative) and collected quantitative as well as qualitative information through structured questionnaires and video documentation.

## **2.1. General Description of the Clusters**

Tantipara is a village in Rajnagar block of Birbhum district, located 209 km from Kolkata. In this village, the majority of weavers produce a special type of silk called Tassar silk. On the other hand, Dhaniakhali is a village in the Hooghly district located just 61 km away from Kolkata (the state capital of West Bengal). Dhaniakhali is famous worldwide for its cotton handloom sarees (long cloth). While in the Dhaniakhali cluster, all the weavers are associated with cooperative, in the Tantipara cluster, there are individual weavers, weavers work under Mahajan, and weavers work under the Khadi organisation.

## **2.2 Tantipara silk weaving cluster**

### **a) Structure of the firm and Inter-firm relations**

Tassar silk saree (plain long cloth) is made in an intricate, stage-by-stage process. The first thing to do after buying the cocoons is to steam and dry them outside in the sunlight to kill the silkworms inside. Then, using a technique known as "thigh-reeling," entirely performed by female household labour, the thread (silk and natha, a coarse by-product) is extracted from the cocoons.<sup>2</sup> Once the threads have been washed and cleaned up, they are either manually or mechanically twisted, and then drumming occurs. After the drumming completes, the warp yarn of the tassar needs to be neatly arranged, a process locally known as "taasan". Denting and drafting come next, after which the weaving process begins. Normally, in Tantipara, weavers spend 8-10 hours daily and take 2-2.5 days to weave a *thaan* (Two long cloth with blouse pieces). Here, it is important to note that there are no formal skills imparting training; the entire knowledge and skills of weaving, denting-drafting, thigh-reeling, drumming, and twisting are transmitted from generation to generation through community interaction.

In this entire production process of tassar silk, the role of collaboration is evident in every stage. Over and above the market mechanism, there is a presence of intra-firm and inter-firm community collaboration through a variety of sharing. In Tantipara, the female household labourers exclusively perform the extraction of threads and rolling the thread in pirns, indicating their necessity in the production process and showing the intra-firm sharing. This kind of collaboration emerges due to economic factors, specifically cost minimization and also from the practices of family institutions traditionally present in countries like ours<sup>3</sup>.

Not only in the intra-firm, the practice of collaboration or sharing is more vibrant outside the boundaries of the firm. There are various operations like drumming, denting & drafting, tassan, etc., where community labourers and weavers participate, and the relations are maintained through social norms and kinship. In the village, there are three actively running drumming firms, which are locationally conducive to the weavers. Due to their long-term relational contract, sometimes weavers get credit facilities from the drumming section, which helps them to run the production seamlessly. Also, the Tassan process requires at least 15-20 neighboring

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<sup>2</sup>Generally, two sarees and two blouse pieces can be made from one kahaan of cocoon (1280 pieces of cocoons).

<sup>3</sup>There is no gender-based exploitation, as the female household labour separately gets money by selling residual parts of cocoons such as natha, dead silkworms and stem. .

community weavers who voluntarily contribute in a reciprocating way. This process requires a huge space; thus, every para (street) of the village has a common space. Even during weaving, if any tools/instruments collapse or there is a shortage of threads, they (weavers) can get these from other weavers without any cost. During the field survey, it was reported that a group of weavers started a common fund system (generally through SHG, sometimes through weavers' initiative) from which they can take cash during the season of cocoons or any sort of family needs with a meager interest rate. These indicate the prevalence of collaboration within the cluster through the sharing of space, tools, raw materials, skills, and funds. Firms (weavers) can reduce their transaction costs through tangible and intangible resource sharing. This is possible for being within the cluster. If the whole range of activities is to be performed in an isolated place, then the corresponding transaction cost would be much higher and even impossible for the micro firms (weavers).

### b) Market Structure

The main input/raw material of silk (*tassar*) weaving is cocoons, and the cocoons' quality plays a crucial role in determining the quality of the product. These cocoons are mainly supplied from the forests of Jharkhand, where the tribals are majorly engaged in farming/production. From our exploration, we have found that there are oligarchies in the input market that control the prices and the supply of the raw materials (Cocoon) owed to their huge investment and monopoly network with the tribals. Moreover, due to the dysfunctionality of the Government store, which was supposed to provide cocoons at a fair price, the intermediaries (*Aratdars*) are solely capable of controlling the input market.<sup>4</sup>The price of 1 *kahaan* cocoon is around \$ 120- \$ 145 as of April 2023. As weavers repeatedly mentioned, the cocoon price rises twofold within three years. However, against this hierarchy, firms (weavers) generally bargain collectively for lower prices and better quality<sup>5</sup>, as mentioned earlier in the literature (Chakrabarti et al., 2020; Kundu et al., 2021). Experienced weavers play a crucial role in detecting the quality of cocoons, and then they bargain as per the quality. Generally, nobody goes to buy the cocoons individually except those who have a proper understanding. However, sometimes, if one or two weavers buy cocoons secretly at a higher price, then there is no further scope for collective bargaining because, eventually, it will be the floor price. In this way, sometimes conflict arises, and with the loss of trust, weavers are unable to form a strong cartel/group/union; as a result, sometimes collectiveness shrinks.

On the other hand, in the case of the output market, weavers are mostly engaged with local traders/Mahajan, sometimes individual buyers. The price of a than as of April 2023 is around \$ 120 for pure *tassar* than and \$ 96.18 for blended *tassar* than. Due to a lack of collective

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<sup>4</sup>“Listen, the main raw material of silk is cocoon. Adivasis will only give cocoon to Aratdaars, they will not sell us that cocoon even if we want. They have a good rapport with the Aratdaars, so they (hoarders) control the price of Gutti at will. If the demand and price in the output market is good, next year they will raise the price of cotton abruptly and make a profit of crores of rupees. I am a poor weaver, how could I invest in production?”----An interviewee of Tantipara.

<sup>5</sup>“ Through group bargaining, we are succeeded to reduce \$ 6- \$ 8 per Kahaan.”---- An interviewee of Tantipara.

marketing facilities, they cannot sell their products directly in the larger markets.<sup>6</sup> However, the inter-firm relations in the output market are collaborative, as weavers share market-related information and sometimes bulk orders. If traders come to the village to buy a lump sum amount of clothes, the weavers manage the bulk orders via order sharing with their neighbours.

