Leadership and Nation-Building

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Abstract

Can individual leaders foster nation-building, beyond policy choices? I study the activities and legacy of Mustafa Kemal "Atatürk", the founder of modern Turkey. Atatürk not only designed the Turkish nation-building reforms when the country was created in 1923, but he also visited over a quarter of Turkish cities to rally citizens around his program. Using variation over time and across space, and information on incidental visits to districts lying along Atatürk's road, I show that Atatürk's campaign caused an increase of 10 percent in the use of first names in "Pure Turkish", the new national language created by the state as part of its homogenizing endeavor. I argue that this measure indicates a successful adoption of the central state's nationalist ideology in the periphery. The effect is persistent, growing in magnitude up until fifteen years after the visit before disappearing. Two main channels can explain this pattern of propagation. First, the visits provided the ground for institutional reforms, as they predict the opening of local branches of Atatürk's party. The branches, in turn, also contributed to the diffusion of the new language through local propaganda activities. Second, the effect is stronger in districts with more nationalistic associations, higher literacy rates and where Atatürk met with local elites, suggesting that the coordination of local elites played a key role. My findings provide new empirical evidence on the ability of an individual leader to foster nation-building, by co-opting local elites and by fostering institution building.

Keywords: Leaders, Nation-Building, Identity, Propaganda, Cultural Change

JEL Codes: D83, D74, N45, P48, Z13, Z18

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1 Introduction

"There are two Mustafa Kemal. One in flesh-and-bone who now stands before you and who will pass away. The other is you, all of you here who will go to the far corners of our land to spread the ideals which must be defended with your lives. I stand for the nation's dreams, and my life's work is to make them come true."
— Mustafa Kemal "Atatürk", 1933

The construction of a common identity is fundamental to the development of modern states (Tilly, 1993; Weber, 1976), as societies with strong ethnic, religious or linguistic cleavages tend to be more politically and economically unstable (Alesina et al., 1999; Fearon and Laitin, 2003; Habyarimana et al., 2009). Building a common national identity is however challenging, as culture tends to be quite persistent (Giuliano and Nunn, 2021). Besides top-down policies targeting pre-existing local identities can amount to forced assimilation and generate violence with disastrous consequences (Bisin et al., 2011, 2016; Dell and Querubin, 2017; Fouka, 2019).

A potential tool to quickly foster nation-building are the actions of an individual leader. As suggested by a large theoretical literature in economics, leadership can indeed play a key role to persuade, coordinate followers, influence expectations and overturn social norms.[1] Such actions might be particularly important to build the "imagined communities" that are nations (Anderson, 1983). There is, however, no empirical test of this hypothesis. While we know that leaders do matter, especially during critical junctures (Jones and Olken, 2005; Ottinger and Voigtländer, 2020), there is little evidence on the channels through which a leader might foster nation-building. This paper aims at filling this gap by empirically answering the following questions: Can individual leaders foster nation-building, beyond policy choices and the reforms they implement? If so, through which mechanisms?

I focus on one particular leader: Mustafa Kemal "Atatürk", considered as the founder of modern Turkey and who is the main political figure behind the design and implementation of

[1] See for example Acemoglu and Jackson (2015); Akerlof and Holden (2016); Carvalho and Sacks (2021); Loeper et al. (2014); Verdier and Zénou (2018).

the Turkish nation-building reforms during the Turkish revolution (1923-1946). The Turkish historical context constitutes a unique setting to study the role of a leader in fostering nation-building. After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War, a group of Ottoman soldiers led by Atatürk secured the Turkish territory against European invasion and implemented radical and authoritarian nation-building reforms to modernize and secularize the new nation-state (Zürcher, 2017). Beyond designing the new policies, Atatürk took a very personal role in supporting the new regime. From 1923, the first year of the creation of the Turkish state, until his death in 1938, he visited more than a hundred and fifty cities, i.e. a quarter of all Turkish cities, in order to rally citizens around his program.

I assemble a novel historical database with detailed information on the locations and dates of Atatürk's visits from 1923 to 1938 at the district level. To study the impact of the visits on national identity, I exploit geographic and time variation in Atatürk's visits in a difference-in-differences design. Moreover, I leverage the information available on the scheduling of his travels to exclude targeted visits and to focus only on districts visited along his routes.

To measure local adoption of the nation-building program, I examine the first names chosen for newborns and whether or not they are in "Pure Turkish" (*Öztürkçe*), the new language introduced by the state as part of its homogenizing endeavor. It is now widely acknowledged that names constitute a good measure of social preferences and culture, that is more and more used in the economics literature.[2] In the Turkish context, names are directly linked to one nation-building reform and can be viewed as a measure of the successful adoption of the reform in the periphery (Scott et al., 2002).[3] To identify first names in "Pure Turkish" among newborns, I first digitize all booklets and newspapers published in the 1930s to disseminate the new words and created a list of common nouns in "Pure Turkish". Then, I use the universe of Turkish birth certificates between 1920 and 1950, a unique source in

[2]See for example Abramitzky et al. (2016); Bazzi et al. (2020); Beck Knudsen (2019); Fouka (2019); Saavedra (2021), in the context of the U.S. and Scandinavia, and Ginsburgh and Weber (2020) for a recent literature review.

[3]Indeed, as Scott et al. (2002) put it, "*There is no State making without State naming*" (p4.).

the Middle East, made available for the first time by the General Directorate of Population Affairs. Finally, I take advantage of the fact that first names in Turkey are common nouns and classify which first names are in "Pure Turkish". This allows me to create a granular and unique measure of the adoption of a nation-building reform locally.

I find that Atatürk's visits generate a significant increase of 0.55 percentage points in the share of "Pure Turkish" names given to newborns, which represents an increase of 10 percent compared to the pre-visit mean. The magnitude of the effect grows over time, reaching almost 1.5 percentage points after fifteen years, which represents a medium-run increase of over 20 percent. It persists until twenty-five years after the visits before disappearing. The results are similar, and if anything larger, when using the restricted sample, which excludes targeted districts and focuses only on districts visited along the routes between two scheduled visit sites. They are also similar when using the estimator proposed by de Chaisemartin and D'Haultfoeuille (2020), which accounts for possibly heterogeneous and dynamic effects. I further show that these results are unlikely to be explained by selective migration, are robust to varying the sample definition and including only visited districts. Given the authoritarian and repressive nature of the regime especially toward ethno-religious minorities, the adoption a "Pure Turkish" name following a visit reflects a combination of sincere adherence, opportunism or forced assimilation (Kuran, 1995). Overall, I argue that this measure constitutes a good proxy of the adoption of the nation-building reform locally.

Next, I examine potential mechanisms. First, to understand whether the visits laid the seeds for institutional changes locally, I collect new data on the locations and dates of creation of the "People's Houses" (*Halk Evleri*), local cultural branches of Atatürk's political party, the Republican's People Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, henceforth CHP), established between 1932 and 1944. I find that the visits are strong predictors of the opening of a People's House. Moreover, using the staggered establishment of the Houses, I show that they also have a positive effect on "Pure Turkish" names, which is stronger in places already visited. They therefore appear to serve as a complement to the individual actions of a leader. This is

consistent with the fact that the effect of Atatürk's visits on the adoption of "Pure Turkish" first names is significant only after a few years and is strongest after ten years. Rather than the visits themselves, it is the infrastructure and institution building they trigger that explains the diffusion of "Pure Turkish" names. Overall, this suggests that leaders and institutions act as a complements to construct a national identity (Weber, 1921).

Second, I examine two conflicting models of how a leader can contribute to the diffusion of a national identity: by rallying the masses, or by co-opting and persuading the elite. To test these competing views, I first collect additional information on the activities Atatürk held locally and I find that the effects are stronger when he met with local elites, and muted when he met only with the masses. I also collect new data sources to identify all cities with a former Ottoman nationalistic club, the "Turkish Hearths" (*Türk Ocakları*). The Turkish Hearths were elite-run associations created to promote Turkish nationalism, and which constituted a fertile ground for Atatürk's ideology. I find that the effects are stronger in districts that had a Turkish Hearth. This suggests that Atatürk's persuasion effect is stronger in places already inclined to nationalistic values (Satyanath et al., 2017). Consistent with this effect being driven by the elite, I additionally find that the results are mostly driven by places with relatively high literacy rates. Finally, using biographical data of all members of the Turkish parliament between 1920 and 2010, I also show that the share of "Pure Turkish" names among deputies and their parents is systematically higher than the share in the overall population. These results confirm a large historiography concluding that Atatürk's reforms were mostly successful among one segment of the population—the educated elite—which nevertheless enabled the regime's survival (Atabaki and Zürcher, 2004; Lamprou, 2015; Tuna, 2018).

Overall, my findings suggest that an individual leader can foster nation-building, by influencing and co-opting an elite and by enabling institution building locally, which then complements the leader.

This paper contributes to three main literatures. First, it adds to a growing literature on nation-building policies. This literature has focused on understanding why some states

start implementing nation-building policies (Alesina et al., 2021; Alesina and Reich, 2015; Bandiera et al., 2019) and on analyzing several potential determinants of nation-building such as propaganda (Blouin and Mukand, 2019), military action (Dell and Querubin, 2017), education (Bazzi et al., 2018; Blanc and Kubo, 2021), population resettlement programs (Bazzi et al., 2019) or sport (Depetris-Chauvin et al., 2020). I focus on leadership, which this literature has not systematically examined with quantitative data yet and provide new evidence on the channels through a national identity is constructed. I also provide a novel measure of national identity, that can be measured at the local level and studied through time: the adoption of first names in the new language introduced by the state as part of its homogenizing endeavor.

This study also relates to the literature on leadership.[4] On the theoretical side, this literature has emphasized the role of leaders in shaping various outcomes, including socio-cultural norms and identity (Acemoglu and Jackson, 2015; Verdier and Zénou, 2018).[5] On the empirical side, there is now a well-established literature that shows that leaders matter for governance, state performance and in organizations (Bertrand and Schoar, 2003; Jones and Olken, 2005; Ottinger and Voigtländer, 2020). Recently, several papers have assumed a more micro perspective and studied the effect of individual leaders on various outcomes, such as the impact of the Pope on fertility (Bassi and Rasul, 2017), of the Forty-Eighters on social movements (Dippel and Heblich, 2021), of Luther on the diffusion of the reformation (Becker et al., 2020) and of Pétain and Father Coughlin on votes (Cagé et al., 2020; Wang, 2021). My paper makes several contributions to this growing literature. First, this paper is the first to document the impact of an individual leader on a cultural outcome. Second, I provide novel evidence on the channels through which a leader's action matter and show that the effect is mostly due to his ability to rally an elite, and to implement local reforms, which in turn complement the leader's efforts.

[4]See Ahlquist and Levi (2011) for a general review of contributions from the political science, economics, and management literatures.

[5]See also Akerlof and Holden (2016); Hermalin (1998); Murphy and Shleifer (2004); Loeper et al. (2014); Carvalho and Sacks (2021).

Finally, this paper contributes to the literature on the determinants and consequences of culture and identity. This literature has shown that identity and culture are major determinants of economic outcomes and behaviors (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000; Fernandez, 2010; Gorodnichenko and Roland, 2011). They tend to be persistent (Alesina et al., 2013; Giuliano and Nunn, 2021; Grosfeld et al., 2013; Grosfeld and Zhuravskaya, 2015; Spolaore and Wacziarg, 2013; Voigtländer and Voth, 2012) and jointly determined with institutions (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2021; Alesina and Giuliano, 2015; Bisin and Verdier, 2001, 2017). Little is known, however, about the short-term determinants of identity. I add to this literature by showing how a leader can quickly impact a national identity in the short run and how the effect is mediated and strengthened by the establishment of complementary local institutions.

The paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 gives an overview of the historical background of the Turkish nation-building era and describes the language reform as well as Atatürk's visits. Section 3 presents the historical data on the visits, names and political institutions. Section 4 describes the empirical strategy. I present the main results of the impact of Atatürk's visits in Section 5. Section 6 explores the mechanisms. Section 7 concludes.

2 Historical Background

"The goal of our revolutionary measures is to bring the people of the Turkish nation to a modern and civilized stage."

— Atatürk, 1925

This section outlines the history of the Turkish nation-building era, also called the "Turkish Revolution", which started in 1923 and lasted until 1946. It presents the main institutional reforms implemented and describes the propaganda tools used by the state to spread the new identity, including Atatürk's local visits.

2.1 The Turkish National Revolution, 1923-1946

After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, a resistance movement led by Atatürk prevented European armies from invading today's Turkish territory. Perceived as a hero and as the savior of what remained of the Empire, Atatürk became the first president of the new Turkish Republic in 1923. With his government, he implemented a set of radical and authoritarian top-down nation-building policies that affected all realms of society: political, legal, economic, social and cultural (Zürcher, 2017). Their goal was to create a nation-state that was "secular", "modern", "westernized" and built around the Turkish ethnicity, out of a six-century-old multi-religious, multi-ethnic and multi-lingual Empire.

Concretely, they abolished the Sultanate and the Caliphate and replaced the Sharia Law by European legal codes. They also implemented various nation-building policies used in other historical contexts (Weber, 1976): For example, they centralized the educational system and imposed a new and unique national curriculum built around secular values; they closed religious schools; they built railroads in order to connect the different regions of the new territory; they created a new national language. Atatürk and his government also passed a series of measures targeting the social and cultural life of Turkish citizens: They adopted the Western calendar and time, passed a law on clothing and imposed the adoption of surnames, following the European patronymic system.

2.2 "Governing with words": the Language Reform

"One of the significant characteristics of the nation is language. One, who regards himself as a member of the Turkish nation, should first of all and in every case, speak Turkish. If, someone, who does not speak Turkish, claims membership to Turkish culture and community, it would not be right to believe in this".

— Atatürk, quoted in Çagaptay (2005)

Turkey was a highly heterogeneous societies in 1923, with strong ethnic, development

and linguistic cleavages.[6] The population included Muslim Turks and non-Turkish Muslim groups and ethnicities such as the Kurds, Arabs or Lazes, among others, as well as some Jews and Christians.[7] Each of these groups spoke their own dialects, which could have a different alphabet.[8] Ottoman Turkish was the administrative language of the Empire. It was primarily a written language, based on the Arabic alphabet and known by a small educated elite. When the Republic was created, only 10 percent of the population was literate in Ottoman (Pamuk, 2018).

The Language reform was therefore a pillar of the Kemalist cultural revolution and remains one of its main legacies. Atatürk and his associates wanted to create a new Turkish language, easy to learn in order to increase the literacy rate, and which would be common across regions, religions, ethnicities and classes in order to foster a common national identity and assimilate minorities (Türköz, 2018).[9]

The reform was described by historians as a "*catastrophic success*" (Lewis, 1999), in that it was implemented quite quickly, in two main steps (Aytürk, 2008; Caymaz and Szurek, 2007). First, the alphabet was latinized in 1928, in order to make Turkish more secular, as Arabic was seen as the language of Islam. The second step consisted in "*purifying*" the Ottoman vocabulary and was officially implemented in 1934.[10] The "purification" stage consisted in removing words of foreign origins (Arabic, Farsi etc.) and in replacing them with words in "Pure Turkish", either invented or from the oral Turkish tradition and folklore, and which will constitute my main object of analysis.[11] This process was partly implemented in a

[6]The country was more homogeneous with regards to religious groups, following the Armenian genocide in 1915 and the population exchange with Greece in 1923. According to the 1914 census, Christians made up 20 percent of Turkey's population, against merely 2 per cent in 1927 (Çagaptay, 2004).

