Eigensinnige Musterschüler: Ländliche Entwicklung und internationales Expertenwissen in der Türkei (1947–1980) [Headstrong model students: Rural development and international expert knowledge in Turkey (1947–1980)] by Heinrich Hartmann (review)

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This is a superb collection of articles on post-Soviet IT by highly accomplished scholars. Yet the insights it offers cannot be complete without reference to the elephant (or bear) in the room: those post-Soviet IT experts who carry out global hacking campaigns against both perceived internal and external enemies of the Russian state, and vulnerable economic victims. Some are directly funded by the Russian state and military; others are willingly tolerated IT entrepreneurs in blackmail. The profit motive is alive and well in post-Soviet IT; it needs to be plumbed more deeply for a truer understanding of the code coming from Russia.

BARBARA WALKER

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Eigensinnige Musterschüler: Ländliche Entwicklung und internationales Expertenwissen in der Türkei (1947–1980) [Headstrong model students: Rural development and international expert knowledge in Turkey (1947–1980)]

By Heinrich Hartmann. Frankfurt a. Main: Campus, 2020. Pp. 460.

In March 1924, the American philosopher John Dewey was invited to travel through Turkey in order to study its system of education and suggest pedagogical improvements. After traveling two months through Istanbul, Ankara, and Bursa with occasional visits to the Turkish countryside, Dewey presented his progressive pedagogical vision of education as the central instrument to foster a democratic civil society and integrate the rural population into a modern secular nation-state. However, Dewey's suggestions tended to address education in rural areas as a universal problem of modernizing societies, paying scant attention to the local cultural systems in which his educational ideas should take root.

The tensions between universalism and particularism, international expert knowledge and local idiosyncrasies, lie at the heart of Heinrich Hartmann's book on postwar rural modernization in Turkey. Therefore, Dewey's sojourn in Turkey may serve aptly to introduce this excellent study. From the mid-1920s on, and especially after World War II, the Anatolian village had become a laboratory for rural modernization schemes that aroused the interest of many international observers devoted to the

economic and social development of Turkish society. In the postwar years, Turkey became an object of developmental policies shaped not only by the Turkish government, but by international organizations such as the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Population Council, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The mission of reforming and modernizing the countryside encompassed scientific research, planning schemes, and political interventions that included the motorization of agriculture, educational reform, population statistics, studies in rural sociology, and the improvement of public health care and family planning. Yet, as Hartmann convincingly explains, the Anatolian village was far from a simple "drawing board" at the disposal of international experts and Turkish government agencies. Hartmann portrays the village as a complex social space where planning schemes and techniques of social engineering—designed by international scientific experts but dependent on transcultural brokers—interacted with the cultural, social, economic, and political logics of the villages in often incalculable and unforeseen ways. As a result, the modernizers began to adapt their views in light of ambivalent experiences on the ground, and the villagers learned how to deal with international experts and their impositions. Thus, Hartmann avoids the statist pitfall of portraying expert-driven modernizing schemes up against an allegedly traditional and risk-averse rural population; instead, he shows how the complexities of these encounters and the changing alliances between scientific experts, representatives of international development organizations, state agencies, local elites, and the rural population became a driving force of social and epistemic change in Turkey's postwar development policies.

Hartmann traces this transnational history of circulating knowledge about rural modernization chronologically. After a short sketch of state-led modernization and international scientific expertise in the 1920s and 1930s, Hartmann focuses on the role of international expert knowledge in Turkish rural development policies in the context of the Cold War. Under the auspices of the Marshall Plan, Turkey was imagined as the breadbasket of industrialized Western Europe. This vision necessitated, at least in the eyes of the modernizers, the transformation of Turkish peasants into entrepreneurial farmers using motorized technologies instead of animal power, replacing labor with capital. With the expiration of the Marshall Plan and a shift in U.S. geostrategic interests, the OECD became the driving force in efforts to establish a coordinated rural modernization policy in Turkey in the early 1960s. In this context, Turkey appeared less as a Cold War strategic partner than as an economically dependent recipient of international aid—and a laboratory for Western development policies. This shift went hand in hand with epistemic changes, as scientific experts no longer focused solely on statistical surveys, but experimented with studies in behavioral

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psychology and rural sociology that later influenced community development studies in Turkish villages.

In sum, Hartmann's remarkable study is based on painstaking archival research and gives an impressive account of rural modernization in Turkey. Even if Hartmann is at times almost a little too detail-obsessed in pursuing the linkages and encounter zones of his transnational brokers, threatening to lose sight of the broad lines of his narrative, the study deserves a wide readership well beyond experts in Turkish history.

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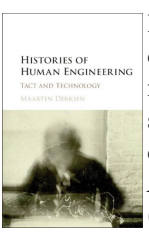
Histories of Human Engineering: Tact and Technology

By Maarten Derksen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. Pp. 276.



How has the idea of human engineering, the dream of control of human behavior and society, emerged, traveled, and transformed? In *Histories of Human Engineering*, Maarten Derksen addresses this puzzle. His combination of histories of science with histories of concepts resonates with *How Reason Almost Lost Its Mind* (Erickson et al., 2013) and *Objectivity* (Daston & Galison, 2007).

At first glance, the book resembles a lexicon of twentieth-century human engineering concepts: social technology, mind control, scientific management, the human factor, etc. It is, however, primarily an intellectual history of several key authors who all contributed to and reframed the main concept. Their ideas are recounted through a subtle reading of the lives of authors, texts, and textbooks. The role of technology is indirect: imaginaries of technology feed social science and co-shape how social scientists see and propose to act on society. And we do catch glimpses of "society"—the object to be engineered—however not as a force that co-shaped social science, academia, key concepts, and imaginaries about technology. For historians of social science, the book is innovative in that the interface between social science and technology is investigated rather than presumed or critiqued a priori, and because it addresses the friction between the disciplines of sociology, psychology, and political science without presenting siloed disciplinary histories.