### **c) Firm Dynamics**

Without engaging into any quantitative analysis to understand the firm dynamics of this cluster, we specifically were interested in finding out the role of collaboration (that thoroughly exists in firm structure and market structure) in firm performance or broadly firm dynamics. And, we find that without intra and inter-firm collaboration in terms of sharing and collective bargaining within the cluster, the existence of individual firms will be in question. The complex production process cannot be performed in an isolated place because it requires active social collaboration<sup>7</sup>. Through collaboration, these micro-firms survive. The independent weavers earn around \$ 96 to \$ 120 per month, depending upon their productivity, as they have their own investments. On the contrary, the average monthly earning of the weavers of the Khadi/Mahajanis is \$ 48 to \$ 60<sup>8</sup>.

### **2.3 Dhaniakhali handloom cluster**

The name 'Dhaniakhali' has been derived from the traditional design of this saree, using the motif of "Dhanya" (rice grain). In 1946, the weavers formed the "Dhaniakhali Union Tant Shilpi Samabay" against (Mahajan) intermediary exploitation. The weavers of the Dhaniakhali cluster specialise in cotton-based garments and produce a variety of cotton products such as Dobby print saree, Baluchari saree, Dhooti, etc.

#### **a) Structure of the firm and Inter-firm relations**

In Dhaniakhali, Production is primarily organized under cooperative against "remuneration" to weaving members. As the entire cluster is worked primarily under a cooperative, thus they collect threads majorly from the cooperative. Generally, threads are distributed to the weavers in accordance with the capability and orders from the market. After collecting the threads, the threads are soaked in water (how long the threads are soaked depends on the colour and quality of the thread). Then, starch is applied to the threads, followed by drying, sizing, and rolling the threads in bobbins. After that, as per the design, drumming has to be done to prepare the warp yarn. The process of drumming is done by community members (against payment) who possess the drumming machines in the village. Denting and drafting come next, and the threads are prepared for weaving. Lastly, through calendaring, the product becomes ready for market.

In the case of Dhaniakhali also, there is no formal skill imparting training in weaving. The entire knowledge and skills of weaving and other allied processes are transmitted from generation to

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<sup>6</sup> "if I take two or three thaans into the market, no one will buy. And I don't have the capacity to stock the sarees because if I don't sell the products for long time, what will I eat?"---- An interviewee of Tantipara.

<sup>7</sup> "Without collaboration, this work is not possible. If you come in the morning, you will see that other weavers participate in the tasanprocess (An intermediate stage before weaving), and we have mutual reciprocity. I must have to go for another's tasan, and he will come in case of mine." ----- A weaver of Tantipara.

<sup>8</sup> 1 \$= 83.17 rupees ( On 23 dec, 2023)



generation through community interaction. Knowledge, in the words of Marshall, "is in the air." Here also, the intra-cluster inter-firm relations are predominantly collaborative. Owing to their social relation, weavers can get credit support from other allied firms in the cluster, such as those who engage in drumming or denting and drafting. Even during weaving, if any crisis arises, weavers can borrow tools or shuttles from other weavers without financial exchange/implication. Inter-firm sharing of threads (raw materials), knowledge, labour, and skills exist<sup>9</sup>. Therefore, the Dhaniakhali cluster also exhibits the prevalence of active collaboration by sharing space, tools, raw materials, and skills.

### **b) Market Structure**

In the input market and output market, the firms in this cluster are majorly linked with the cooperative. The cooperative buys threads from NHDC(National handloom development corporation) of Kolkata and then dyes them in their own dyeing factory as per the order of sarees (long cloth). According to the type, design, and colour of the long cloth, weavers get remuneration at a piece rate. Some government organisations (such as Tantusree, Manjusa) are the major buyers of the cooperative. There is a scope for the cooperative to bargain with them; sometimes, they can even get orders at the cooperative's prices after negotiation. All the associated weavers have to weave a minimum of 22 sarees (*1 joron/charan*) per year to maintain their membership in the cooperative and at least 48 sarees to get all other benefits such as bonuses, pensions, gifts, tour allowances, paid holiday, etc. Here, the crucial point to be noted is that the cooperative sets the designs and colours. Weavers generally have little choice over the design or colour of the products he/she has given. Further, in case of any minor error/scratch, the cloth would be rejected. Despite such strict rules reflecting a hierarchical relationship between cooperative and weavers, it is also collaborative by providing a kind of security to the weavers. During the COVID-19 pandemic, cooperative act for the collective interest and have not stopped production orders, for which they (weavers) did not suffer much due to COVID-19 compared to other petty producers. Over and above the cooperative, weavers sometimes sell their clothes in the local open market. Sometimes, they(weavers) share bulk orders coming from local traders.

### **c) Firm Dynamics**

Earlier, there were about 800 active weavers in the Dhaniakhali cluster. The weavers recall the earlier times when the entire village would resonate with the sound of weaving. Within a span of 10 years, this cluster witnessed a mass exit of weavers from weaving, and now only 1/10th of them are actively running their looms. This is because supply-side-induced shock brought a web of pessimism within the cluster. In the absence of government monitoring, which is supposed to enforce/maintain the Handloom Act<sup>10</sup>, the entry of cheaper synthetic powerloom products has captured the market share of Dhaniakhali products through price competition and

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<sup>9</sup>“Collaboration is common in village culture. You have to stand with your villagers. We often do share threads, shuttle, and sometimes buyer's information”--- A weaver of Dhaniakhali.

<sup>10</sup> The Handloom act,1985 of India reserves 11 class of articles for exclusive production by handlooms, such as saree, dhoti, towel and gamcha, angavastram, lungi, bedsheets, durries and phanek.

quality manipulation<sup>11</sup>. The situation further worsened due to demonetisation, and GST. It becomes difficult for the cluster to revive because access to the open market has shrunk after these abrupt policies, and the situation further deteriorated after COVID-19. They (weavers) earn a miniscule amount of \$ 35- \$ 43 per month. The new generation is not interested in handloom weaving and prefers to work in construction or catering or as shopkeepers.<sup>12</sup> However, those who still run the looms reflect collaboration among each other through firm and market-related interactions. Because the firms are geographically close, those who left weaving sometimes share their knowledge and skills with other firms if needed. Thus, production within a cluster is beneficial in many ways for firm performance.

### **3. Conclusion**

Exploring these two clusters, we find significant inter-firm collaboration through a variety of sharing, such as knowledge, space, labour, tools/machines, and raw materials in the production process. In the market, the presence of inter-firm collaborative relations in terms of sharing information and bulk orders plays an important role. These clustered firms also collectively bargain with the government and private players in the input and output markets. These collective actions reduce transaction costs. There is enough potential in the clusters that can be realised from active community participation in production and marketing. Without intra and inter-firm collaboration within the cluster, the existence of individual firms will be in question. The complex production processes cannot be performed in an isolated place because they require active social collaboration. History, common cultural background, trust, and mutual reciprocity generate this social collaboration, and these elements are important for their(firm) survival in the cluster.