[7]Other ethno-religious groups include Muslim Georgians, Greek-speaking Muslims, Albanians, Macedonian Muslims, Pomaks, Serb Muslim, Bosnians, Tartars, Circassians and Abkhazes (Çagaptay, 2004)

[8]For example, Turks speaking Greek wrote Turkish in Greek characters. Armenians, Assyrians and Jews were speaking their own dialect or speaking Turkish, but with their own alphabets. Alevi (shia) Kurds were speaking the Zaza (Dimili) language. Atatürk, who was born in Thessaloniki (in Greece), was speaking a Turkish dialect specific from the Balkans.

[9] *"The [1934] Law will create a country speaking with one language, thinking in the same way and sharing the same sentiment", Şükrü Kaya, Minister of Interior, 1934, quoted in Ülker (2008).*

[10]For a description of the concrete implementation of the language reform and the institutions and actors which contributed to it, see Szurek (2013).

[11] *"We will spare no effort in purifying our language of foreign rules and words, in making written language*

top-down fashion, with scholars and linguists creating lists of words in Ottoman, with their synonyms in Pure Turkish.[12] Citizens could participate voluntarily to the "word-collection mobilization" (*Söz Derleme Seferberliği*) (Lewis, 1999, p. 49) and send their own synonyms to the central state.[13] As a result, a large number of booklets and dictionaries listing old ottoman words and their synonyms in the new language were published (Türköz, 2018). I collected and digitized all of these documents to create a comprehensive list of "Pure Turkish" words.

It is important to emphasize that the "Pure Turkish" language symbolizes in itself the new nation's ideals, as conceived by Atatürk and his government (Aytürk, 2004; Mardin, 2002). The "purification" of the vocabulary underlines the homogenizing (and exclusive) aspect of the project, amounting to an ethnic cleansing of the language. As put by Atatürk himself in 1930: *"The Turkish nation which has proved its ability to defend its country and its full independence, should also free its language from the yoke of foreign language"* (Mango, 1999).[14]

2.3 Spreading the words: Authoritarianism and State Propaganda

The central state used various propaganda tools to explain the ongoing reforms, especially the language reform. During the first years of the creation of the Republic, Atatürk himself led a massive campaign effort throughout the new territory, that is my main object of analysis and treatment. Later, Kemalist elites created local associations, the "Houses of People" (*Halk Evleri*), tightly linked to the single-ruling party, in order to propagate the reforms locally.[15]

closer to spoken language, and in Turkifying the language usages of the state and of the sciences", General Regulations and Work Program of the Türk Dil Kurumu, adopted by the Fourth Congress of Turkish Linguistics], quoted in Szurek (2015).

[12] "*Researchers were asked to travel the length and breadth of the country to record Turkish words which had survived only in provincial usage.*" (Mango, 1999, p. 495) .

[13] *"To achieve [the Language Revolution] the first step is to collect Turkish language materials and create a dictionary. Each citizen should carry a brick for this blessed edifice. But the dictionary cannot be achieved without resorting to the memory of the nation."* (Turkish Language Institute, quoted in (Türköz, 2018, p. 43).

[14] This "linguistic nationalism" was accompanied by heavy propaganda. In particular, the effort was justified by a (false) theory, called the "Sun Language Theory", according to which Turkish was the language from which all other "civilized" languages Kafadar (1995).

[15] This section draws extensively on the fascinating historical work by Lamprou (2015) and Szurek (2013).

2.3.1 Atatürk's campaign: 1923-1938

Atatürk's prestige as a hero of the Independence war (1919-1922) was used as an important propaganda instrument to gain support for the reform program (Zürcher, 2012). During the first years of the creation of the state, before most of the reforms were concretely implemented, Atatürk intensely travelled the territory and visited more than a quarter of all Turkish cities. The goal of the visits was to promote a unitary and national Turkish identity and to explain the new reforms program implemented by the central state. Atatürk was particularly keen on explaining and diffusing the "Pure Turkish" Language. The campaign effort also contributed to build his "charisma" and to establish a personality cult around his person. It also earned him the additional nicknames of "First Teacher" (*Ilk Oğretmen*) and of name-giver, as he gave nicknames to some members of his government and renamed places during his visits.[16] Figure 2 shows photographies taken during his visits and Appendix section B.1.2 provides detailed examples of visits.

2.3.2 The People's Houses: 1932-1944

"We have decided to raise the national unity and assemble all citizens under the roof of the People's Houses. The school is the classic institution a country has to prepare the nation for the future. However, in order to organize the modern nation as an entity, the usual methods and the regular efforts are not sufficient. If you want to become a nation in this century and form a national community, you will have to create the basis of a popular education in parallel and after the schools that will make the people work together as a unit."

— Recep Peker, CHP's secretary, 1932

The People's Houses were community centers opened and operated by the CHP between 1932 to 1944, with the duty to "*propagate the regime's ideology and policies to the population through the circulation, application and enactment of a variety of discourses and activities*"

[16] As described in (Türköz, 2018, p. 85), this nickname of the name-giver "*begins with the performative act of naming of the new regime as Cumhuriyet (Republic). He then gives the surname İnönü to İsmet Paşa, for his bravery in the İnönü Battlefield in the War of Independence*". He also renamed geographic places and infrastructures during his visits (see his visit in Elaziz, for example, during which he renamed the city in Section B.1.2).

(Lamprou, 2015, p. 19). They were the ruling party's cultural branches. While the houses were officially presented as a non-political structures (Lamprou, 2015, p. 33), they did not possess any legal identity of their own, were tightly controlled by the CHP and exclusively financed by the state.[17] All Houses were designed to have an identical structure and perform the same activities described in their by-laws (CHP 1932).[18] Concretely, they organized various activities, such as sport events or theater plays to glorify the new republic. They diffused western literature and music while discrediting traditional "*alaturka*" music. They also organized adult classes to teach the new alphabet, convey positivist ideas, diminish superstitious beliefs and disseminate "Western civilization". They organized collective listening of nationalist radio programs, broadcast in the new language (Ahıska, 2010). They also conducted research on local folklore to provide materials to the regime's historical and linguistic propaganda. In particular, they participated in the reform of the Turkish language through the collection of expressions in local use, "*ancient national fairy tales, sayings, proverbs and traditions*" (Lamprou, 2015), but also the organization of "Language party" (*Dil Bayramı*) every year on the 26th of September.[19]

3 Data

My baseline empirical work relates exposure to Ataturk during a visit between 1923 and 1938 to naming practices. In this section, I describe the data collected and used in my main empirical analysis.

[17] They were created to replace the Turkish Hearths, former and independent Ottoman nationalistic associations, in order to control more closely civil society locally.

[18] All Houses had nine branches: (1) Languages, History and Literature, (2) Fine Arts, (3) Theater, (4) Sports, (5) Social Assistance, (6) Courses, (7) Library and Publication, (8) Villages and (9) Museum and Exhibitions.

[19] Appendix Figure A3 displays a photograph taken during a "Language Party", in Denizli, 1934.

3.1 Exposure to Atatürk during a Visit

To create the treatment variable, the visits made by Atatürk, I use a book by Kocatürk (1988), which compiles information on all Atatürk's official visits from various primary sources, including Atatürk's private diary, historical newspapers and additional archival records. For each of the 167 visited cities, there is information on the location, date, duration of the visit and the members of the visiting delegation. The average length of the first visit was one day and a half. I can identify cities Atatürk targeted and simple stops made on the way. For each visit, I systematically cross-reference the information from the book with other external sources, including Atatürk's biographies, academic articles, historical newspapers and municipalities' websites.[20] Given that the birth certificates report only the district of birth of each citizen, all analyses which relate naming practices to visits are at the contemporary district level and not at the city level. I consider a district is visited when one of its cities is visited for the first time. In total, there are 154 visited districts out of the 973 contemporary districts.

I also look more precisely at the nature of the visits, and classify them depending on the activities Atatürk conducted locally.[21] I distinguish whether Atatürk met with local elites and/or whether he met with the crowd. I consider Atatürk visited local elites if he had a meeting, lunch or dinner with local administrative, political or military personalities, or went with them in official institutions such as the municipality building, the state house (*Hükümet Binası)* or military bases. I also code whether he pronounced a speech. Section B.1.2 provides description of several visits to highlight how I classified the activities.

Figure 1 displays a map of the visited districts, as well as their timing. Figure A1 provides more detail about the timeline of the visits. Interestingly, Atatürk conducted most visits in the first two years after the creation of the Republic, before the implementation of most of

[20] See Section B.1 for more detail on the sources, additional newspapers, and articles used. Table B1 lists all visited cities, as well as the date of the first visit, the total number of visits and whether it was a visit targeted and planned by Atatürk. Table B2 details for each itinerary the stops made on the way.

[21] Out of the 154 visited district, I could collect information on the activities held for 122 visits.

the reforms.

3.2 Naming Practices

Historical survey measures of cultural values usually do not exist. A good alternative, now widely used in the economics literature, is to look at naming practices.[22] A large psychological and sociological literature has indeed shown that first names signal attachment to a number of groups, such as age, ethnicity or religion (Coulmont, 2014; Mateos, 2013). Names are also visible, quite stable over time and often systematically collected by the state, which facilitates quantitative analysis. In the Turkish context especially, first names strongly signal social identity, ethnicity or religion (Bulliet, 1978; Gürpınar, 2012; Spencer, 1961).

I use child naming decision to measure citizens' reaction to the state ideology. To do so, I collected a unique data source: all historical birth certificates between 1920 and 1950.[23] The data contain information on the first names, dates and districts of birth of 15 millions of Turkish individuals born over the period. I describe below how I classify names to construct my main outcome variables.

"Pure Turkish" Names as a proxy for National Identity

I first identify newborns with first names in "Pure Turkish", the new language introduced by the state as part of its homogenizing endeavor. To create this measure, I collected and digitized all historical booklets, dictionaries and newspapers published in the 1930s to spread the new language that are partly referenced by Türköz (2018, p. 115). This enables me to create a new and comprehensive list of more than 13,000 unique words in "Pure Turkish".[24] Finally, I take advantage of the fact that in Turkish, first names are common nouns, and classify first names in the census data using this list of new words. I then compute the share

[22] See Abramitzky et al. (2016), Beck Knudsen (2019), Bazzi et al. (2020) or Fouka (2019) for some examples.

[23] Source: General Directorate of Population Affairs.

[24] Figure B3 displays examples of historical booklets listing new words and of a newspaper, publishing a dictionary with words in Ottoman and their synonyms in the new language.

of newborns with "Pure Turkish" names among all newborns, for all districts between 1920-1950. Table 1 provides an overview of the ten most frequent first names in "Pure Turkish" and first names in Arabic or Turkish (traditional names), among children born in 1920 and 1940. Gulsum and Yasar are typically "Pure Turkish" names, while Mehmet and Fatma (respectively Turkish and Arabic) are typical traditional names. Figure A2 displays the raw evolution of the share of names in "Pure Turkish", for visited and non visited districts between 1920 and 1950. The peak observed in 1934, which coincides with the 1934 language reform. The figure also illustrates that that visited places adopted "Pure Turkish" first names more quickly.

Names in "Pure Turkish" reflect the diffusion of the new language introduced by the state locally. Given the authoritarian and repressive aspect of the regime, especially toward ethno-religious minorities, I however cannot disentangle precisely whether giving a "Pure Turkish" name is a sign of sincere adherence to Kemalism, opportunism or fear of repression (Kuran, 1995). I argue that they however provide, *a minima*, a good measure of the establishment of the new national order locally, and I discuss this in more detail in Section 6.3.

Islamic and Arabic Names: Signaling Attachment to Tradition

Using Sakallı (2019)'s approach to identify religious male names, I classify as religious:

1. ***Names with the suffix"of religion"***, i.e., names ending with "-(i)ddin" and "-(i)ttin", "-(e)ddin" and "-(e)ttin", "-(u)ddin" and "-(u)ttin"
2. ***Names names with the suffix "... of Allah"*** , i.e., names ending with "-(u)llah"
3. ***Names beginning with "Abd-", meaning "servant of ..."***
4. ***The name of the Islamic prophet in its Arabic form, "Muhammad"***.[25]

I identify Arabic first names, using data from the Turkish Language Institute's website (*Türk Dil Kurumu*). Arabic first names were the most commonly used names before the

[25]I also classify as religious other Arabic forms of "Muhammad, such as: Muhamed, Muhamet, Muhammed, Muhammet. The Turkish version of Muhammed, "Mehmet", is however not classified as religious.

creation of the Republic, and represent 75 percent of all first names in the birth certificates database before 1923. They were the main targets of the language reforms. It must be stressed many Arabic names can signal an attachment to Islam, and therefore that the two categories are not mutually exclusive.[26] I use Islamic and Arabic names to proxy for an individual attachment to Islam, to the former Ottoman Empire and/or to tradition.

Kurdish, Armenian and Jewish First Names: Signaling minority identity

Finally, I also create lists of Kurdish, Armenian and Jewish unique first names using the etymological dictionaries compiled by Sevan Nişanyan.[27]

3.3 Additional data on nation-building tools

I also collect disaggregated data on other nation-building policies used by Kemalist elites to propagate the new identity. I am able to track the railway expansion from 1925 to 1949, as well as the establishment of the People's Houses in cities and towns across Turkey from 1932 to 1944. Finally, I collect and digitize administrative school censuses tracking the number of schools, teachers and students at the district level, for 1925 and between 1932 and 1945.

3.4 Historical and geographic covariates

Using various primary and secondary sources, described in Appendix B, I obtain a rich set of historical covariates before 1923 at the district level, with information on local development, culture and politics: literacy rates, road network in 1928, number of cities and their administrative status (province or district), ancient trade roads, density of minority villages, distance to Ankara and Istanbul and distance to former Ottoman nationalistic associations, the "Turkish Hearths" (*Turk Ocakları*), created in 1912, that I use to measure pre-treatment

[26] Muhammed is an obvious example, but also Mahmud or Yusuf. The two categories are therefore not mutually exclusive.

[27] See http://turkadlar.com/. The share of Kurdish and Armenian first names are strongly correlated with their population shares in the 1927 and 1914 censuses, as well as with the density of their villages.

adherence to Turkish nationalism.[28] I also collect geographic information: elevation, coastal cities, mean of annual precipitation and temperature and indexes for various crop suitability from the GAEZ database.

4 Empirical Framework

In this section, I start by describing the main determinants of the visits in order to document the strategy behind his campaign effort. I show that Atatürk visited the most populated districts, among the most likely to adhere to the new order.

Then I present my empirical strategy, which is twofold. First, I implement a difference-in-differences strategy, using time and geographic variation in Atatürk's visits to estimate his impact on naming practices. Second, I take advantage of the quasi-random inclusion of districts in the campaign due to their location along the road connecting the districts that were the target. I estimate specifications in which all districts that may plausibly have played a role in determining the itinerary of the campaign are removed from the sample (henceforth the "targeted" or final destinations), and which include only districts crossed during his travel. Using this group of incidentally treated districts, I find that the estimated effects are virtually identical to that using the full sample and that in both cases, there were no differential pre-trends in the outcome variable between visited and non visited cases.

4.1 Understanding the Logic of the Visits

In a first step, I model the probability of a visit to a district as a function of the historical and geographic covariates collected in order to shed light on the strategy behind Atatürk's campaign effort.[29] Table A1 reports probit estimates of the probability of being visited, for all visits (Columns 1 and 2) and for visits by year (Columns 3 to 10). As shown in Column

[28] The clubs were created by local elites and intellectuals, influenced by Ottoman nationalist thinkers such as Ziya Gökalp.

[29] I was not able to find official document describing the strategy chosen for the visits. I therefore use the data collected to document it.

(4) in Table 2, development indicators (population size, administrative statuses, city density) strongly predict the visits, as well as the distance to a former nationalistic club. Atatürk also went to places with less minority villages, although this is not always the case across years. It is interesting to note that the only predictor that is systematically significant, no matter the timing of the visits, is the population size. Overall, the campaign effort was targeted towards large and developed localities, more Turkish, and closer to the new capital Ankara.

