



## Hotels and highways: the construction of modernization theory in Cold War Turkey

by Begüm Adalet, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2018, 304 pp., \$30 (paper), ISBN 9781503605541

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contextualization of the present state of affairs could have benefitted from incorporating an examination of Turkey's European Union accession process as an additional factor driving these gender equality policies.

Overall, the book displays a remarkably wide knowledge of Turkish-language theological sources that are mostly not available in English and their interrogation. Dorroll's style is clear and engaging and his accurate translations of original texts are a significant contribution to the English-language world of Turkish studies by filling a major gap in the literature. Turkish theology, unlike its Arabic and Urdu counterparts, is an understudied realm outside of Turkey. In addition, this book, among a few other notable publications, is a refreshing alternative to the abundance of scholarly works on religion and politics and Islamic political movements in Turkey due to its treatment of theology within the context of modernity. The book also broaches non-mainstream debates in Turkish theological circles like gender-oriented Qur'anic hermeneutics. *Islamic Theology in the Turkish Republic* is an excellent reference book that will engage a wide audience interested in Islamic and Turkish studies, theology, religion and modernity, and intellectual history.

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**Hotels and highways: the construction of modernization theory in Cold War Turkey**, by Begüm Adalet, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2018, 304 pp., \$30 (paper), ISBN 9781503605541

In the study of Turkish-American relations in the twentieth century, much of the focus is on political narratives, diplomatic exchanges, crises, and regional disputes. We have learnt far less about social connections, notable personalities, and the transformation of everyday life outside the political arena. Recent studies have started to pay more attention to these aspects. Begüm Adalet's *Hotels and Highways* offers a significant contribution to this emerging body of work. This volume combines archival material with a strong theoretical background and is heavily influenced by Timothy Mitchell, whose study on the colonization of Egypt has provided a framework for similar works in other contexts. Adalet provides the reader with a wealth of anecdotes about the social and intellectual history of Turkey, as well as the history of science, through an examination of institutional and personal archives in the General Directorate of Highways in Turkey, the US National Archives, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, Dankwart Rustow's collection, Conrad Hilton's collection, and other sources.

The book begins with a discussion of Dankwart Rustow's research on Turkish modernization. His father was Alexandre Rustow, a German émigré scholar who fled to Turkey from Nazis in the 1930s, and Dankwart Rustow became intimately aware of Turkish social and political life. In the late 1950s, he embarked on a study on Turkish modernization, and spent several research stints in Ankara and Istanbul (p. 32, 42). Rustow's insistence on Turkey being an exceptional site for the laboratory of development in his modernization theory provided him with additional insight into Turkish social scientists, but as time passed, he like some Turkish scholars, became skeptical of universalist generalizations. Through Rustow's personal intellectual endeavors, Adalet successfully reveals the complicities of knowledge production for scholars studying foreign cultures.

In Chapter 2, Adalet examines the records of Daniel Lerner, another prominent theorist of modernization who conducted research in Turkey. In particular, Adalet deciphers Daniel Lerner's struggle with his interviewees. Lerner, as understood from the archival records, found 'traditional' Turkish people not ready to reply 'orderly and standardized' survey questions (pp. 66–68), a view shared by Nermin Adaban, who was then Lerner's assistant and later gained a pronounced reputation with her fieldwork on the Turkish community in Germany. One of Lerner's interviewees, a grocer in Ankara, was described as most open to change thanks to his 'ability to empathy' and 'project imaginatively'. Another interesting figure in this setting was Tosun, an interviewer who was then a close friend of Bülent Ecevit and later became a notable Sufi master. Adalet also investigates survey research by Frederick Frey, who developed a new set of questions for rural residents to evaluate the indices of modernization across the countryside (pp. 79–81).

In Chapter 3, the study examines the famous reports of Max Thornburg, Harold Hilts and James Barker, three American experts who impacted development policies in Turkey in the 1950s. Thornburg, a former Standard Oil representative in the Middle East, wrote a report on Turkey for the Twentieth Century Fund and Barker submitted a similar piece in 1951 to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Previously, Hilts, the deputy commissioner of the US Bureau of Public Roads, had written another report on the development of highway infrastructure. In order to execute many of the recommended development projects, American and Turkish agencies had to cooperate. Adalet, however, documents several disagreements between Turkish and American engineers, who negotiated issues such as highway routes (p. 88). There were criticisms from parliament members as well, such as Emin Sazak, a prominent landowner in Eskişehir, who argued that the American involvement in development projects should be limited. Against such criticisms Şevket Adalan, the Minister of Construction, had to defend both the programs and Americans' position (pp. 104–105). Adalet also supplies many anecdotes to show the inner details of the relationship between Hilts and Vecdi Diker, who visited the United States and proposed the foundation of a separate Directorate of Highways (*Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü*) in Turkey. Diker became the director of this institution (as well as serving on the board of Robert College and the Middle Eastern Technical University) and developed projects with the Americans. Another well-known

name in the field was Robert Kerwin, a long-time associate of the Ford Foundation and consultant to the Rockefeller Foundation activities in Turkey, who found it difficult to collaborate with Turkish engineers (p. 110). However, Chester Burdick, a US expert on Turkey, and Herbert Cummings, the director of the Near Eastern and African Division of the US Department of Commerce, boasted about people's positive reactions to motorways in towns like Rize, Diyarbakir and Afyon and that the American engineers working in distant towns of Anatolia gained locals' trust and respect.