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<sup>11</sup>“The cheap powerloom made synthetic fabrics came in the market, and our market was completely wiped out.”-- An interviewee of Dhaniakhali.

<sup>12</sup> “I am weaving a Dobby print saree. After deducting all the expenses of drumming and warping, we are left with \$35 per month. See, this is not one person's job. The whole family has to work for it. I have to give 8-9 hours per day, and she has to work for 4 hours. Together(he and his wife), we earn this minuscule amount. No one of the new generation is coming to this profession anymore. Very soon the loom will be vanished.”----- A weaver of Dhaniakhali

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**Performance of MGNREGP: A regional analysis across districts of West Bengal**

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**Abstract**

MGNREGP of India is a pro-poor programme that works in a demand-driven mechanism for generating employment and developing rural infrastructure. The main focus of the study is to analyse the regional disparity in the performance of the MGNREG programme (dimensions spread, depth and rationing ratio) and also to find the change in MGNREGP performance due to the growth in the agriculture and rural non-farm sector. The districts of West Bengal are classified into three categories, namely hilly, Chota Nagpur plateau and alluvial plains regions, for analysis over time 2011-16. The analysis was done with the help of different GIS maps, tables, diagrams, and pooled regressions at the district level. Firstly, MGNREGP performance is mixed in alluvial fertile regions and is very good in plateau regions. Secondly, there is a positive impact of RNFS employment on MGNREGP outcomes. This finding might be because the work done in RNFS is temporary or marginal, and even returns from RNFS are less. Agricultural productivity has a negative significant impact on MGNREGP outcomes. People prefer more agricultural employment as agriculture wages are higher than MGNREGP wages, and MGNREGP involves onerous types of work. Another vital variable seems to be programme expenditure, as there is a positive and significant association with MGNREGP outcomes.

**Keywords:** Regional analysis, Agriculture, RNFS, Employment, Performance, Performances of MGNREGP over Time.

**I. Introduction**

Less employment opportunities, surplus population and underemployment are the inevitable characteristics of a developing economy. To overcome such bottleneck, many economists, however, believed in 'capital-accumulation-led growth of the modern sectors' and had advised that the 'trickle-down' effect would enhance the livelihood condition of the surplus population (Aghion P and Bolton P, 1997). In the Indian context, the trickle-down effect was not

successful<sup>1</sup>. If India has to achieve growth and development, government intervention is imperative with the idea of "Employer of Last Resort (ELR)" (*Chakrabarti S, 2012 p-4*). The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) of India, adopted in 2005, is a classic example of an ELR programme. It is a pro-poor programme which provides income transfers to rural households during critical times by providing guaranteed employment for 100 days in slack agricultural seasons or years. It works in a demand-driven<sup>2</sup> mechanism for generating employment and developing the rural infrastructure. MGNREGP was adopted in 200 districts across all the states in the country. MGNREGP is considered a 'Silver Bullet' for removing rural poverty through employment generation. It provides an alternative source of livelihood, which can impact reducing migration, restricting child labour and making villages self-sustaining through productive asset creation such as road construction, cleaning up of water tanks, soil and water conservation work (Panda & Majumder, 2013).

West Bengal is predominated by agriculture and stands at 10th position among 17 major states of India in terms of agricultural growth. The proportion of agricultural labourers increased from 20% to 27% from 1961 to 2001, but that of cultivators registered declined from 50% to 32%. This result clearly shows the rural peasantry's growing impoverishment (Sankar & Ghosh, 2017). Thus, for small farmers, agriculture is becoming un-remunerative and unproductive, and a sizable rural workforce has no employment in the agriculture sector. Moreover, the share of agriculture and industry in West Bengal has seen a progressive decline since 2009- 10. Even the percentage of rural households not cultivating any land is increasing in West Bengal as the percentage has increased to around 64.4% in 2011-12 from 50% in 1999-2000. Again, the proper industrial base of the state has been destroyed. The share of industrial production among other states was 3.90%, and the share of employment among other states was 4.9% in 2007. The small-scale industries have also failed to provide sufficient employment to these surplus labourers, and the wage rates are not satisfactory to those who have received the jobs. There has been a subsequent decline in the main workforce from 51.1% in 1991 to 46% in 2001 (NSS Report No. 515 on Employment and Unemployment Situation in India, 2004-05). Thus, this reflects that the economic condition of West Bengal was not very sound, so there was a need for an Employer of Last Resort (ELR) type of programme in the state. MGNREGP was implemented in February 2006. In this programme, the central government bears the entire cost of wages of unskilled manual workers and 75 per cent of the cost of material and wages of skilled and semi-skilled workers. The state governments bear 25 per cent of the cost of materials and wages of skilled and semi-skilled workers. In addition, state governments bear the cost of unemployment allowance in case the state government cannot provide wage employment on time (Ministry of Rural Development, 2008). Dinesha et al. (2015) have studied the impact of MGNREGA on inclusive economic development using simple statistical tools.

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<sup>1</sup>Census 2001 shows there was rural population of 72.2%, out of which 33% population are under the poverty line.

<sup>2</sup>The demand driven nature of the program allows those who need it most to select themselves in, while those who have access to better opportunities select themselves out, thereby avoiding problems associated with targeting (Basu, 1991; Besley and Coate, 1992; Braun, 1998; Ravallion, 2003).

Agricultural wages have increased across the country because of MGNREGP's impact, as it has given bargaining power to the people. During 2009-10, Darjeeling, Birbhum and Jalpaiguri had the highest unemployment rate (Bureau of Economics & statistics 2010). MGNREGP was implemented as the rural conditions were not good in both farm and non-farm sectors in West Bengal. The programme has been going on for a long time and has spread wide in scope and geographical coverage. Even the programme implementation faces many challenges, such as region-specific disparities and non-homogeneity in its effectiveness. Few studies have been done which are very much confined to one or two districts rather than probing the impact of the programmes on beneficiaries. Thus, there is a need to study the performance across different regions to consider the regional disparity.

Patnaik (2005) showed the need to provide employment guarantees. Even the low awareness of the beneficiaries about the demand-driven job is observed, and the institutional gap is identified as a significant stumbling block in the implementation of MGNREGP (Bhatia and Dreeze, 2006). De and Jana (2011) saw the performance of all the blocks of West Bengal by ranking them through the PCA (Principal Component Analysis) Index, where Bankura has the best performance among other districts. Thus, we can see the performance variation of MGNREGP across different districts. Primarily, Birbhum and Bakura have performed well. Still, "the worst affected are the small-marginal farmers who are neither participants in the MGNREGA work nor beneficiaries of works on their private lands. This section of the small marginal farming community may not be small, and faces serious crisis" (Reddy et al., 2014 p-32).