4.2 Sample Restriction

In order to identity causal estimate, I additionally perform the following sample restriction. I identify and remove the starting and ending points of all itineraries. The historical sources, unfortunately, do not provide additional information about why they were selected nor describe the organization of the trajectory. I simply observe the final destination, as well as the stops made along the route. Table B2 lists all itineraries and defines for each of them the start and end points as well and the stops Atatürk made. I further restrict the sample to districts lying on his way and crossed during his travel.[30] This procedure restricts my sample to a set of 272 districts over the 973, among which 92 were visited, displayed in Figure 3. These visited districts were plausibly quasi-randomly included in the campaign due to their lying along the road connecting the cities that were the true target. Figure A4 plots the standardized beta coefficients of bi-variate regressions of the variables listed on the left on the visit status, with province fixed effects and robust standard errors in the full sample (Panel A) and in the restricted sample (Panel B). Visited and non-visited districted in the restricted sample appear to be very similar and balanced over the set of historical and geographic covariates, and constitute a plausible comparison group to visited districts on Atatürk's way. There are no differences in the main predictors of the visits: population size, administrative status, connectedness and closeness to a former Ottoman nationalistic

[30] I identify them using a GIS software. I compute the least cost path for all itineraries during which Atatürk made a stop, using new data on the road network in 1928, on railway networks between 1923 and 1938 as well as information on topography.

club. The remaining covariates significantly different between both groups are the number of Armenian and Arab villages, the number of minority schools and religious buildings and whether the districts are on the coast. I will systematically control for these characteristics. It should be noted that my identification strategy lies on the fact that there are no differential pre-trends between the two groups—and not that they are similar in terms of observable characteristics. Finally, Table 2 presents summary statistics of the main variables in the database, depending on the visit status, in the two samples. My specifications run on the full sample will systematically include as covariates the characteristics that are significantly different between the treated and control group, that is for the (log.) of the total number of birth, whether or not the district has a province or district center (in 1935), the (log.) of the distance to the nearest railway in 1919, road in 1928 and former major trade roads, the total city density, the literacy rate, the number of Kurdish villages, the (log.) of the distance to the nearest Ottoman nationalistic club, to Istanbul, to the border, an indicator on whether or not the locality was occupied during the Independence War (1919-1922), the density of minority schools and religious buildings, as well as a set of geographic covariates (whether or not the district is on the coast, the average temperature, elevation and suitability indexes for cultivated crops).

4.3 Main Specifications

Difference-in-Differences at the district level

I estimate the effect of the visits on naming practices using a difference-in-differences model with district and year fixed effects between 1920 and 1950, given by the following specification:

$$Y_{dt} = \beta(Visited_d \times Post_{dt}) + \theta X_d^{'} * \gamma_t + \delta Log(NbBirth_{dt}) + \alpha_d + \gamma_t + \epsilon_{dt} \quad (1)$$

where d and t index districts and years respectively. Y is the share of newborns with a "Pure Turkish" first name. My main treatment $Visited_d \times Post_{dt}$ is a variable equal to

one when a district is visited for the first time and which stays equal to one the following years. α_d and γ_t are districts and year fixed effects, which allows me to control for any time-invariant differences between districts and for year-specific shocks common to all districts. X is a vector of pre-treatment time invariant historical and geographic controls, interacted with year dummies. Only the total number of births is time varying, and is also included as control. The coefficient β on $Visited \times Post$ is the coefficient of interest and captures the additional change in the share of newborns with Pure Turkish names following a visit, in percentage point. I cluster all errors at the district level, as it is the level of treatment. $\epsilon_{d,t}$ is an error term.

In the baseline specification, I include as covariates all characteristics significantly different between the treated and control groups, as displayed in Column (4) of Table 2. The main identifying assumption of this strategy is that, in the absence of a visit, the average change in the share of name in Pure Turkish in treated and control districts would have been the same—the two types of districts would have continued to experience parallel trends.

Event-Study Specification

To test this assumption, I check for potential pre-trends by estimating the following event-study specification:

$$Y_{dt} = \sum_{k=\underline{C}}^{\overline{C}} \beta_k E_{dt}^k + \theta X_d^{'} * \gamma_t + \delta Log(NbBirth_{dt}) + \alpha_d + \gamma_t + \epsilon_{dt} \tag{2}$$

where the event-time dummies E_{dt}^k are defined as: $E_{dt}^k = \mathbb{1}[t = \tau_d + k] \forall k \in (\underline{C}, \overline{C}), E_{dt}^{\overline{C}} = \mathbb{1}[t \geq \tau_d + \overline{C}]$, and $E_{dt}^{\underline{C}} = \mathbb{1}[t \leq \tau_d + \underline{C}]$, where $\mathbb{1}[.]$ is the indicator function and τ_d is the first year when a district is visited by Atatürk. I normalize $\beta_{-1} = 0$ and set $\underline{C} = -5$ and $\overline{C} = +27$. X is the same vector of time invariant controls, interacted with year dummies. The β_k coefficients give the full path of dynamic effects, that is pre-event effects necessary to check for pre-trends, but also post-event effects. I additionally use the estimator proposed by de Chaisemartin and D'Haultfoeuille (2020), which is robust to heterogeneous and to

dynamic effects.

5 Main Results

5.1 Effects of Atatürk's Visits on Naming practices

Pure Turkish and Arabic Names

Table 3 presents the main results on the effect of Atatürk's visits on the the share of "Pure Turkish" first names among newborns and of other types of names, such as Arabic, Religious or minority names. Results are displayed for the full sample (Panel A) and for the restricted sample (Panel B), excluding targeted districts. As shown in Column (1), visited districts are more likely to adopt first names in the new language introduced by the state to homogenize the population, in both samples. A visit is associated with an increase in the share of Pure Turkish names of 0.45 percentage point, which represents a change of around 7 percent compared to the sample mean before the visits. The estimated coefficient is even larger in the restricted sample: a visit is associated with an increase of 0.56 percentage point in the share of newborns with a "Pure Turkish" first name, which represents an increase of 10 percent compared to the sample mean pre-treatment.

Column (2) shows that Atatürk's visits are associated with a decrease in the share of Arabic first names, which is consistent with the fact that "Pure Turkish" words were precisely introduced to replace words in Arabic in the Ottoman language. Arabic first names were also the most commonly used, by Arabs but also by Turks or Kurds. Their use therefore reflects tradition more broadly and not a signal of attachment to the Arab minority.

Figure 4 presents the results of the event-study specification. It plots the coefficient estimates $\{\beta_k\}_5^{15}$ given in equation 2. Prior to his first visit, the estimated difference between treated and control districts is statistically indistinguishable from zero, in both samples. The F-stat for the joint significance of the pre-reform estimates on "Pure Turkish" names

equals 0.96 (p-value 0.41), thus confirming the absence of pre-trends and providing support for the parallel trend assumption. Following the visits, the share of "Pure Turkish" first names in visited districts increases significantly relative to the share in control districts. The effect persists and its magnitude is growing over time, reaching 1.5 percentage points after fifteen years, which represents a medium-run increase of over 20 percent. Then, the effect decreases and disappears after twenty five years. Conversely, the share of Arabic first names significantly and persistently decreases following a visit, in both samples as well.

In order to better understand the dynamic of the effect, I also use a difference-in-differences specification of the form given in equation 1, but using as main treatment an interaction between a dummy indicating whether a district has ever been visited and a variable which indicates the numbers of years since a visit. Results are displayed in Table 4 and measure the average effect of a visit on names, for any year following a visit. On average, each additional year following a visit significantly increases the share of "Pure Turkish" name by 0.05 percentage points in the restricted sample. Finally, to understand which years drive this average effect of an additional year, I use a piecewise linear regression model. Results are displayed in Table A2 and show that Atatürk's effect on "Pure Turkish" names appears after five years and is strongest between 10 and 15 years after a visit in both sample (Column 1).

A number of recent studies show that, in the presence of heterogeneous and dynamic treatment effects, the coefficients on the leads and lags of the treatment variable in an event study might place negative weights on the average treatment effects for certain groups and periods (Borusyak et al., 2021; Callaway and Sant'Anna, 2020; de Chaisemartin and D'Haultfoeuille, 2020). This might be particularly true in my setting, where the treatment effect is likely to be heterogeneous and to vary depending on the type of activities Atatürk held locally, the time he spent there or local characteristics. To address this concern, I use the estimator proposed by de Chaisemartin and D'Haultfoeuille (2020).[31] The results are presented in Figure

[31] I use the software packages did_multiplegt developed by de Chaisemartin and D'Haultfoeuille (2020).

5 (a): Similarly to my baseline event study, these results indicate that first names in "Pure Turkish" increases following a visit by Atatürk, whereas before the visit, the effects are not distinguishable from zero.

Overall, Atatürk's visits have a positive effect on "Pure Turkish" names: the effect takes some time to appear, then increase until fifteen years of a visit, before decreasing and disappearing.

Islamic and Minority names

Given that secularism was a pillar of the Kemalism, I look the impact of Atatürk's visits on religious names. Results are displayed in Columns (3) and (4) of Table 3. Atatürk's visits are associated with a decrease in religious first names, but the estimate is not statistically significant (Column 3) , except when looking at the name Muhammed only (Column 4). This result is however not robust to using the restricted sample.

A possible interpretation for this less precise effect is that Atatürk's propaganda did not manage to deeply secularize people as it did not significantly impact the choice of Muslim first names. This result might reflect an important and well-known paradox of the Turkish nation-building and secularizing reforms: The new identity had to be "purely Turkish" and, given that most Turks were Muslims, promoting the Turkish identity also promoted a Muslim identity. In other words, being Muslim was an implicit condition to belong to the new secular Turkish nation, at the expense of other religious and ethnic identities (Çagaptay, 2005; Fabbe, 2019). This result should nevertheless be interpreted with caution: the classification of religious first names focuses only on males, and is not exhaustive. In particular, it does not include many Arabic first names, present in Column (2) that could be used to signal an attachment to Islam as well.

As shown in Column (2) of Table 4, on average, each additional year following a visit significantly deacreses the share of Arabic name by 0.08 percentage points in the restricted sample. I also examine the dynamic of Atatürk's effect on Arabic names in Table A2. In

both sample, the effect is negative and significant for the five first years. Finally, results are similar when using the estimator de Chaisemartin and D'Haultfoeuille (2020)'s estimator, as shown in Figure 5 (b).

Finally, as displayed in Columns (5) to (7), Atatürk had no effect on Armenian, Kurdish and Jewish first names. Minorities did not give up their names. Figure A5 displays the coefficients estimated by the event-study specification and confirms the absence of effect.

5.2 Addressing Identification Challenges

In this section, I probe the robustness of the baseline results to various potential threat to identification.

Alternative Samples and Sensitivity Analysis

Identification of my main coefficients hinges on the assumption that districts yet to be visited and non-visited districts form a credible counterfactual for visited districts, after accounting for time-invariant (observed and unobserved) differences between districts and year-specific shocks common to all districts. As shown in Table 2, visited and non-visited districts are unbalanced along several observable characteristics, mostly population size and connectedness described in section 4. To show that this imbalance does not drive my results, I follow Hainmueller (2012) and use entropy balancing to re-weight observations so that visited and non visited districts have the same mean and variance for all historical and geographic covariates after subtracting district and year fixed effects. Table A4 shows that re-weighting following this procedure leads to a balanced sample: there is no significant relationship between the treatment dummy and any of the district level pre-treatment characteristics. As displayed in Figure A6, the results are very similar, suggesting that misbalance does not drive our results. Finally, I also verify that the results are not driven by influential observations and robust to excluding one district at a time from the sample. Results are displayed in Figure A11.

One might still be concerned that never-visited districts do not provide a suitable coun-

terfactual for visited ones. To test whether my main estimates are explained by the contrast to never-visited or by the staggered timing of visits, I further restrict the sample to visited districts only, and replicate the analysis. This allows me to compare the outcomes of visited district in event year k to the outcomes of future visited district. As shown in Figure A7, I find very similar estimates, which points to the event as the primary driver of my estimated effects.

Accounting for Selective migration

Another key threat to the difference-in-differences identification strategy is endogenous sorting across districts. Individuals more likely to adopt "Pure Turkish" first names—and to follow the new order—could be migrating into districts in response to or in anticipation of a visit or of subsequent changes in the visited locality. Similarly, targeted and repressed minorities might be leaving these localities. The effect would then be driven by this compositional change and would be most likely biased upward. This is an important concern in this setting, given that large population movements were happening at the time. After the Greco-Turkish war of 1919-1922, 1.2 million Greek Orthodox were forcibly resettled from Turkey to Greece and inversely Muslim Greek resettled in the new Turkish territory in 1923. To account for this, I focus only on individuals with fathers born in the same district, given that the historical birth certificates provide information on the fathers' places of birth.[32] Results are very similar, as displayed in Figure A8. Coefficients estimates are of similar magnitude, as shown in Table A3.

Discussion on the potential confounding effect of concurrent policies

Another threat to the identification assumption is the potential confounding effect of other policies and legislations happening concurrently, that is, if the visits happen in districts that are systematically subject to additional—and similar—nation-building policies or events at

[32]If the father is born in another district or if the father's place of birth is missing, I do not take into account the observation to compute my outcome variables.

the same time, independently from the visits. The effect observed would therefore not be due to the visits themselves. This is however unlikely to be the case. First, the lack of pre-trends and the robustness of the results in different restricted samples, including only visited districts, already provided reassurance that visited places were not on a different political trajectory.

The other policy interventions used by Kemalist elites to homogenize the territory and diffuse the new ideology were media, school constructions, railway expansion, local associations— the People's Houses— and similar visits made by the Prime Minister İsmet İnönü. I investigate in more detail in Section 6 the role of the railway, of the Houses and of the Prime minister's visits, and how they interact with Atatürk's visits, and show that they do not fully drive the results, and act as positive complement to Atatürk's visits.

Media are also unlikely to play a major role: mass radio was established as a propaganda tool in 1938, after the last visit. Given the low literacy rate (10 percent), propaganda via newspapers is also unlikely to fully explain the results. This is also the case for school construction. As shown in Figure A9, most to the school expansion also happened at the end of the 1930s and mostly in the 1940s. Similarly, the Houses were established between 1932 and 1944.

Railway expansion, however, happened between 1925 and 1949, at the same time as the visits. Railroads could play a role similar to the one of Atatürk and convey information or could make it easier for the central government to control the locality (Cermeño et al., 2021; Voigtlaender and Voth, 2014; Weber, 1976). As shown in Table A9, railway seems to have a positive impact on "Pure Turkish" names, that is smaller in magnitude that the effect of a visit. As shown in Column 2, however, when controlling by the railway expansion, the effect of a visit does not disappear. There is however, weak evidence that the railway and the visits acted as complement, as shown in Column 3, that estimates the heterogeneity of the effect of the railway depending on whether or not the district has already been visited

Placebo exercices

I also conduct two placebo exercises. First, I fix the total number of districts receiving the treatment, and randomly draw the districts which receive the visits and the year of the visit. Second, in order to confirm that the visits are not associated with a concurrent increase in "Pure Turkish" names in other nearby districts from the same province in the same year, I randomly draw placebo-event districts among districts that did not have a visit from the province-years in which other districts had a visit. I repeat both exercises 500 times, comparing the distributions of the point estimates and their t-statistics for the effect of such placebo treatments with those for the actual treatment. Results are presented in Figure A10. In both cases, the baseline coefficient and its t-statistics from the estimation of the effect of the true event are outside of the corresponding distributions for the placebo events. Event study treatments are not associated with a concurrent increase in Pure Turkish names in other districts of the same province in the same year of a visit.

6 Mechanisms

Having documented that Ataturk's visits had a local impact on national identity as measured by naming practices, and that this impact takes time to appear and is strongest after ten years, I now explore the channels that might explain his persuasiveness.