The fourth chapter takes a cautious look at the birth of a 'new peasant'. Based on personal accounts, as well as research by Frederick Frey and Cavit Orhan Tütengil, Adalet recounts the evolution of rural customs, primarily in the perception of space and time, and how the concepts of 'functionality', 'leisure', and 'mobility' changed over time, to the point that 'tractors built for farming were used for weddings' (p. 144). Motorways and the employment of new trucks and buses significantly reduced travel time and capacity, which Adalet described as a step towards 'commanding the space of a nation' (p. 146). This 'new peasant' also had access to more printed material (and was also better educated), could move around comfortably, and thus become more self-confident.

Chapter 5 investigates the construction of the Istanbul Hilton, one of the most iconic buildings in Istanbul in the 1950s. Referring to the speeches of Conrad Hilton, it was obvious that the hotel was more than a building, but also a symbol of Turkey's commitment to Westernization and her standing against communism, a view shared by Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, then the mayor of Istanbul. Another local and vocal supporter of the Hilton Project was Ahmet Emin Yalman, who held that the project would bring in 'ideals, art, taste, knowledge and experience' to the industry (p. 184). Previous efforts to boost the tourism industry had included the passing of parliamentary laws and foundation of the Touring Club for Tourism, but it had not been an easy venture as bureaucratic difficulties had blocked the building of the Intercontinental Hotel. The Hilton project was carried out, on the Turkish side, by the Pension Fund and the Export Credit Agency, and overseen by two prominent architects, Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Gordon Bunschaft. Adalet sheds light on disagreements between Eldem and Bunschaft, which interestingly replicated some of the conflicts among the German and Turkish architects who had worked together in the 1930s. Moreover, while several MPs complained about the 'overpresence' of the American experts in construction projects, Americans had their own problems in understanding the religious and cultural customs of Turkish people as well.

In *Hotels and Highways*, the reader frequently finds examples of American experts' insistence to test and develop a 'modern' rational subject, who could empathize with others, be punctual and mobile, and would become acquainted with the manners of industrial tourism. In this analysis that is grounded in the Cold War context and universalistic assumptions of American social sciences, an examination of socialist knowledge networks in Turkey in the same time period might have provided a broader understanding of the US-Turkish relationship. In this volume, historians of Turkey will discover intriguing anecdotes from

Turkish and American sources that cover a variety of topics, including rural transformation, urbanization, and the development of social science in Republican Turkey. With a particular focus on the interaction between foreign experts and local modernizing elites, Adalet's insistent display of inner conflicts and negotiations among the locals and foreigners is a commendable account. All in all, the book stands a pioneering contribution to the field.

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**Celal Nuri: young Turk modernizer and Muslim nationalist**, by York Norman, London, I.B. Tauris, 2021, 200+x pp., \$32.95 (paperback), ISBN 978-0755643578

York Norman's book focuses on the life and work of Celal Nuri (İleri), a notable late Ottoman and early republican Turkish intellectual. Engaging in depth with his writings, which appeared between the 1908 Young Turk Revolution and the mid-1930s and comprise 33 books and approximately 1500 newspaper articles, Norman's work aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of Celal Nuri's social and political views and to reveal his contribution to late Ottoman and early republican intellectual life. For Norman, what makes Celal Nuri interesting and worthy of study is that he represents a convenient case to go beyond the stereotyped perspectives that have long treated the political and intellectual figures of this period through the rigid and impermeable categories of Westernists, Islamists, and Turkists. As an intellectual who could not be placed easily in any of these categories, Celal Nuri embraced, as many members of his generation did, a multifaceted political discourse that simultaneously included elements of 'Westernism, Islamism, and Turkism' and enabled him to appear both as a 'Young Turk modernizer' and a 'Muslim nationalist' without any contradiction. Thus, the analysis of Celal Nuri's work is expected to pave the way for a more nuanced understanding of the late Ottoman and early republican periods.

The book opens with an introductory chapter that presents Celal Nuri's biography. The themes under examination in this chapter are his family background, his formative years at the Imperial School and the Faculty of Law, intellectual sources and attraction to vulgar materialism and social Darwinism, and his career as a Unionist journalist during the Second Constitutional Period and a member of parliament in the early republican years. Chapter 2 focuses on Celal Nuri's political views, identifying three main orientations corresponding to three different periods. According to Norman, Celal Nuri initially