In this context, the planning commission had proposed making the programme more farmer-friendly by extending its coverage to some agricultural operations. The different types of works which are done are usually for supporting agriculture, like water conservation and water harvesting, drought proofing (including plantation and afforestation), irrigation canals including micro and minor irrigation works, flood control and protection works, minor irrigation, horticulture and land development on the land of SC/ST/BPL/IAY, land reform beneficiaries, renovation of traditional water bodies including de-silting of tanks, land development. Since the inception of MGNREGP, there have been several studies looking into its implementation aspects, such as wage formation processes in the rural labour markets, its finances, its democratic administration and implementation (Ambasta et al., 2008; Bardhan, 2011; Harrison, 2011; Khera et al., 2009; Shah, 2007). Some studies have focussed on its socioeconomic impacts such as rural poverty alleviation, gender issues, self-esteem, livelihood and food security, and migration (Haberfeld et al., 2011; Sankaran, 2011; Tiwari et al., 2011; Zorlu et al., 2003; Raju, 2011; Rogaly, 2011) but there has been minimal study on the comparative assessment of MGNREGP impact on agriculturally-backward and agriculturally-advanced different geographical regions. One fundamental question arises: if agricultural development occurs, is there any need for MGNREGP in advanced places even after many years of programme implementation? These different works help in rural development to promote agriculture and generate the next round of employment. Many researchers have studied the performance of MGNREGP in West Bengal mainly based on primary data in different districts; minimal studies have been done considering all the districts of West Bengal together



and knowing their regional disparity. This paper aims to see the regional disparity in the performance of the MGNREGP programme and find the change in MGNREGP performance due to the growth in agriculture and rural non-farm sectors.

### **Objectives**

The present study is done to analyse the performance of MGNREGP (inter and intra-regional) in different districts of West Bengal. The primary objectives of the study are:

- i. To see the programme's spread and depth across different West Bengal regions.
- ii. To analyse the rationing ratio under MGNREGP across different regions of West Bengal.
- iii. To know the probable factors affecting the programme's performance across different regions of West Bengal.

### **II. Data Source and Methodology**

The detailed data of MGNREGP job registration and job creation for almost all the districts of West Bengal is collected from (<http://www.mgnrega.nic.in>). The years 2011-16 are selected as this is the middle phase of the programme's implementation. District-wise rural population and rural household data are extrapolated for these five years as the main source of population data is both Census 2001 and 2011, and district-level poverty data is collected from Chaudhuri and Gupta (2009) for all nineteen districts for (2009-10 only). Hence, we repeat these data for all other years, assuming there have been no drastic changes over the five consecutive years under consideration. In order to do some other analysis, we have collected employment in RNFS<sup>3</sup> and employment in the agricultural sector from different district statistical handbooks of West Bengal.

The study is based on secondary data analysis. Firstly, all the districts of West Bengal are divided into three categories: R1<sup>4</sup>-the plain alluvial soil region; R2<sup>5</sup>-the Chota Nagpur plateau region; and R3<sup>6</sup>-the hilly region. Secondly, we have taken essential variables like the number of job cards issued under MGNREGP—a proxy for job demand and supply-side variables like—the number of person-days generated. We have analysed the spread<sup>7</sup>, depth<sup>8</sup> and rationing ratio<sup>9</sup> of MGNREGP based on some derived variables.

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<sup>3</sup>RNFS- Rural non-farm sector.

<sup>4</sup> R1- 24 Parganas (North), 24 Parganas (South), Burdawan, Coochbehar, Dinajpur Dakhin, Dinajpur Uttar, Hoogly, Howrah, Maldah, Murshidabad, Nadia and Purba Medinipur

<sup>5</sup> R2- Bakura, Birbhum, Paschim Medinipur and Purulia

<sup>6</sup> R3- Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Siliguri.

<sup>7</sup> Spread- means programme supply (in terms of employment generated, person-days generated) *across* the households, overall population, and socio-economic groups (horizontal Impact).

<sup>8</sup>Depth- means how far (in terms of number of persons, person-days, income etc) the programme has been implemented *per unit* of participating household or per individual etc (Vertical Impact).

<sup>9</sup> Ration Ratio- means *out* of total job demanded how much of *supply* has been *provided* (e.g. person-days generated in relation to people demanded job).

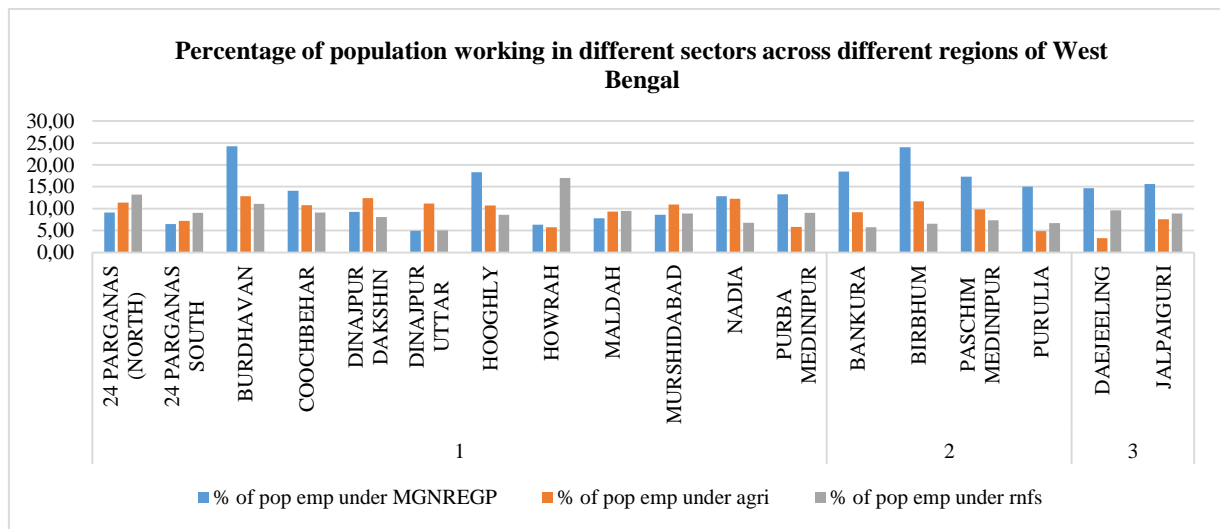
The analysis of the paper is done by using tables, bars and line diagrams. Furthermore, the data on MGNREGP are pooled over five years and merged with data on population, employment in farm and non-farm sectors, wages in the agricultural sector, wages of MGNREGP and poverty.

Data for 19 districts are pooled over five years under study. This pooled data is used for correlations to identify those MGNREGP variables that show significance at least at the (5%) level, so far as their association with the basic characteristics of the states is concerned. Subsequently, regressions are run using LSDV and pooled OLS regression analyses. The list of variables is given in the appendix.