6.1 Leader and institutions: Complement or Substitute?

First, I investigate whether the visits had any impact on the local institutional landscape. To do so, I focus on one institution, the "People's Houses", which were community centers opened and operated by the Kemalist party between 1932 to 1951. More precisely, the Kemalist regime closed the "Turkish Hearths", created during the Ottoman Era, from grassroots initiatives, and created the Houses in order to control civil society more tightly, and to provide a unified propaganda throughout the territory. The Houses had a similar propa-

ganda role as Atatürk visits. Additionally, they organized various activities aimed precisely at propagating the new language, such as adult classes, workshops to collect new words, collective listening of the radio program starting from 1938 — and broadcasted in the new language—or celebration of the language every 26th of September (Lamprou, 2015).

6.1.1 Atatürk's Visits predict the opening of the People's Houses

In a first step, I investigate whether the visits predict the opening of the People's Houses. I create a geo-coded database at the town level (35,000 villages and cities, with data on historical population for 21,000 of them) and create a similar set of historical and geographic covariates as in the main district-level database, using QGIS software. I also compute for each town the distance to the nearest visited city and to the nearest House, using new archival records on localization of the Houses and their year of creation described in section B.

I find that the visits are consistent predictors of the opening of a People's Houses in the 1930s, as displayed in Table 5. Column (1) displays the results of an OLS model regressing the distance to the nearest visit on the distance to the nearest House, with all historical and geographic covariates collected and district fixed effects. Column (2) shows the results of a similar model, including only as covariates predictors selected using a Lasso procedure, which selected the distance to a visit. Column (3) estimates a probit model, with a binary variable "has a House" or not as main outcome.[33] The visits are strong predictors of the opening of a House.

Table A7 present results from similar regressions, but distinguishing between the Houses which opened between 1932 and 1938 and on those which opened later. The visits best predict the opening of the first group of Houses. Figure 11 shows binscatter plots of the corresponding relationship, with controls selected by LASSO and district fixed effects. Results are robust to correcting for spatial Correlation following Colella et al. (2020); Conley (1999); Hsiang (2010); Kelly (2019), as shown in Table A8.

[33] A city is considered as having a House if there is a House within 5 kilometers.

I however cannot disentangle whether this is due to additional resources sent to these localities, or to local elites being more zealous and implementing more quickly the reforms locally. It however shows that the visits is linked to a change in the local institutional landscape.

6.1.2 Impact of other nation-building tools on naming practices

To examine whether the Houses and the leader are complement or substitute, I investigate the effect of the establishment of the Houses on local naming practices. I implement an event-study of the form given by equation 2, where my outcome variable is the share of "Pure Turkish" first names but where my treatment variable is a variable which equals 1 the first year a House is opened in a given district, and which stays equal to one.

Results are displayed in Table 6, Panel A. The establishment of a House is associated with an increase in Pure Turkish name of 0.55 percentage points (Column 1) and a decrease in Arabic names of 0.60 percentage points (Column 4). There are no clear effects on religious names (Column 10) as it was the case for the visits. As shown in Column (3), the effects are stronger in districts that have been visited, suggesting a complementarity between institutional propaganda and the campaign effort made by the leader.

However, the Houses are also associated with an increase in Kurdish names of 0.09 percentage points (Column 7), which represents a change of 8 percent compared to the mean pre-treatment. This effect can be interpreted as a cultural backlash to an institution and propaganda effort that targeted the local's population identity. This effect is consistent with a large literature that has shown that identity may be strengthened in the face of policies aimed at integration both theoretically (Bisin et al., 2011, 2016; Carvalho, 2013) and empirically Fouka (2019); Sakallı (2019). According to these studies, families which perceive their cultural traits as being in threat of extinction inculcate even more those traits to their children and ensure persistence. It also confirms a large historiography that has emphasized the various ways localities have negotiated and with the central state and developed day-to-day

forms of resistance against the "Turkification" policies, in particular among minorities and Kurdish areas (Aslan, 2011; Yilmaz, 2013).[34]

This result is consistent with recent work by Caesmann et al. (2021), who find that propaganda can persuade and generate a backlash, in the context of the 1932 Nazi marches in Hamburg. In my context, the backlash is visible only when the propaganda institutionalizes—and not when it was only under the form of the visits. It should however be noted that Atatürk did not go much to South-Eastern Kurdish regions, as shown in Figure 1, which might also explain this absence of backlash.

Figure 12 plots the coefficient estimates of the event study of the effect of the opening of a People's House on (a) Pure Turkish names and (c) Kurdish names, confirming the absence of pre-trends. Following the opening of a House locally, the share of first names in Pure Turkish rises significantly relative to the share in control districts the first two years, but then decreases and is statistically indistinguishable from zero. The share of Kurdish first names among newborns, however, increases persistently. The Figure also displays graphically the heterogeneous effects depending on whether or not the districts was visited before. As we can see in Figure 12 (b) the positive effect on "Pure Turkish" names is completely driven by districts that were also visited by Atatürk. Reversely, the effect on Kurdish names is muted in places that were already visited (Figure 12, d).

Overall, these results suggest that the visits led to the establishment of institutions locally, which in turn, also has a positive effect on first names, and acts as a complement to the leader. This partly explains why the effect of Atatürk's visits is strongest after ten years. Indeed, as shown in Figure **??**, Houses are established on average ten years after a visit.

[34] As Lamprou (2015), in non-Turkish areas, including Kurdish South-Eastern regions, to be "turkified", the Houses were "*isolated state colonies in the middle of the vast ethnic linguistic and cultural otherness they were supposed to eradicate*" (p73).

6.2 Co-optation of local elites

A central conclusion in the historical literature on Kemalism is that the nation-building reforms were mostly successful among a segment of the population: the educated and urban upper-middle class and the elite (Atabaki and Zürcher, 2004). In this section, I quantitatively investigate this hypothesis.

6.2.1 Heterogeneity Analysis with respect to the activities conducted locally

In order to understand the role of the elite, I start by analyzing the heterogeneity of the effect of Atatürk's visits with respect to the activities he conducted locally. To do so, I collect detailed information on the activities held for 122 of his 154 visits, and classify them depending on whether or not he met with local elites, the masses and/or made a speech, using using historical newspapers, academic articles and on contemporary municipalities and districts' websites, which often have a section on Atatürk's visit if he went there.[35]

Results are displayed in Table 7, for the full sample (Panel A) and for the restricted sample, excluding targeted districts (Panel B). While the differential effect of the activities held is not clear in the full sample, visits where he met with local elites drive most of the effect in the restricted sample, providing suggestive evidence that co-optation of elite played a role, especially among non targeted districts. Figure 7 plots the corresponding dynamic coefficients, showing that there are no pre-trends—places where he met with elites were not on a different political path before the visits. Visits were he met with the masses also has an effect, that is however smaller in magnitude, as shown in Column (3).

[35] Among the 122 visits for which information is available, he met local elites during 32 visits, the crowd during 39 visits and both the elites and the crowd during 51 visits. He made a speech 30 times in total. Section B.1 in Appendix provides detailed description of several visits and examples of sources to illustrate how I classified the visits.

6.2.2 Heterogeneity Analysis with respect to the distance from a former Ottoman nationalistic club

To further examine the role of local elites, I explore the heterogeneity of his impact depending on the distance from former nationalistic associations, the "Turkish Hearths", which were created by an urbanized elite and intellectuals in 1912, influenced by Ottoman nationalist thinkers such as Ziya Gökalp and close to the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and Young Turk movement. Their goal was to spread Turkish nationalism locally.[36] I collect new archival data to localize the Hearths and use the distance to a Hearth as a measure of Turkish nationalism strength locally, before the first visit. Results are displayed in Table A6, Column (5). The effect of the visits are larger in districts closer from a Hearth, that is in places that constituted a more fertile ground to the Kemalist propaganda, mostly in the restricted sample. Figure 8, which displays the coefficients from an event-study, using a binary variable to capture the distance from a former Hearth as heterogeneity variable.[37] As we can see, there are no pre-trends among places closer from a Hearth. Appendix Section B.1.2 gives an example of a visit Atatürk made to Aydın during which he precisely asked members from the Turkish Hearth to help him in his endeavor.[38]

6.2.3 Heterogeneity Analysis depending on Literacy Rates

I also study the heterogeneity of the effect of the visits depending on the literacy rates, computed using the 1927 census. I construct a dummy variable which equals 1 if the district has a literacy rates above the median, and 0 if if not. Figure 9 and shows that the effect is driven by places with a high literacy rate, adding evidence that the results are mostly driven by the elites.

[36] In 1931, they were however closed by the Kemalist regime, and replaced by the People's Houses, that were directly linked to the central state and more tightly controlled compared to the Hearths.

[37] The indicator is equal to 1 when the district is within 30 km of the former Hearth.

[38] This result is consistent with existing work emphasizing the role of social capital in promoting ideologies, for better or worse (Satyanath et al., 2017).

6.2.4 Evolution of Pure Turkish names among the Elites

Finally, to provide additional suggestive evidence that it was mainly the elite that followed the new order, I digitize the biographies of all Turkish deputy members between 1920 and 2010, from the Library of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (*Türkiye Büyüuk Millet Meclisi*).[39] The books contain information on the first names and dates of birth of 6,022 deputies, born between 1844 and 1977, as well as the first names of their parents.[40] I use this source to compute the share of Pure Turkish names among deputies and their parents over time and to compare it to the overall population. As shown in Figure 10, deputy members and their parents display a systematically higher share of Pure Turkish names compared to the overall population.

Overall, these additional results suggest that the effect is driven by a specific segment of the population, the elite. The People's House act as en endogenous intermediating variables that strengthen the effect. I cannot show whether the establishment a House is due to the fact that these localities receive more funding following a visit or to the fact that the elite actively participated in their formation. Nevertheless, Atatürk's efffect appears to be due to his ability to co-opt an elite, then adopts itself the new national identity and contributes to the implementation of the reforms locally.

6.3 Discussion: Indoctrination or Forced Assimilation?

In this section, I discuss how to interpret the diffusion of "Pure Turkish" first names, in light of the results found. As already briefly mentioned in Section 3, there are three possible interpretations, given the repressive and authoritarian aspect of the regime (Kuran, 1995). First, giving a "Pure Turkish" first name could be a sign of sincere adherence to the reform program and to the new identity. Second, it could be a sign of believing that the regime is

[39] The books, in four volumes, are available in pdf format in the following website.

[40] I assume that on average, deputy members' fathers had their children at 25 years old, and their mothers' at 20 years old. Results are unaffected depending on the assumption made on the date of birth of the deputy members' parents.

well-entrenched and will last: naming your child with a "Pure Turkish" name could therefore be opportunistic, to get access to new career opportunities and jobs for example. Finally, it could be the result of fear and forced assimilation, especially among non-Turkish minorities urged to "Turkify" their culture.[41]

At the same time, it is important to recall that there was no legal requirement to Turkify first names and the Kemalist state did not have the means to implement a heavy and totalitarian repression of its citizens—and therefore to systematically control and repress people not giving first names in "Pure Turkish" (Aymes et al., 2015; Yilmaz, 2013).[42] Many non-Turkish Muslims used very similar first names as Turks and could have simply kept using them.[43] Besides, the language reform happened in parallel with the Surname law, which legally asked citizens to pick new surnames—mostly among a set of "Pure Turkish" words. If individuals were fearing repression, they could adopt Pure Turkish last names—and indeed most of the population did (Türköz, 2018).

In an attempt to disentangle these interpretations, I run a difference-in-differences regression of the form given by equation 1, with the total number of minority villages from Nişanyan (2010) as heterogeneity variable. If forced assimilation was the main driver of the results, we would expect to see a high(er) take-up among minority localities. Results are displayed in Table A5, for the full sample (Panel A) and the restricted sample (Panel B). While there is no clear differences between places with a strong minority presence and others in Panel A, we observe a significant negative effect in places with a high number of Kurdish Villages (Column 4) and with a high number of minority villages (Column 5). This suggests that not only the main treatment is driven by Turkish areas, but the visits might have gen-

[41] The language reform was indeed accompanied by a ban on the Kurdish language, the change in the names of minority towns and villages and systematic repression on ethno-religious minorities (Zeydanlıoğlu, 2012), which might have led to forced assimilation and fear among minorities.

[42] The State's view on how to treat of non-Muslim minorities with regard to their names is still subject to historiographical debates. There was probably a large variability in the concrete implementation of the reforms locally (Szurek, 2020).

[43] As underlined in Aslan (2009): "*Unlike non-Muslims, who conventionally used different names than the Muslims at the time, there was no distinct separation between Kurdish and Turkish names. Both ethnic communities used to give traditional Muslim names, which were predominantly Arabic and Persian, to their children.", page 11.*

erated a slight backlash in minority places. Figure 6, displays the corresponding event-study figures, transforming the indictor for the strength of minority presence locally by a binary variable, indicating whether or not the district has a minority village. Results are qualitatively similar—although we do not observe a backlash effect anymore. The increase in "Pure Turkish" first names is mostly driven by Turkish areas. This finding suggests that adherence and opportunism played a role, and that the indoctrination was successful on average, among a specific segment of the population. This is consistent with my previous finding that the effect was driven by an educated elite. However, this does not rule out the fact that some people might have given "Pure Turkish" first name as a result of fear. As seen in Figure 6 (c), Kurdish areas actually take up more "Pure Turkish" names in the first years following a visit, but the effect does not last. Other minority areas take up in later years, once the regime is more established and that the propaganda institutionalized.

For all these reasons, the spread of new Pure Turkish first names in a given locality following a visit can be interpreted as an indicator of a more successful state control over the periphery, if not true adherence to Kemalism.

7 Conclusion

Can a charismatic leader contribute to the construction of a national identity? I answer this question by studying the role of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in spreading the new Turkish language during the first years of the creation of Turkey. I assemble a novel and original historical database, with detailed information on his visits as well as other historical and geographic characteristics at the district level. I collect unique historical birth certificates and use first names in "Pure Turkish", the new language introduced by the state as part of its nation-building effort, to measure the successful control of the central state over its periphery.

Using a difference-in-differences design that exploits time and geographic variation in

Atatürk's visits to districts, I show that visited districts are more likely to adopt first names in "Pure Turkish". The effect is increasing over time, and is highest after fifteen years, when it then decreases and disappears. This result can mostly be explained by Atatürk's ability to co-opt local elites. The visits also predict the opening of cultural branches of the ruling party, the "People's Houses", that in turn have a similar propaganda role and impact naming practices. This suggests that leader and institutions can be complement.

If my findings imply that a one-off exposure to a leader can an impact on identity, the effect, however, is relatively small, and the leader's visits only explain 7 percent of the entire change, that is also due to other nation-building policies happening concurrently. First names, admittedly, provide only a partial window to understand historical change. Nevertheless, my results show that a leader can act as a coordination device and as a complement to future institutional changes, accelerating the change. This paper therefore constitutes, to my knowledge the first systematic evidence on the ability of an individual leader to contribute to the construction of a national identity. It also provides new empirical evidence to the old debate over the relative roles of individuals in shaping historical outcomes and contributes to a large theoretical literature in economics that has extensively analyzed how leaders can make a difference, for better or worse.