**III. Analysis and Discussions**

First, let us see the overall rural population working under different sectors like MGNREGP, agriculture and rural non-farm sector (RNFS) in different regions. In region R1, the highest percentage of employment under MGNREGP is in Bardhaman, followed by Hooghly. The lowest employment under MGNREGP is in Dinajpur Uttar, which is around 5%. Howrah has the highest percentage of employment under RNFS. Howrah is also known as "Shilpanchal", which means the area under art and small-scale industries. In the R2 region, Birbhum has the highest percentage of employment under MGNREGP of all the districts in R2. The percentage of employment under RNFS is around 10% in this region's districts. Despite being a plateau area, except for Purulia, other districts have more employment in agriculture than RNFS. Even in R3, the percentage of employment under MGNREGP is around 15%, which is higher than in the agriculture and RNFS sectors. Thus, it reflects that the employment condition is neither good in agriculture nor in the RNFS sector, so there is a need for an employment-generating programme like MGNREGP.

Figure 1:

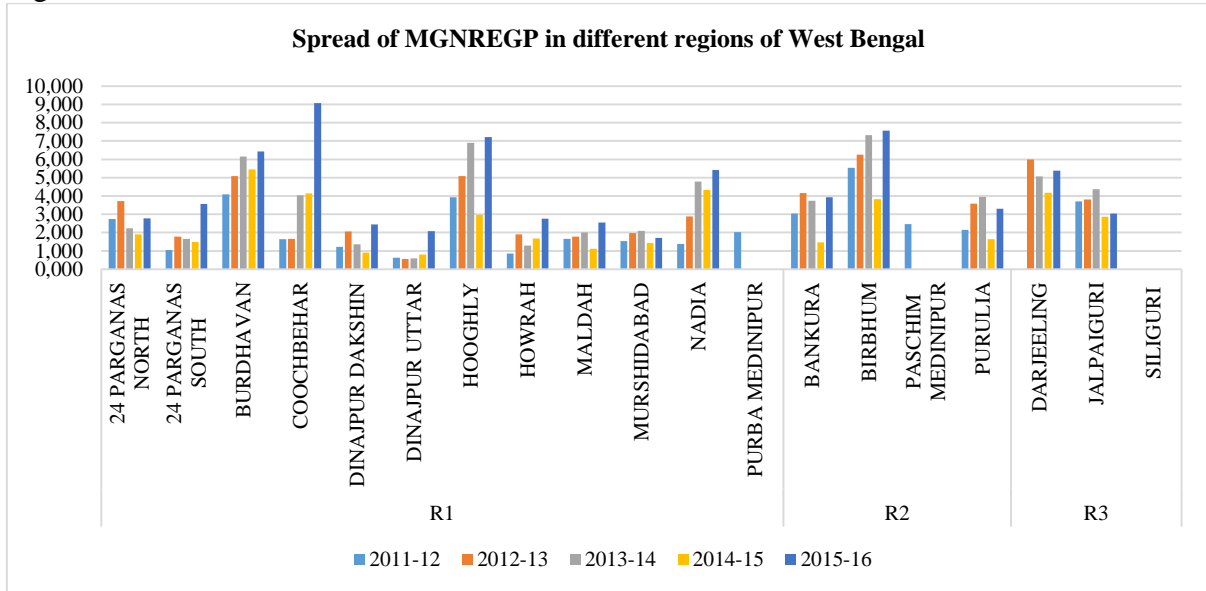


Source: Official website of MGNREGS, GOI; statistical handbook 2014.

Now, let us see the performance of MGNREGP through the spread of MGNREGP. Figure 2 shows except for Jalpaiguri, there is an increasing trend in all the districts. In Region R1, Coochbehar had the highest spread of MGNREGP only in the last year; otherwise, Hooghly

had the highest trend, and the lowest trend was in Dinajpur Dakshin and Dinajpur Uttar. In Region R2, the highest trend was in Birbhum, followed by Bakura. The performance of MGNREGP is far from its target of providing 100 days of guaranteed employment to the rural population.

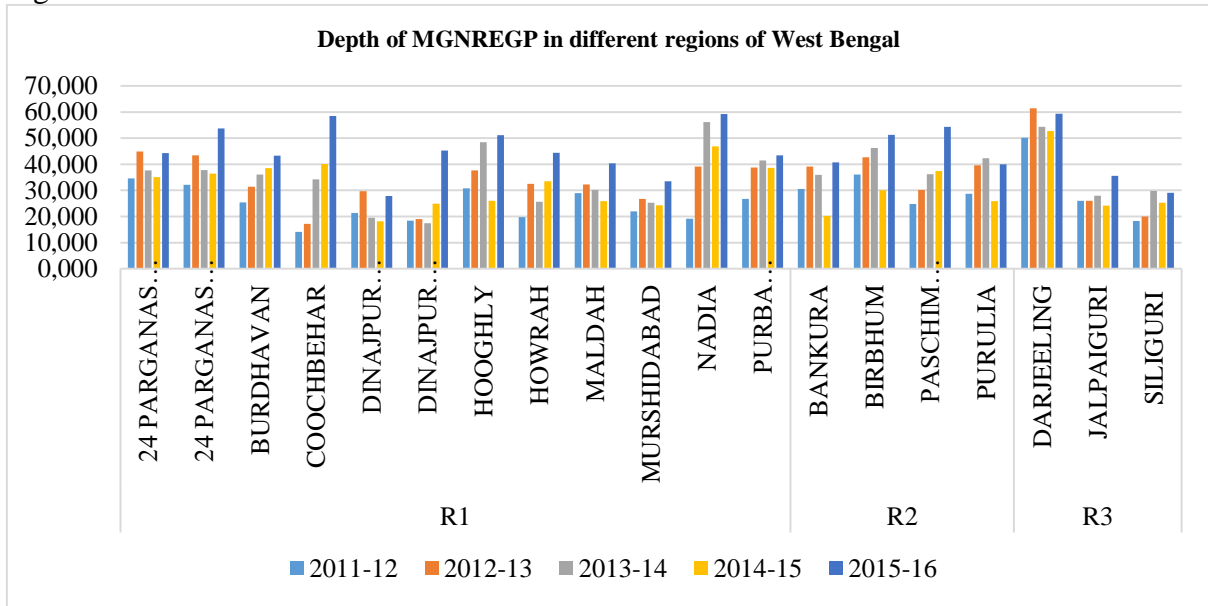
Figure 2:



Source: Official website of MGNREGS, GOI

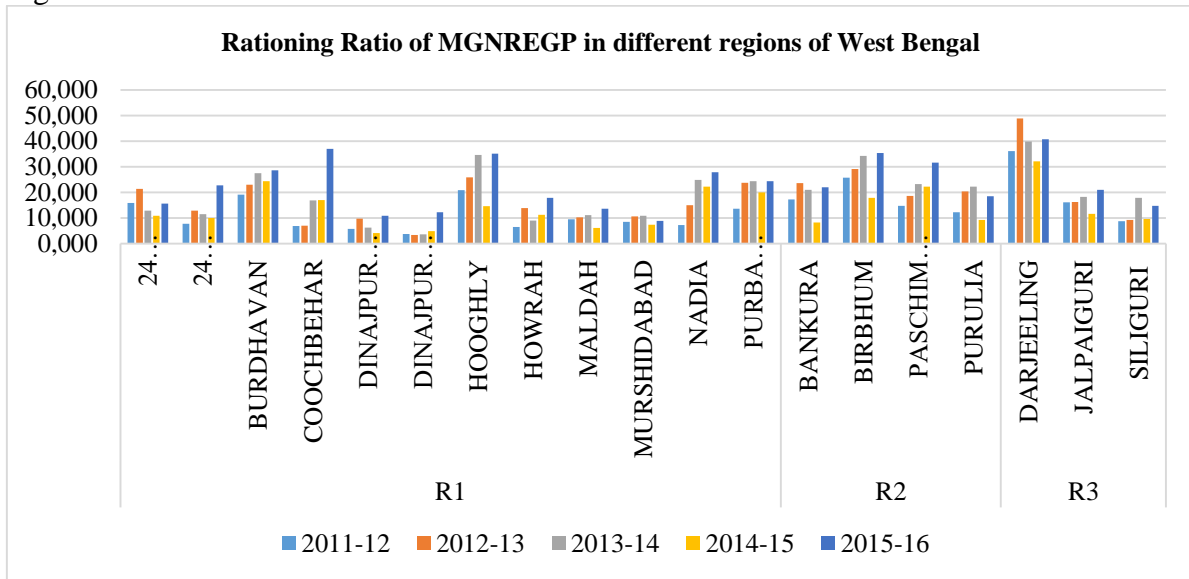
Next, the performance dimension was the depth of MGNREGP; all the districts across all the regions have an increasing trend (see Figure 3). The highest trend was Nadia in region R1. In Region R2, Birbhum had the highest and an increasing trend. In Region R3, Darjeeling has the highest trend relative to other districts. In all three regions, there has been a consistent increase in the supply of MGNREGP jobs in 2014-15, and this might be due to parliament elections being there in the year.

Figure 3:



Source: Official website of MGNREGS, GOI

Figure 4:



Source: Official website of MGNREGS, GOI

Next, consider the rationing ratio of MGNREGP. The highest trend was Hooghly in region R1. In Region R2, Birbhum had the highest and an increasing trend. In Region R3, Darjeeling has the highest trend relative to other districts. In all three regions, the outcome of MGNREGP was far from its target of 100 days of employment.

**Correlation and Regression:**

The probable determinants of MGNREGP performance across districts of West Bengal. We also try to evaluate MGNREGP performances with respect to such variables, which indicate the overall development of the districts.

i. **Rural poverty rate:** MGNREGP is a demand-driven and cash-for-work programme. The people experiencing low income or poverty will have a high demand for MGNREGP jobs as MGNREGP will provide them with assured income for 100 days of work annually. Even the government adopted MGNREGP, intending to reduce poverty. So, there is a high possibility that the government would supply more jobs under MGNREGP to reduce poverty.

ii. **Per-capita MGNREGP-expenditure:** MGNREGP is a cash-for-work kind of programme, and there are three ways in which cash is used for wage payment, infrastructural development and administrative uses. If the allocation and expenditure of funds increase, then the demand for MGNREGP will increase as people receive timely wages and are assured of working in their villages. It will be easy for the government to supply MGNREGP by appropriately allocating and using funds.

iii. **The share of the population working in agricultural sector** is apparently an important determinant of MGNREGP outcomes. The employment in agricultural sector is the basic factor which determines the prosperity of rural sector. As India is pre dominantly an agricultural country so agricultural employment is very important determinant for providing livelihood to rural people.

iv. **The share of the population working in RNFS** is an important determinant of MGNREGP outcomes. After agriculture, RNFS is the sector in which employment is easily possible. Moreover, the RNFS sector has relatively less tedious jobs than MGNREGP.

v. **Wages of MGNREGP** are a very important determinant of any programme, including MGNREGP. MGNREGP is a cash-for-work type of programme. People work to get wages so they can be assured of getting money, which will improve their living conditions.

vi. Wages in the agricultural sector are also an important determinant of MGNREGP, as labour supply depends on agricultural wages. If agricultural wages are higher than MGNREGP wages, then people prefer more work in the agriculture sector.

Table 1:

	Spread	Depth	Rationing Ratio
Programme expenditure/rural population	0.9007*	0.6222*	0.8651*
Rural Poverty	-0.3412*	-0.4387*	-0.4146*
Agricultural wages	0.0631	0.1774	0.0496
MGNREGP wages	0.1322	0.3459*	0.0942
Agricultural employment /Rural population	0.2487	0.0193	-0.0215
RNFS employment /Rural population	-0.0953	-0.0109	-0.0780

Note: \* indicates 5% level of significance.

Table 1 shows that most of the MGNREGP indicators are negatively significantly associated with rural poverty. This shows that as poverty increases, the performance of MGNREGP decreases. This might be due to administrative constraints as it becomes difficult for the government to provide MGNREGP jobs. Programme expenditure is extremely important for MGNREGP outcomes, which has a positive significant association. MGNREGP wages have a positive significant association with the depth outcome of MGNREGP, and with other dimensions, there is also a positive association but no significance. Thus, reflecting the increase in MGNREGP wages, more people are willing to work under the programme, even though the goal of the programme is to provide assured minimum wages to the people working under MGNREGP.

Here, six regressions are done to see the effects of the economic indicators on the MGNREGP performance indicators (spread, depth and rationing ratio). The districts of West Bengal are divided into three regions, R1, R2, and R3, so two dummies are taken to analyse the impact of regions.