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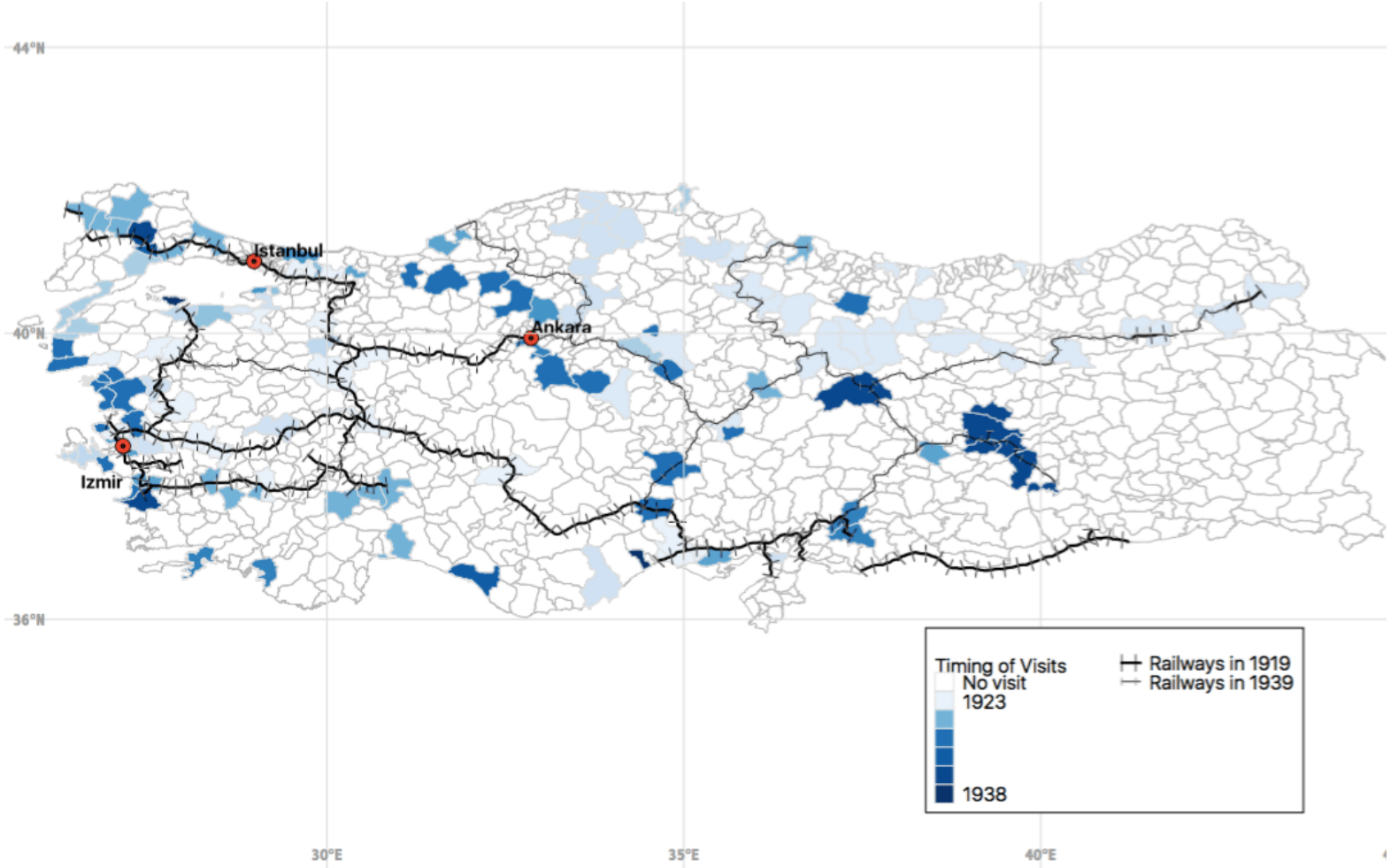
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Figure 1: Number of Districts visited by Atatürk and Timing of the Visits



Notes: This figure depicts a map of Turkish contemporary districts (as of 2018), the main unit of observation of my analysis. Districts in blue are visited by Atatürk and districts in white are not. Districts in light blue were visited first, starting n 1923. Darker shades indicate districts visited later on, until 1938, the year of the last visit. Dark black lines indicate the railway network at the end of the Ottoman Empire, for the last year pre-treatment (1919). Lighter lines show the railway network after the visit period.
Sources: Kocatürk (1988) to identify visited districts and Akgüngör et al. (2011) for the railway networks

Figure 2: Atatürk, the "*Name Giver*", "*First Teacher*" and "*Father*": Pictures taken during his Visits

(a)



(b)

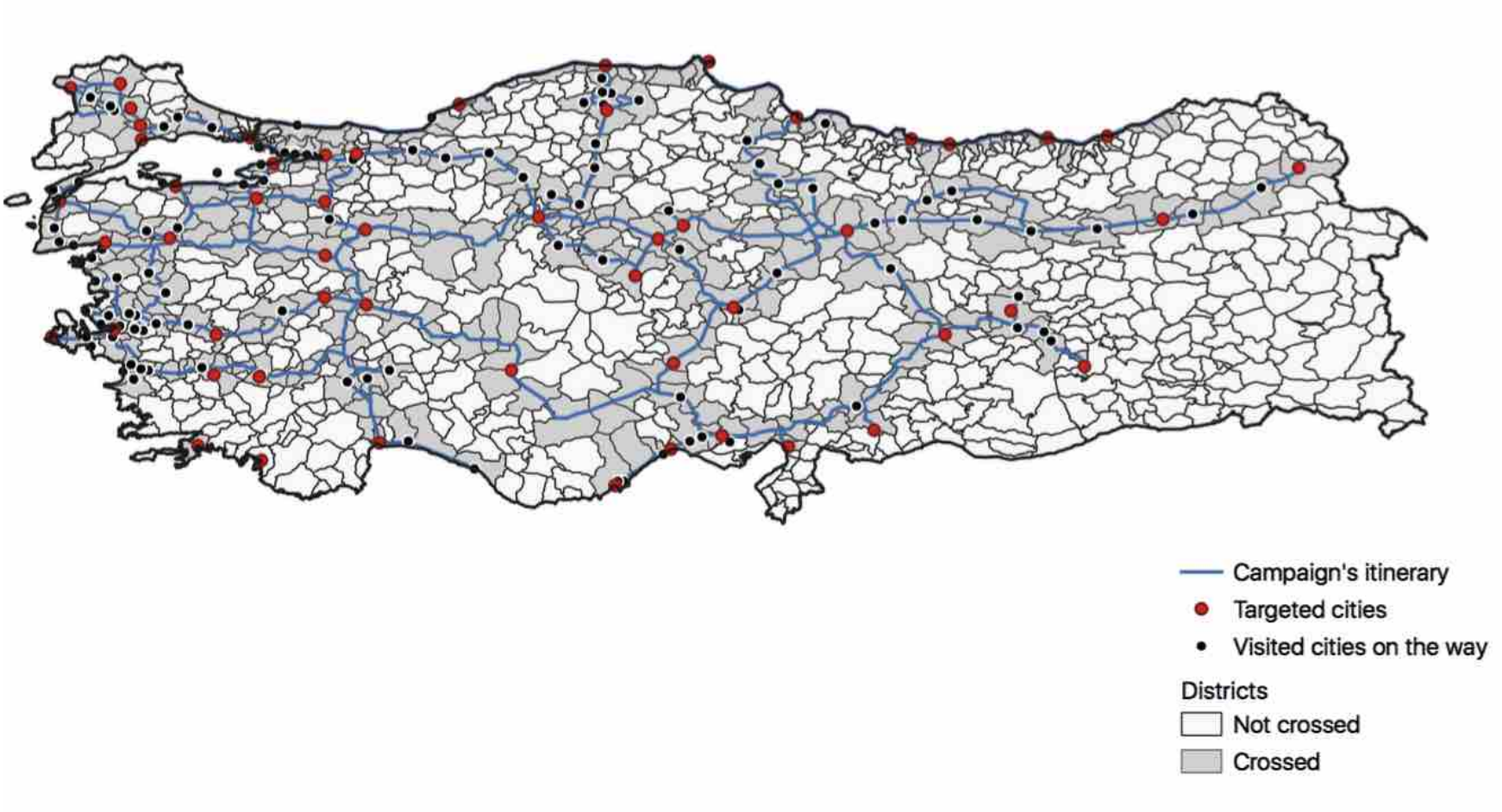


(c)



Source: Atatürk Research Center (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi).

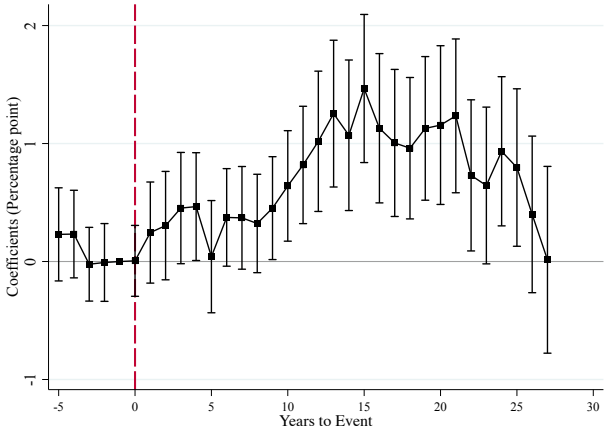
Figure 3: Map of the Restricted Sample



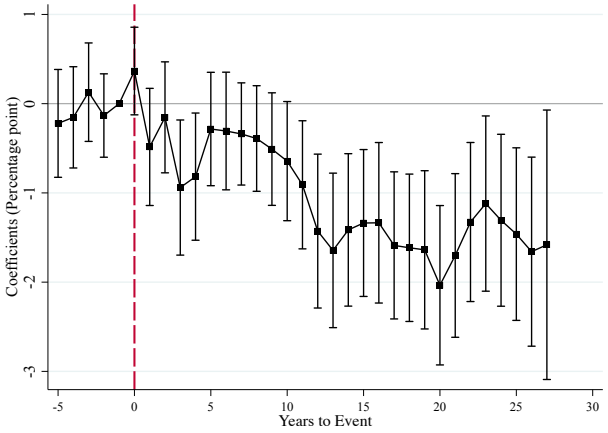
Notes: This figure displays the restricted sample used in my main empirical analysis. The red dots represent cities Atatürk targeted (the start and end points in his itinerary, or "termini" cities). The blue line represent his itinerary, computed using historical maps of the road and railway networks, information on his visits, topography data and the Least Cost Path feature in QGIS software. Grey districts are districts crossed at least once during the campaign effort. The restricted sample includes only the crossed districts, in grey, and excludes districts with a targeted "termini" city.

Figure 4: Impact of Atatürk's Visit on "Pure Turkish" and on Arabic First Names (Event-Study)

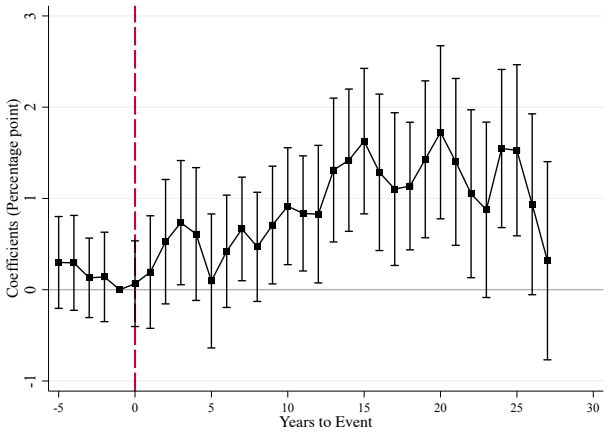
(a) Effect on Pure Turkish names, Full Sample



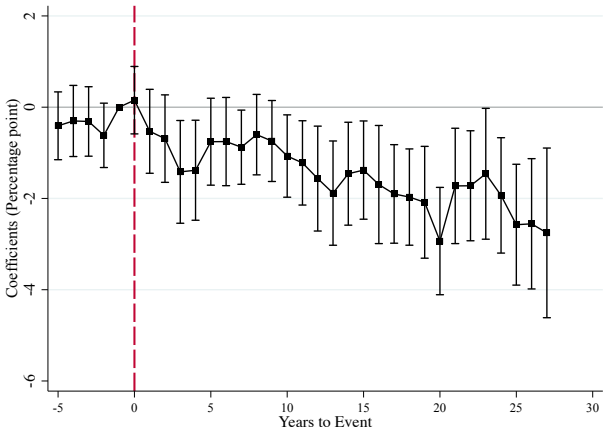
(b) Effect on Arab names, Full Sample



(c) Effect on Pure Turkish names, Restricted Sample



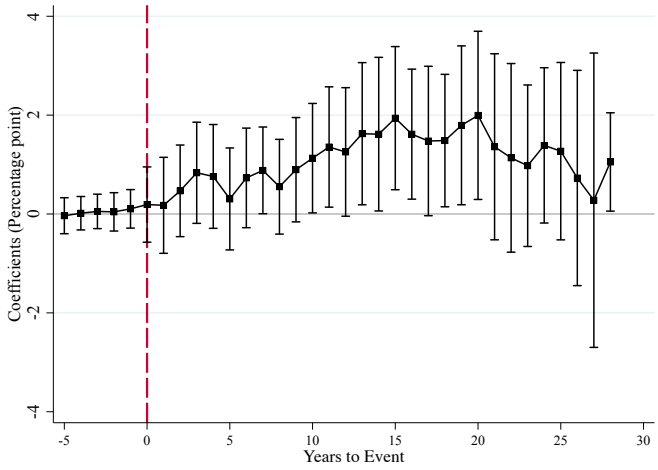
(d) Effect on Arab names, Restricted Sample



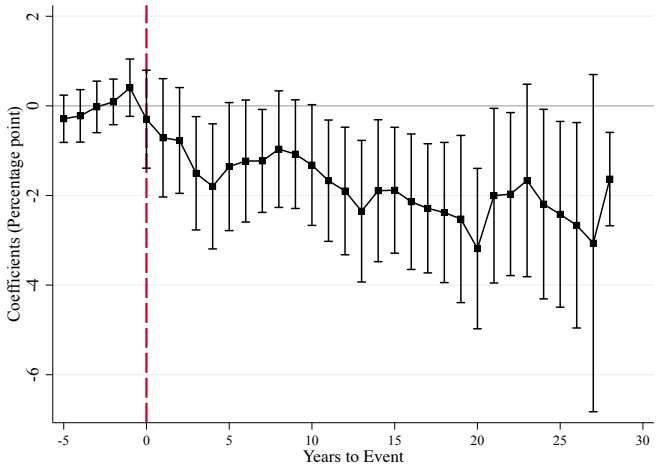
Notes: This figure plots the estimated β_j coefficients from a regression of the form given in equation 2 run on both the full and the restricted sample, where the dependent variable is the share of newborns with Pure Turkish names or with Arabic names in a given district and year. The event is defined as the first time a district is visited by Atatürk. The coefficient of the year prior to the first visit is normalized to zero. The vertical lines reflect the 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 5: De Chaisemartin- D'Haultfœuille event-study results of the effect of Atatürk's visits on names

(a) "Pure Turkish" Names



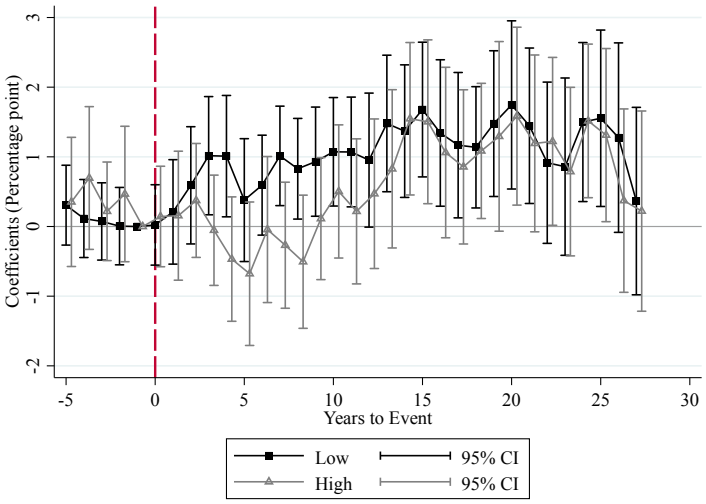
(b) Arabic Names



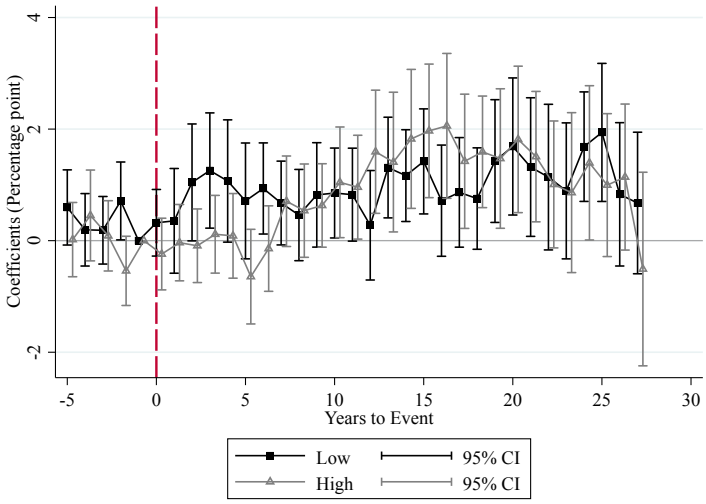
Notes: This figure presents event-study results of the effect of the visits on "Pure Turkish" and Arabic first names among newborns, using de Chaisemartin and D'Haultfoeuille (2020)'s method, implemented using the did_multiplegt command available on SSC repository.

Figure 6: Heterogeneity Analysis, by Minority Presence

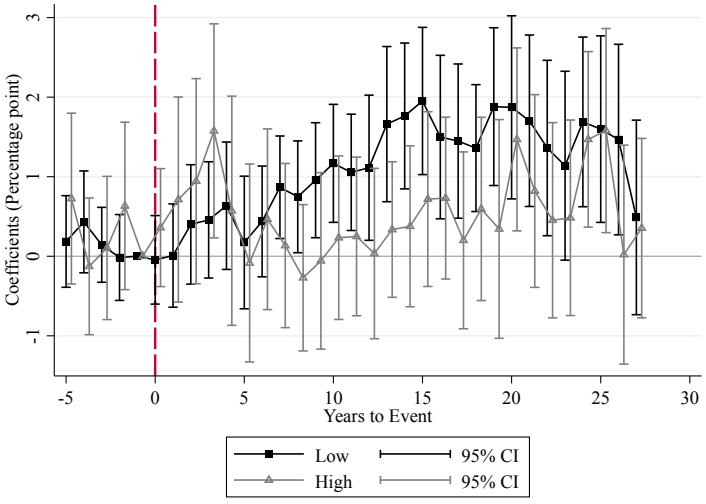
(a) Armenian Villages Density



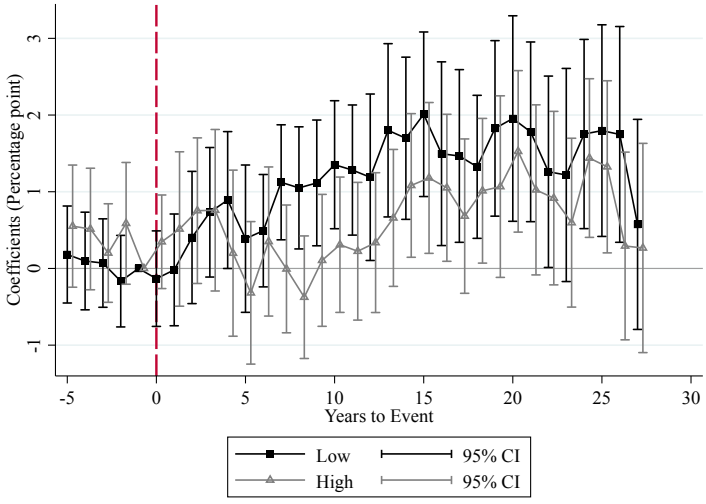
(b) Greek Villages Density



(c) Kurdish Villages Density

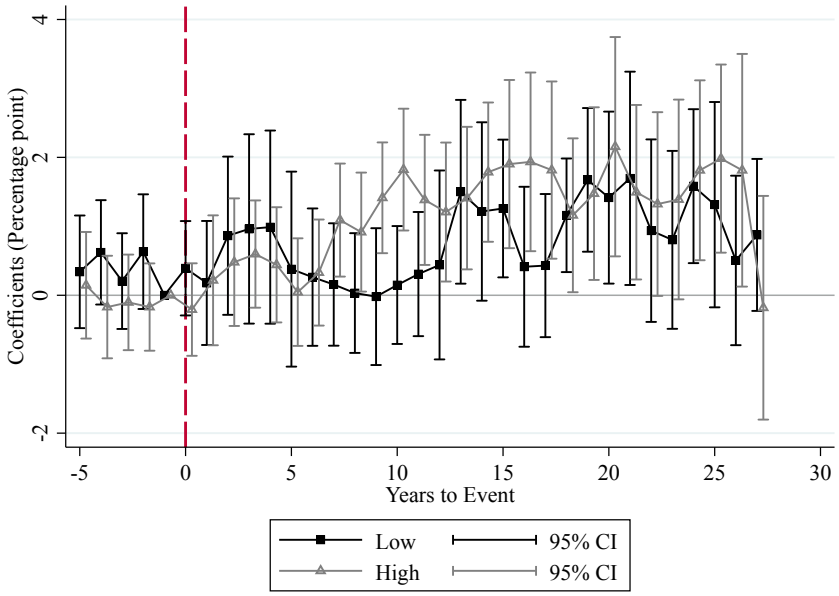


(d) Minority Villages Density



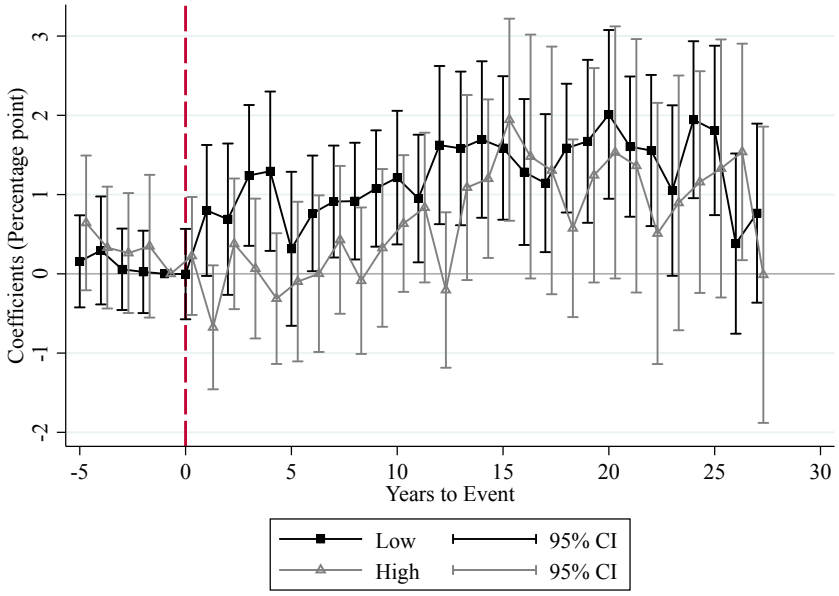
Notes: This figure plots the estimated β_j coefficients from a regression of the form given in equation 2, with an interaction term between the right-hand-side visit variable and the heterogeneity variable of interest, which is a dummy variable indicating whether there is a high (or low) number of minority villages in a given district. Data on the villages come from Nisanyan (2010). The dependent variable is the share of Pure Turkish names in a given district and year. The event is defined as the first time a district is visited by Atatürk. The coefficient of the year prior to the first visit is normalized to zero. The vertical lines reflect the 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 7: Heterogeneity Analysis, depending on whether or not Atatürk met with local elites



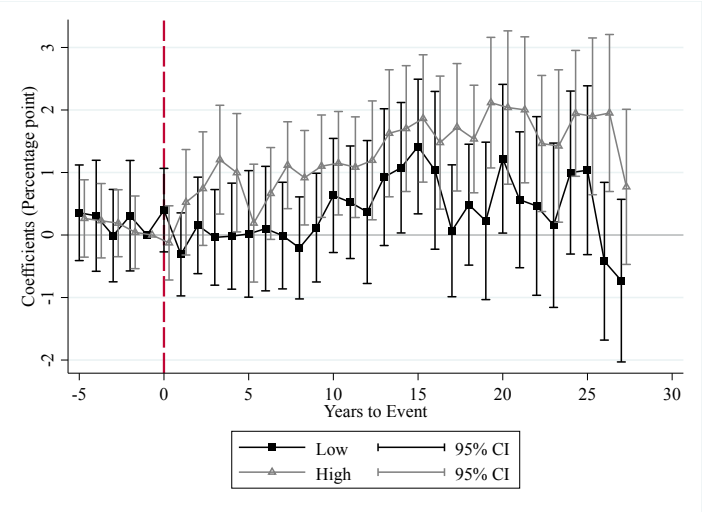
Notes: This figure plots the estimated β_j coefficients from a regression of the form given in equation 2, with an interaction term between the right-hand-side visit variable and the heterogeneity variable of interest, which is a dummy variable indicating whether or not Atatürk met with local elites during the visit. The dependent variable is the share of Pure Turkish names in a given district and year. The coefficient of the year prior to the first visit is normalized to zero. The vertical lines reflect the 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 8: Heterogeneity Analysis, by Distances to former Ottoman Nationalistic clubs



Notes: This figure plots the estimated β_j coefficients from a regression of the form given in equation 2, with an interaction term between the right-hand-side visit variable and the heterogeneity variable of interest, which is a dummy variable indicating whether a district is below or above the median distance to the nearest Ottoman nationalistic club. The dependent variable is the share of Pure Turkish names in a given district and year. The coefficient of the year prior to the first visit is normalized to zero. The vertical lines reflect the 95% confidence intervals.

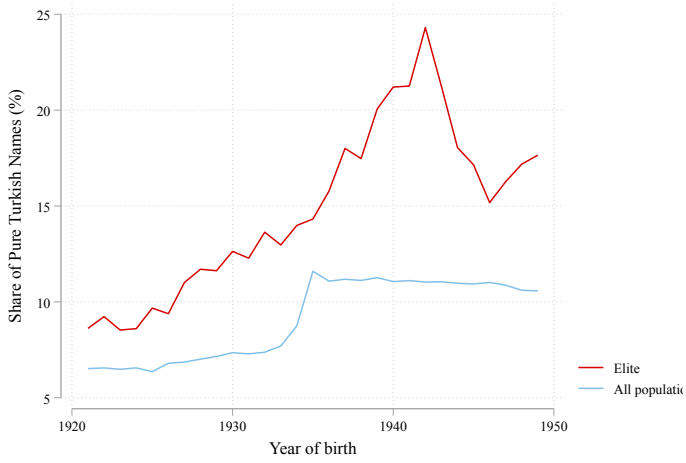
Figure 9: Heterogeneity Analysis, by literacy rates



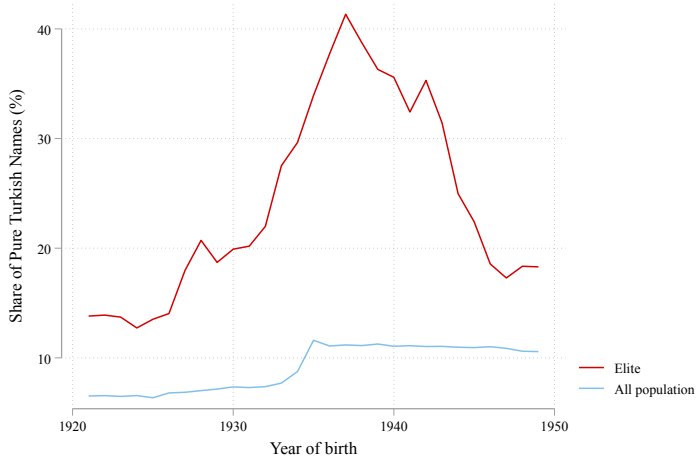
Notes: This figure plots the estimated β_j coefficients from a regression of the form given in equation 2, with an interaction term between the right-hand-side visit variable and the heterogeneity variable of interest, which is a dummy variable indicating whether there is a high (or low) literacy rates in 1927 (above or below the median). Data on the literacy rates come from the 1927 census. The dependent variable is the share of Pure Turkish names in a given district and year. The coefficient of the year prior to the first visit is normalized to zero. The vertical lines reflect the 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 10: Evolution of the share of Pure Turkish names among the elite and among all newborns in Turkey, 1920-1950

(a) MPs and their parents



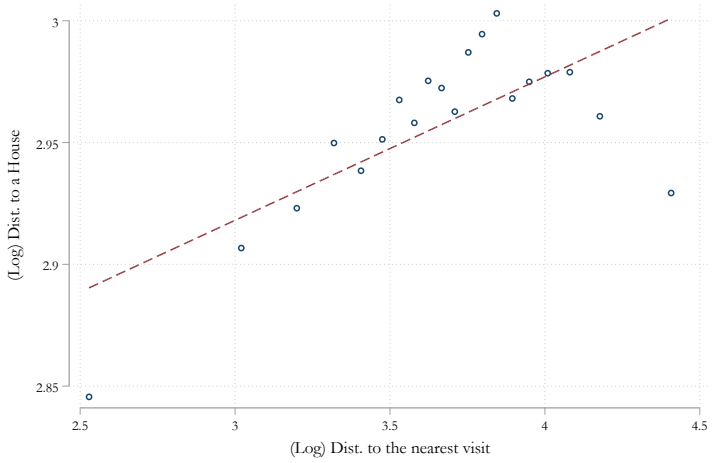
(b) MPs only



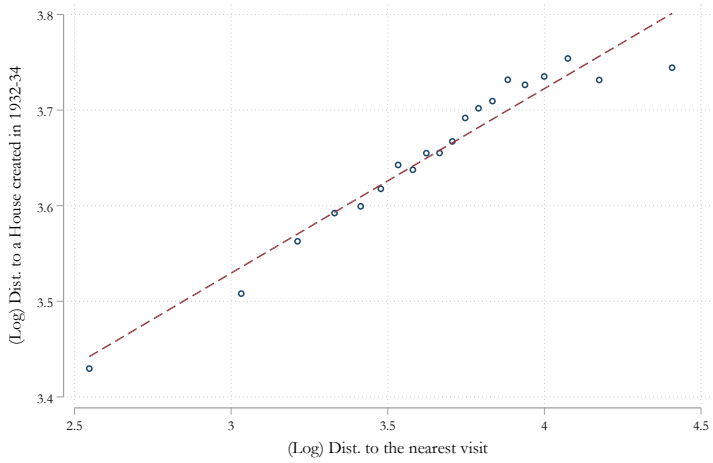
Notes: This figure plots the evolution of the share of Pure Turkish names among deputy members and their parents using the bibliographical data from the Library of the Grand National Assembly and compares it to the evolution of the share of Pure Turkish names among all newborns using the universe of birth certificates, between 1920 and 1950.