The regression equations are as follows:

$$Y_1 = \alpha + D_1 + D_2 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 \text{ ----- (1)}$$

$$Y_1 = \alpha + D_1 + D_2 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 \text{ ----- (2)}$$

$$Y_2 = \alpha + D_1 + D_2 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 \text{ ----- (3)}$$

$$Y_2 = \alpha + D_1 + D_2 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 \text{ ----- (4)}$$

$$Y_3 = \alpha + D_1 + D_2 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 \text{ ----- (5)}$$

$$Y_3 = \alpha + D_1 + D_2 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 \text{ ----- (6)}$$

Where  $Y_1 = \log\{\text{spread (person-days created under MGNREGP/Rural population)}\}$

$Y_2 = \log\{\text{depth (person-days created under MGNREGP/ households supplied employed under MGNREGP)}\}$

$Y_3 = \log\{\text{Rationing ratio (person-days created under MGNREGP/ number of job-cards issued under MGNREGP)}\}$

$D_1 = \text{Geographical location of fertile land}$

$D_2 = \text{Geographical location of plateau land}$

$X_1 = \log(\text{Rural Poverty rate})$

$X_2 = \log(\text{Agricultural wages})$

$X_3 = \log(\text{MGNREGP wages})$

$X_4 = \log(\text{Agricultural employment /Rural population})$

$X_5 = \log(\text{RNFS employment /Rural population})$

$X_6 = \log(\text{Programme Expenditure /Rural population})$

Using regression analysis, the variables in the column of the regression table below are the regressor and the regressand, given in rows. Table reg1 above shows there are three indicators of MGNREGP performance. All the three regression equations are run twice. First, regressions were run, considering all the variables, and second, per capita programme expenditure to know the impact of other variables on the performance variables.

Table 2:

DEPENDENT VARIABLES FOR MGNREGP PERFORMANCE EQUATIONS NO.	SPREAD of MGNREGP		DEPTH of MGNREGP		RATIONING RATIO of MGNREGP	
	1	2	3	4	5	6
CONSTANT	7.646076	6.27091	.5800509	.0524827	7.219219	5.946507
Rural Poverty	-.1091994	-	-.0894096	-	-.0992146	-
		.6362995** *		.2916261** *		.5870443***
Agricultural wages	-.0524641	.1862861	-.0548811	.0367129	-.0990795	.1218832
MGNREGP wages	-.0343943	-.0722713	.9795969	.9650658**	.1597217	.1246667
Agricultural employment /Rural population	.204225	.7435263** *	-.1262056	.0806917	-.1020022	.3971197**
RNFS employment /Rural population	.0238607	.512214	-.0967323	.0906193	.027066	.4790356**
PROGRAMME EXPENDITURE / RURAL POPULATION	.9297146** *		.3566754** *		.8604484** *	
Dummy Fertile area	-.1553982	- 1.101054** *	.1025162	-.2602749**	-.0289772	- .9041792***
Dummy Plateau	-.0858924	-.1464186	-.0071972	-.0304174	.0449796	-.0110372
PROB> F	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
ADJ R <sup>2</sup>	0.8775	0.4992	0.4436	0.2479	0.8224	
N	61	61	61	61	61	61
HETTEST	0.3467	0.6648	0.2141	0.3920	0.3821	
VIF	1.83	1.49	1.83	1.49	1.83	1.49

Note: \*\* indicates 5% and \*\*\* indicates 1% level of significance.

Hetest is the test for heteroscedasticity, and Vif is the test for multi-collinearity. The log value of both the regressor and regressant is considered to overcome the heteroskedasticity problem.

**Regression 1 and 2:** variation in the spread of the programme was positively explained by per capita MGNREGP programme expenditure; this is a significant result, given that many of the governmental development programmes suffer from massive leakage of fund. This independent variable is so vital that the effect of other variables was not visible. So, in regression 2, we have dropped per capita programme expenditure.

The variation in the same dependent spread variable is negatively explained by geographical area when there is fertile land. This result indicates that as fertile area increases, MGNREGP spread decreases; this may be because people prefer more agricultural work than MGNREGP activities. MGNREGP are more tedious than agricultural activities. Even the poverty rate negatively influences the spread of MGNREGP. This result indicates that as poverty increases, the spread of MGNREGP decreases, making it difficult for the government to provide sufficient jobs. These indicate that self-targeting and provisioning for the poor may not be working, so far as programme spread is concerned.

**Regression 3 and 4:** The depth of the programme was positively explained by per capita programme expenditure. However, there is no significant influence of poverty, indicating that poverty might not be guiding the outcomes of MGNREGP.

However, once per capita programme expenditure was dropped from regression, the negative influence of both geographical areas was visible when there is fertile land and poverty on the programme's depth. Even MGNREGP wages have a positive influence on the depth of MGNREGP. This finding indicates that with an increase in wages, people will accept the programme more, and if there is a hike in wages, people will prefer more MGNREGP jobs.

**In regressions 5 and 6,** per capita programme expenditure positively explained the variation in the next set of MGNREGP performance indicator rationing ratio of MGNREGP. However, there is no significant influence of poverty, indicating that poverty might not be guiding the outcomes of MGNREGP.

Again, once per capita programme expenditure dropped from regression, the negative influence of both geographical areas when there is fertile land and poverty on the rationing ratio of the programme was visible. Even the share of employment in the agricultural sector and in RNFS, respectively and MGNREGP wages positively influence the rationing ratio of MGNREGP. This finding indicates that increasing wages makes it difficult for the government to provide sufficient jobs. If other employment opportunities increase, it is easier to work those jobs than tedious MGNREGP jobs.

#### **IV. Concluding Remarks:**

From the above data analysis, it can be seen that in the fertile regions, the share of employment under MGNREGP was lower than in the agricultural or RNFS sector, but the share of employment under MGNREGP was higher in plateau regions and hilly regions. Thus, MGNREGP provides more employment in regions needing the programme. In all three regions, there has been a consistent rise in the performance of MGNREGP in 2014-15, and this might be due to parliament elections being there in the year. The districts of region R1 (fertile area) have high trends in Nadia, whereas in region R2 (plateau region), a consistent performance of MGNREGP was observed.

From correlation and regression analysis, it was evident that MGNREGP performance indicators negatively influence fertile regions. This result was fascinating; if fertile area increases, MGNREGP activities decrease. This result might be because the type of work done



under MGNREGP (rural connectivity, land development, renovation of traditional water bodies) is tedious, so people prefer agricultural activities.

Again, all the MGNREGP indicators are negatively and significantly associated with rural poverty. This result might be due to administrative constraints as it becomes difficult for the government to provide MGNREGP jobs. Moreover, MGNREGP wages have a positive influence on MGNREGP's rationing ratio. This result indicates that increasing wages makes it difficult for the government to provide sufficient jobs. If other employment opportunities increase, then it is easier to work those jobs than tedious MGNREGP jobs. MGNREGP employs those places where the need for the programme is more, but there is a problem with the programme: It fails to provide a sufficient employment rationing ratio, which is high. MGNREGP has failed to provide 100 days of employment to rural people or households across different regions of West Bengal.

Despite all these problems and shortcomings, MGNREGP has been contributing sizeable income to the poor, given that around 75% of the Indian population lives with less than two PPP dollars a day.