Figure 11: Correlation between the Distance to the nearest visited city and the nearest House

(a) All People's Houses



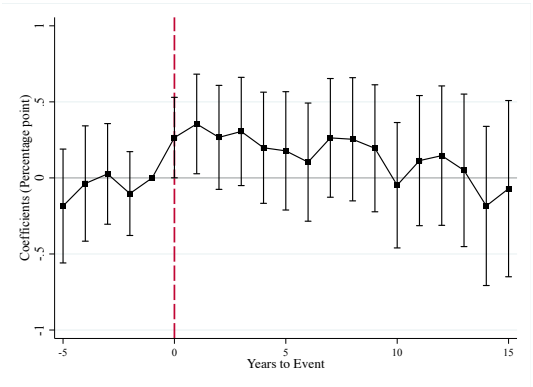
(b) Houses opened between 1932-1934



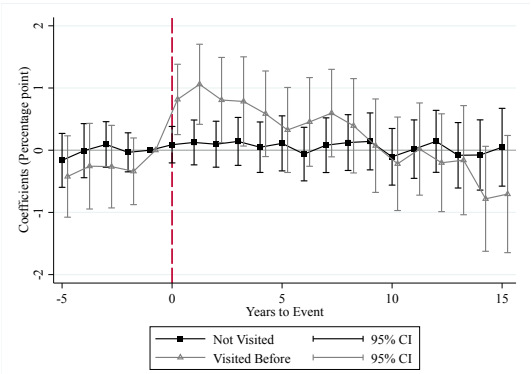
Notes: These figures display binscatter plots of the distance to the nearest visits and the distance to the nearest House, with district fixed effects and covariates selected using a Lasso procedure. The visits and the houses are highly correlated.

Figure 12: Impact of the Opening of a People's House on Pure Turkish and Kurdish First Names and Heterogeneity depending on the Visit Status

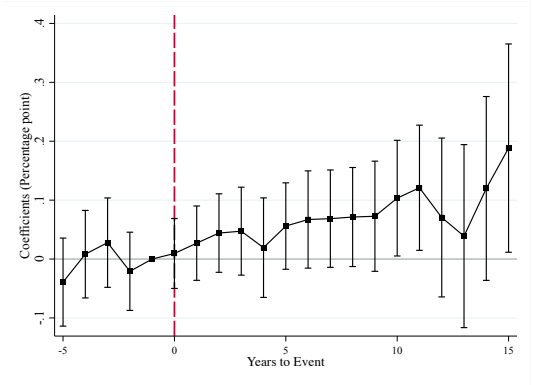
(a) Effect of the Houses on Pure Turkish Names



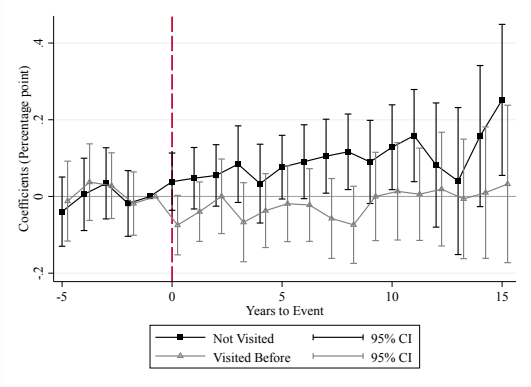
(b) Effect of the Houses on Pure Turkish Names- Heterogeneity by visit status



(c) Effect of the Houses on Kurdish Names



(d) Effect of the Houses on Kurdish Names- Heterogeneity by visit status



Notes: This figure plots the estimated β_j coefficients from a regression of the form given in equation 2 run on the restricted sample, where the dependent variable is the share of Pure Turkish names (a) or of Kurdish names (b) among newborns, in a given district and year. The event is defined as the first time a People's House is opened in a given district and year. The coefficient of the year prior to the first visit is normalized to zero. The vertical lines reflect the 95% confidence intervals.

Table 1: Ten most frequent first names in "Pure Turkish" and in Arabic or Turkish among newborns in 1920 and in 1940

1920					1940				
Name	Ranking	# Indiv.	Freq.	Cum. Freq.	Name	Ranking	# Indiv.	Freq.	Cum. Freq.
Panel A: Pure Turkish Names									
Gulsum	33	947	.35	.35	Yasar	20	3163	.53	.55
Kazim	43	794	.29	.65	Sevim	23	2879	.485	1
Dursun	54	655	.24	.9	Dursun	34	1983	.335	1.35
Hakki	72	559	.205	1.1	Bayram	50	1536	.255	1.6
Durmus	79	516	.19	1.3	Yilmaz	53	1518	.255	1.85
Yasar	84	498	.185	1.45	Kazim	54	1515	.255	2.1
Bayram	91	444	.165	1.6	Gulsum	56	1498	.25	2.35
Sati	94	433	.16	1.8	Yuksel	59	1418	.24	2.6
Elmas	99	421	.155	1.95	Turkan	68	1294	.215	2.8
Sefer	107	403	.15	2.1	Ayten	69	1290	.215	3.05
Panel B: Arabic or Turkish Names									
Mehmet	1	14735	5.415	5.4	Mehmet	1	24072	4.035	4.05
Fatma	2	13615	5.005	10.4	Fatma	2	19222	3.225	7.25
Ayse	3	9261	3.405	13.8	Ali	3	14247	2.39	9.65
Ali	4	7800	2.865	16.7	Ayse	4	14212	2.385	12.05
Ahmet	5	7758	2.85	19.55	Mustafa	5	14195	2.38	14.4
Mustafa	6	7745	2.845	22.4	Ahmet	6	12509	2.1	16.5
Emine	7	7145	2.625	25	Emine	7	11395	1.91	18.4
Hasan	8	6128	2.25	27.25	Hasan	8	10558	1.77	20.2
Hatice	9	5788	2.125	29.4	Huseyin	9	10192	1.71	21.9
Huseyin	10	5777	2.125	31.5	Hatice	10	9010	1.51	23.4

Notes: The ten most frequent first names "Pure Turkish" and in Arabic or Turkish, given in 1920 and in 1940 in the birth certificates. The frequency and cumulative frequency (in percentage) are computed relative to the entire population of newborns: 0.35 percent of the babies born in 1920 were given the name Gulsum and 5.4 percent were given the name Mehmet. Overall, the ten most frequently given "Pure Turkish" names account for 2.1 percent of the total population fo newborns in 1920, while the ten most frequently given Arabic and Turkish names account for 30 percent.

Table 2: Summary Statistics of the main database (district level)

	Full sample				Restricted sample			
	Type of locality			Difference	Type of locality			Difference
	All	Visited	Non Visited	(2) - (3)	All	Visited	Non Visited	(6) - (7)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Est.	Mean	Mean	Mean	Est.
	(S.D.)	(S.D.)	(S.D.)	(S.E.)	(S.D.)	(S.D.)	(S.D.)	(S.E.)
Demography and Development								
(Log) Total Nb births, 1920	5.291	5.946	5.169	0.778***	5.631	5.685	5.579	0.107
	(0.839)	(0.763)	(0.795)	(0.070)	(0.669)	(0.642)	(0.694)	(0.100)
Has a province center	0.059	0.307	0.012	0.295***	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.235)	(0.463)	(0.110)	(0.018)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Has a district center	0.412	0.784	0.342	0.442***	0.713	0.667	0.758	-0.092
	(0.501)	(0.428)	(0.482)	(0.042)	(0.478)	(0.474)	(0.479)	(0.071)
(Log) Dist. to Railway, 1919	3.897	3.397	3.991	-0.594***	3.316	3.366	3.269	0.098
	(1.445)	(1.706)	(1.372)	(0.126)	(1.712)	(1.715)	(1.716)	(0.257)
(Log) Dist. to Road, 1928	2.072	1.539	2.172	-0.633***	1.695	1.604	1.781	-0.178
	(1.203)	(1.171)	(1.183)	(0.104)	(1.138)	(1.170)	(1.106)	(0.171)
(Log) Dist. to Ancient Trade Roads	2.362	1.814	2.464	-0.651***	1.992	1.910	2.070	-0.160
	(1.293)	(1.351)	(1.256)	(0.112)	(1.309)	(1.268)	(1.349)	(0.196)
City density	0.001	0.003	0.001	0.003***	0.003	0.003	0.003	-0.000
	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.001)
Literacy rate (6+) in 1927 (%)	9.320	12.112	8.790	3.322***	11.214	11.210	11.216	-0.006
	(9.502)	(8.233)	(9.637)	(0.831)	(10.108)	(8.190)	(10.981)	(1.298)
Culture and Politics								
(Log) Dist. to Ott. nationalistic clubs	3.859	3.326	3.959	-0.633***	3.576	3.437	3.708	-0.271
	(0.890)	(1.070)	(0.815)	(0.076)	(0.937)	(0.906)	(0.952)	(0.139)
Density of Kurdish villages	0.003	0.001	0.003	-0.002**	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.000
	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.007)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.000)
Density of Arm. villages	0.001	0.001	0.001	-0.001	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.001
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Density of Arab villages	0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Density of Greek villages	0.003	0.003	0.003	-0.000	0.001	0.001	0.002	-0.001
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.001)	(0.006)	(0.001)	(0.008)	(0.001)
(Log) Dist. to Istanbul	6.037	5.787	6.083	-0.297***	5.756	5.775	5.738	0.037
	(0.969)	(0.860)	(0.982)	(0.085)	(0.828)	(0.774)	(0.881)	(0.125)
(Log) Dist. to Ankara	5.884	5.824	5.896	-0.071	5.785	5.859	5.714	0.145
	(0.645)	(0.648)	(0.644)	(0.057)	(0.551)	(0.587)	(0.507)	(0.082)
(Log) Dist. to Border	5.242	5.409	5.210	0.199*	5.454	5.438	5.471	-0.033
	(0.953)	(0.711)	(0.989)	(0.084)	(0.636)	(0.610)	(0.663)	(0.096)
Occupied after WWI	0.361	0.542	0.327	0.215***	0.511	0.552	0.473	0.079
	(0.481)	(0.500)	(0.469)	(0.042)	(0.501)	(0.500)	(0.502)	(0.075)
Density of minority schools	0.015	0.043	0.009	0.034*	0.004	0.005	0.003	0.003*
	(0.159)	(0.292)	(0.119)	(0.014)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.001)
Density of minority religious build.	0.047	0.133	0.031	0.102*	0.014	0.018	0.010	0.008
	(0.484)	(0.853)	(0.375)	(0.042)	(0.028)	(0.033)	(0.021)	(0.004)
Geography								
Coastal	0.079	0.255	0.046	0.209***	0.081	0.174	0.033	0.141***
	(0.270)	(0.437)	(0.210)	(0.023)	(0.273)	(0.381)	(0.180)	(0.034)
Ann. precipitation (cm)	0.636	0.645	0.635	0.011	0.603	0.627	0.591	0.036*
	(0.201)	(0.155)	(0.209)	(0.018)	(0.132)	(0.121)	(0.136)	(0.017)
Mean ann. temperature	11.727	12.600	11.564	1.037***	12.051	12.320	11.913	0.407
	(3.269)	(3.151)	(3.267)	(0.286)	(3.029)	(3.273)	(2.896)	(0.388)
Elevation (km)	0.968	0.733	1.012	-0.279***	0.846	0.766	0.887	-0.121
	(0.547)	(0.535)	(0.538)	(0.047)	(0.519)	(0.554)	(0.497)	(0.066)
Suitability Index for Cotton	0.046	0.061	0.043	0.018***	0.050	0.060	0.046	0.014
	(0.057)	(0.059)	(0.057)	(0.005)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.057)	(0.007)
Suitability Index for Olive	0.272	0.403	0.248	0.155***	0.342	0.391	0.318	0.073
	(0.288)	(0.319)	(0.275)	(0.025)	(0.312)	(0.336)	(0.297)	(0.040)
Suitability Index for Oat	1.262	1.302	1.254	0.048***	1.282	1.294	1.275	0.019
	(0.156)	(0.113)	(0.162)	(0.014)	(0.115)	(0.108)	(0.118)	(0.015)
Suitability Index for Wheat	2.274	2.279	2.273	0.007	2.274	2.257	2.283	-0.026
	(0.329)	(0.296)	(0.334)	(0.029)	(0.261)	(0.298)	(0.240)	(0.033)
Suitability Index for Barley	2.279	2.285	2.278	0.007	2.290	2.273	2.298	-0.025
	(0.340)	(0.302)	(0.347)	(0.030)	(0.263)	(0.298)	(0.243)	(0.034)
Suitability Index for Tobacco	0.354	0.384	0.348	0.035*	0.380	0.352	0.395	-0.043*
	(0.173)	(0.154)	(0.176)	(0.015)	(0.146)	(0.151)	(0.141)	(0.019)
Suitability Index for Potato	21.133	22.707	20.839	1.868**	23.322	22.612	23.685	-1.073
	(8.033)	(6.854)	(8.205)	(0.705)	(6.989)	(6.627)	(7.158)	(0.895)
Observations	972	153	819	972	272	92	180	272

Note: This table presents summary statistics for districts that were visited by Ataturk (treatment) and for districts that were not (control), in the full sample (Columns 1 to 4) and in the restricted sample, which excludes departures and final destinations (Columns 5 to 8). Columns 1-3 and 5-7 report means and standard deviations in parentheses. Column 4 and 8 reports differences of group means between Columns 2 and 3 and Columns 6 and 7 respectively, with standard errors in parentheses. The unit of observation is the 2018 Turkish district (973).

Table 3: Main Results: Effect of Atatürk's Visits on Naming Practices

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Dependent Variables: Share of newborns with a:						
	New Names	Traditional Names			Minority Names		
	Pure Turkish Name	Arabic Name	Religious Name	Muhammed	Kurdish Name	Armenian Name	Jewish Name
Panel A: Full Sample							
Visited × Post	0.436**	-0.616**	-0.056	-0.024**	0.003	-0.009	-0.005
	(0.203)	(0.286)	(0.065)	(0.012)	(0.040)	(0.007)	(0.004)
Observations	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760
R-squared	0.750	0.813	0.671	0.444	0.934	0.644	0.783
Mean of outcome at baseline	6.523	71.44	3.386	0.0563	1.467	0.0624	0.0246
s.d. of outcome	3.432	9.142	2.866	0.269	3.178	0.219	0.124
Panel B: Restricted Sample							
Visited × Post	0.556**	-0.776**	-0.014	-0.016	-0.023	-0.006	-0.003
	(0.263)	(0.385)	(0.083)	(0.013)	(0.050)	(0.011)	(0.004)
Observations	8432	8432	8432	8432	8432	8432	8432
R-squared	0.796	0.771	0.482	0.308	0.833	0.589	0.727
Mean of outcome at baseline	5.545	74.38	2.839	0.0383	0.476	0.0498	0.0211
s.d. of outcome	0.785	6.273	1.953	0.204	1.098	0.181	0.103
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Baseline Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. The Table presents the results of the estimation of specification 1 on the full sample (Panel A) and on the restricted Sample (Panel B). The dependent variables are the share of first names by type (Pure Turkish, Arabic, Religious or minority first names) among newborns. The unit of observation is the district. Baseline controls are described in section 4.3. Standard errors in parenthesis, clustered at the district level, the level of the treatment. A visit increases the share of Pure Turkish names, and decreases the share of Arabic names. It has no effect on other religious names and on (non-Turkish) minority names (Kurdish, Armenian and Jewish names).

Table 4: Effect of Atatürk's Visits on Naming Practices—Additional effect of a year following a visit

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Dependent Variables: Share of newborns with a:						
	New Names	Traditional Names			Minority Names		
	Pure Turkish Name	Arabic Name	Religious Name	Muhammed	Kurdish Name	Armenian Name	Jewish Name
Panel A: Full Sample							
Visited × Years since the Visit	0.036***	-0.059***	-0.008*	-0.003***	0.001	-0.001	-0.000
	(0.013)	(0.018)	(0.005)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760
R-squared	0.750	0.813	0.671	0.444	0.934	0.644	0.783
Mean of outcome at baseline	6.523	71.44	3.386	0.0563	1.467	0.0624	0.0246
s.d. of outcome	3.432	9.142	2.866	0.269	3.178	0.219	0.124
Panel B: Restricted Sample							
Visited × Years since the Visit	0.053***	-0.078***	-0.006	-0.002*	0.002	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.017)	(0.024)	(0.006)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Observations	8432	8432	8432	8432	8432	8432	8432
R-squared	0.796	0.772	0.482	0.308	0.833	0.589	0.727
Mean of outcome at baseline	5.545	74.38	2.839	0.0383	0.476	0.0498	0.0211
s.d. of outcome	0.785	6.273	1.953	0.204	1.098	0.181	0.103
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Baseline Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. The Table presents the results of the estimation of specification 1 but using as treatment variable a variable which equals zero if the district is not visited or not yet visited, and which equals the years since the visits when visited. Panel A displays the results using the full sample and Panel B using the restricted sample. The dependent variables are the share of first names by type (Pure Turkish, Arabic, Religious or minority first names) among newborns. The unit of observation is the district. Baseline controls are described in section 4.3. Standard errors in parenthesis, clustered at the district level, the level of the treatment. The average increase in "Pure Turkish" names in visited districts in the restricted sample equals 0.05 percentage points for any year following a visit.