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**Determinants of crop diversification: Analysis of two villages in West-Bengal**

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**1. Issues and Motivation:** The agrarian sector is suffering from an acute crisis; livelihoods are threatened, and on the other hand, the agricultural development crisis is caused by neglect of agriculture as a result of ineffective programme design and resource allocation, which has led to decreased productivity and profitability (Reddy & Mishra,2009). Traditional subsistence crop farming is no longer profitable. As a solution, some are suggesting crop diversification, i.e., growing high-value crops to balance risk and return. M.S. Swaminathan gave a call for an evergreen revolution, i.e., leading to an enhancement in productivity in perpetuity without ecological harm (2011), Even, U.S. President Barack Obama said the same in the Indian Parliament (2010); In recent times, 2023 G20 summit, it was also asked to promote crop diversification.

**2. Broad objectives:**

In this context, our objective is to determine how crop diversification affects agricultural sustainability and rural livelihoods in West Bengal,

The following are the precise goals:

- 1.** Mapping the diversification, i.e., showing a broad picture of crop diversification going on in these two distinct villages.
- 2.** Identify the advantages and difficulties for farmers in deciding to diversify crops according to their net cropped area. The probable impact of diversification on the income of the farmers.
- 3. Review of Literature:** Several studies across India show how crop diversification depends on various factors.

Firstly we can look at two factors involved here. a. demand side factors b. supply-side factors. The supply-side factors of market infrastructure are very important. High-value crops can boost agricultural diversification if markets and an efficient transportation network enable them to improve earnings and reduce the risk of output price declines. Stronger farm-firm ties would result from encouraging the right institutional structures for better markets through cooperatives

or contract farming (Gulati et al., 2003). It has been shown that significant inter-district variances in diversification are caused by variations in market expansion and road density (De and Chattopadhyay, 2010).

The demand side factors that influence diversification include per-capita income and urbanization, which have a positive relationship with diversification (Gulati et al., 2003). The per capita income and the percent of the total population residing in urban areas have been continuously on the rise during the last three decades in West Bengal (Dasgupta and Bhaumik, 2014; Mithiya et al., 2018). It has also been seen that where the urban wage is higher, the diversification is greater (Pandey, 2012).

Apart from the demand side and supply side factors, there are also other factors that influence crop diversification. Household heads with a higher education level can evaluate the costs and benefits in a better way, exhibit a greater awareness of market choices, and adopt more advanced agricultural techniques than others (Kumar et al., 2012), and other personal characteristics of this farmer, such as age, gender, and caste, are also important factors in crop diversification. (Agarwal, 2017; Bansal et al., 2020) It has also been seen that the number of adult family members in agriculture has a positive relationship with crop diversification (Kundu and Chattopadhyay, 2018).

The Indian agricultural system is dominated by marginal farmers, who mostly work as agricultural laborers. The agrarian labourers are converting themselves into cultivators by purchasing a tiny plot or by leasing in plot from big or medium farmers (Bhue and Vijay, 2016). On the contrary, crop diversification appears to be positively related to land holding size, with relatively large farmers having access to diversify toward high-value crops (Bansal et al. 2020, Kumar et al. 2020)

Instead of diversification, specialization in wheat and rice took place in the Punjab area. The probable cause behind this is better returns from rice and wheat and the availability of subsidies. The demand forces of MSP boosted supply-led growth (Singh and Sidhu, 2004).

#### **4. Methodology:**

a. **Village selection and description:** West Bengal is predominantly an agrarian state, and it provides a large number of employment opportunities to the people. There are approximately 73.23 lakh farm families, the majority of whom are small and marginal farmers. Among 23 districts, 2 districts were selected– Birbhum and Purba-Bardhaman. Both districts are still not well developed in terms of agricultural productivity and other source of income. To understand the diversification in the cropping patterns and income diversification, two villages from these two districts were selected depending on their proximity to the city, market availability, geographical structure, and irrigation sources, etc.

Panduk village is in the Purba-Bardhaman district of West Bengal, India, and is part of the Ausgram II subdivision. It is 18.2 kilometers from the subdistrict headquarters at Amragar and 20km away from the nearest city, Guskara. On the other hand, Senkapur is situated on the bank of river Ajay. Senkapur (PURUSHOTTAMPUR) village is in the Birbhum district of West

Bengal, India, and is part of the Bolpur-Sriniketan subdivision. It is 7.2 kilometers from the subdivision headquarters at Sriniketan. Bolpur – Sriniketan is also the nearest city to Senkapur village.

b. **Sampling:** For this project, stratified random sampling without replacement method was used to complete the sample survey. Two specific thorps were chosen, and a complete enumeration of 204 households from Panduk village and 175 households from Senkapur village was done. In the village, both categories of people—general caste (i.e., upper caste in the context of the Indian caste system) and scheduled caste (i.e., the most disadvantaged socio-economic group in India)—live, so we have tried to include them in the population and sample in a proportional ratio. As population data, we prepared a list of the size of agricultural land holdings of each household. The population was then subdivided based on the size of their landholdings. Farmers with 0.1–0.4 hectares of land are considered sub-marginal farmers, those with 0.41–1.00 hectares are considered marginal farmers, those with 1.00–2.00 hectares are considered small farmers, those with 2.00–4.00 hectares are considered small farmers, and those with more than 4.00 hectares are considered medium farmers. We have tried to maintain the ratio between the population and the sample. The following table shows the detailed classification.

#### **5. Hypotheses:**

We posit factors affecting crop diversification that are relevant (based on the literature on Indian agriculture, especially in West Bengal) to our study.

Crop diversification is influenced by the geographical structures of two distinct villages, including factors like soil type, the presence of rivers, etc. and urbanization. We hypothesize that these variations will lead to diversification between the two villages.

We hypothesize that the crop diversification practices in these villages may depend upon the size of landholdings

We hypothesize that personal characteristics like education, family members in agriculture, as well as other socioeconomic considerations, like- Increased crop diversification, are anticipated to be positively correlated with higher education levels. A mixed-methods approach will be used for the study, including surveys, interviews, and field observations.

#### **6. Conclusion**

From the empirical evidence, it is revealed that marginal farmers—those who have less than one hectare of land—are prone to crop diversification. Market demand, the size of one's own agricultural land, education and the number of family members involved in agriculture all influence diversification. Here, among the two villages, Senkapur village's farmers are more associated with crop diversification because they have more access to these determinants.

Crop diversification generates income, but only agrarian income is not sufficient; other sources of income are also important factors for the survival of these agrarian family. So it is clear in

context of West-Bengal the crop diversification is not by the farmer's choice but it is force to sustain in agriculture.

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