Table 5: The Visits are among the main predictors of the Opening of a People's House

	(1)		(2)		(3)	
Dep. Variables:	(Log) Dist. House		(Log) Dist. House		Has a House	
Model	OLS		OLS		Probit	
Predictors	All		Selected by LASSO		Selected by LASSO	
	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E
(Log) Dist. to the nearest Visit	0.08***	(0.01)	0.08***	(0.01)	-0.64***	(0.14)
(Log) Dist. to the nearest Prov center	0.33***	(0.02)	0.34***	(0.02)	-0.86**	(0.41)
(Log) Dist. to the nearest Dis. center	0.63***	(0.01)	0.63***	(0.01)	-3.27***	(0.10)
(Log) Dist. to the road, 1928	0.05***	(0.00)	0.04***	(0.00)	-0.26***	(0.06)
(Log) Dist. to the rail, 1919	0.01	(0.01)				
(Log) Dist. to the rail, 1932	-0.02***	(0.01)				
(Log) Dist. to Ott. nationalistic club	0.04***	(0.01)	0.04***	(0.01)	0.91***	(0.18)
(Log) Dist. to the border	0.08***	(0.03)				
(Log) Dist. to Ankara	-0.53***	(0.05)	-0.52***	(0.05)	0.79	(1.69)
(Log) Dist. to Istanbul	0.22***	(0.06)				
(Log) Dist. to the nearest rebellion	0.03***	(0.01)	0.03***	(0.01)	-0.69***	(0.23)
(Log) Dist. to the nearest battle	0.09***	(0.01)	0.10***	(0.01)	-0.92***	(0.16)
Nb of arab villages within 10 km	0.02***	(0.00)	0.02***	(0.00)	0.19***	(0.07)
Nb of arm villages within 10 km	-0.00	(0.00)				
Nb of greek villages within 10 km	-0.00***	(0.00)				
Nb of kurd villages within 10 km	-0.00	(0.00)				
Nb of arab villages within 20 km	0.01***	(0.00)	0.01***	(0.00)	-0.00	(0.04)
Nb of arm villages within 20 km	-0.00	(0.00)				
Nb of greek villages within 20 km	0.00	(0.00)				
Nb of kurd villages within 20 km	-0.00***	(0.00)	-0.00***	(0.00)	-0.03*	(0.02)
(Log) Dist. to the nearest Arab village	-0.21***	(0.03)	-0.23***	(0.03)	-0.57	(1.05)
(Log) Dist. to the nearest Arm. village	-0.35***	(0.04)	-0.28***	(0.04)	-5.43***	(1.92)
(Log) Dist. to the nearest Greek village	-0.47***	(0.07)	-0.27***	(0.04)	2.71**	(1.08)
(Log) Dist. to the nearest Kurdish village	0.00	(0.00)				
(Log) Dist. to the shore	0.06*	(0.03)				
Annual precipitation	0.01***	(0.00)				
Frost free period	0.00***	(0.00)				
Growing Period Length	-0.00**	(0.00)	-0.00***	(0.00)	0.01**	(0.00)
Annual Temperature	-0.00	(0.00)				
Elevation	0.00***	(0.00)	0.00***	(0.00)	-0.00***	(0.00)
Growing period length	0.00***	(0.00)				
Growing period mean temperature	-0.00***	(0.00)				
Suitability index for cotton	0.00***	(0.00)				
Suitability index for oat	-0.00**	(0.00)	-0.00***	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)
Suitability index for olive	-0.00***	(0.00)	-0.00**	(0.00)	-0.01***	(0.00)
Suitability index for tobacco	0.03**	(0.01)				
Suitability index for wheat	0.00	(0.00)				
Suitability index for barley	-0.00	(0.00)				
Constant	2.29***	(0.26)	3.05***	(0.23)	19.97**	(8.42)
Observations	35,614		35,703		17,487	
R-squared	0.841		0.841			
District FE	✓		✓		✓	

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. This table shows the effect of the logarithm of the distance to the nearest visited on the distance to the nearest house (Columns 1 and 2) and on the probability on having a house (Column 3). Columns 1 and 3 include a large set of historical and geographic covariates; Column 2 include predictors selected using a Lasso procedure. District fixed effects included and robust standard errors in parentheses.

Table 6: Effect of the People's Houses on first names and Heterogeneity depending on the visit status of the district

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Dep. Var:	Share of newborns with a:											
	Pure Turkish Name			Arabic Name			Kurdish Name			Religious Name		
Has a House × Post	0.538***	0.536***	0.435**	-0.599**	-0.595**	-0.483**	0.079*	0.079*	0.101**	-0.028	-0.028	-0.016
	(0.168)	(0.168)	(0.179)	(0.234)	(0.233)	(0.245)	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.047)	(0.055)	(0.054)	(0.058)
Visited × Post Visit		0.357*			-0.528*			-0.003			-0.043	
		(0.206)			(0.292)			(0.042)			(0.067)	
Has a House × Post			0.574**			-0.644		-0.122*	-0.067			-0.035**
× Visited Before			(0.280)			(0.415)			(0.066)			(0.080)
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760
Mean of outcome	6.523	6.523	6.523	71.44	71.44	71.44	1.467	1.467	1.467	3.386	3.386	3.386
s.d. of outcome	3.432	3.432	3.432	9.142	9.142	9.142	3.178	3.178	3.178	2.866	2.866	2.866

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. This table presents the results of the estimation of specification similar to equation 1, but where the treatment variable is a dummy variable switching to one the first year a People's House is established in a given district. The dependent variables are the share of first names by type (Pure Turkish, Arabic, Religious or minority first names). The unit of observation is the district. Baseline controls included. Standard errors in parenthesis, clustered at the district level, the level of the treatment.

Table 7: Effect of Atatürk's visits, by type of activity

Dep. Var: Sh. of newborns with a	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	"Pure Turkish" name			
Panel A: Full Sample				
Visited × Post	0.45**	0.20	0.40	0.25
	(0.20)	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.24)
Visited × Post × Elite		0.26		
		(0.42)		
Visited × Post × Mass			-0.07	
			(0.45)	
Visited × Post × Speech				0.81
				(0.52)
Observations	29760	29078	29078	29078
R-squared	0.751	0.748	0.748	0.748
Mean of outcome	9.086	9.058	9.058	9.058
s.d. of outcome	4.456	4.438	4.438	4.438
Panel B: Restricted Sample				
Visited × Post	0.54**	0.46	1.28***	0.88***
	(0.26)	(0.46)	(0.45)	(0.33)
Visited × Post × Elite		0.90*		
		(0.54)		
Visited × Post × Mass			-0.68	
			(0.61)	
Visited × Post × Speech				0.56
				(0.88)
Observations	8432	8060	8060	8060
R-squared	0.795	0.779	0.779	0.779
Mean of outcome	9.324	9.319	9.319	9.319
s.d. of outcome	4.348	4.371	4.371	4.371
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓

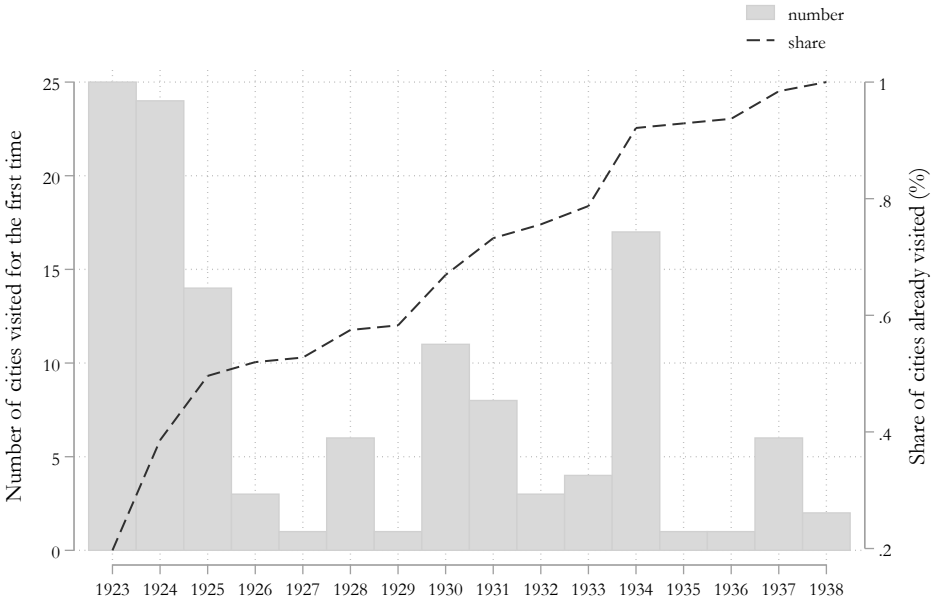
Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. This table shows results from regressions similar to the one shown in equation 1, where the dependent variable in the share of Pure Turkish names but where the treatment variables vary. Visited × Post is the same treatment variable as in equation 1. Elite is a dummy variable indicating whether Ataturk met with local elites in a given district. Mass is a dummy variable indicating whether he met with the crowd. Speech is a dummy variable indicating whether Atatürk made a speech. All regressions are run on the main restricted sample. Standard errors are clustered at the district level.

Appendix

Leadership and Nation-Building

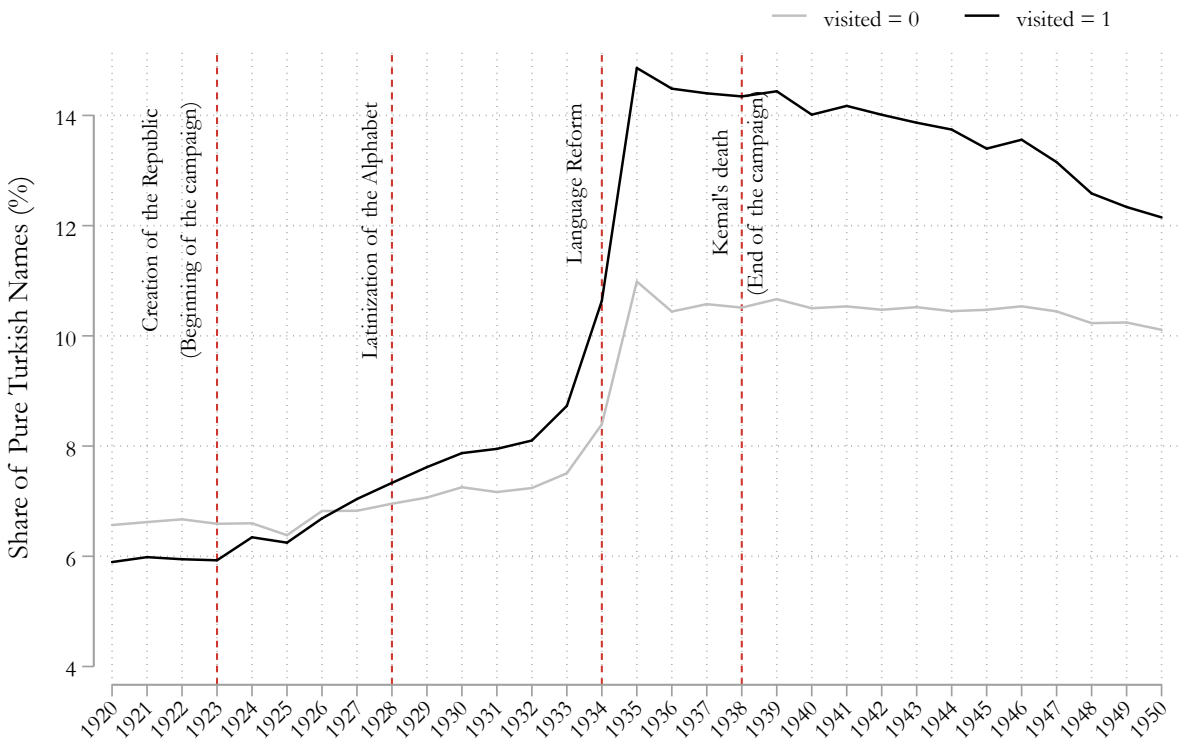
A Additional Figures and Tables

Figure A1: Number and total share of cities visited for the first time, by year



Notes: Author's computations using Kocatürk (1988).

Figure A2: Evolution of "Pure Turkish" First Names across Visited and Non-Visited districts



Notes: This figure shows the raw evolution of the share of Pure Turkish first names among newborns in visited and non-visited districts, for each year between 1920 and 1950. Sources: Population General Directorate for the historical birth certificates, Türköz (2018) for the list of "Pure Turkish" names; Kocatürk (1988) for the visit status.

Figure A3: Picture of a celebration of the new language at Denizli's People's House

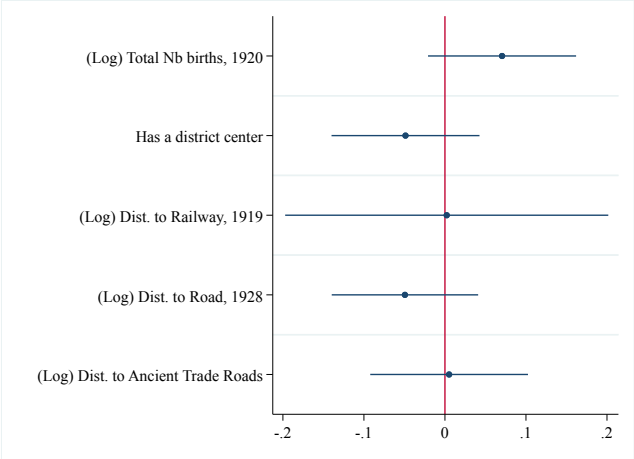


(a) (b)

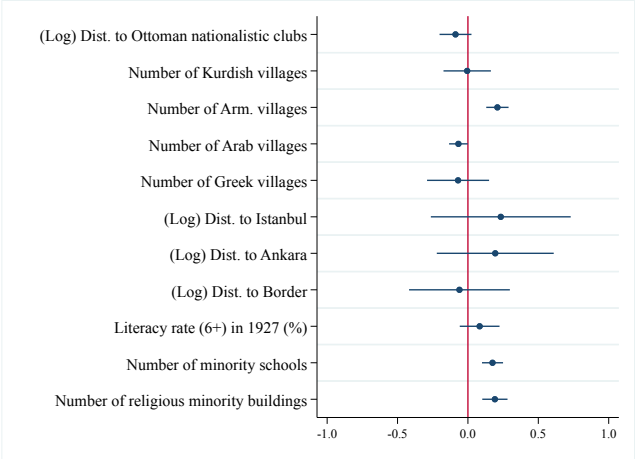
Notes: This picture was taken in front of Denizli's People's House on the 26th of September, 1934, the day of the national celebration of the new language (*Dil Bayramı*). On the picture (a), we can see the slogans written on the front of the House "Yurddaş yaban dile yer verme" ("Citizen, do not leave any room to foreign languages") on the left and "Dilini seven yabancılara kul olmaz" ("He who loves his language cannot be a slave to foreigners"). Author's translation to English. Source: (Szurek, 2013, p. 507-510).

Figure A4: Balance Plot between Visited and Non-Visited Districts (Restricted Sample)

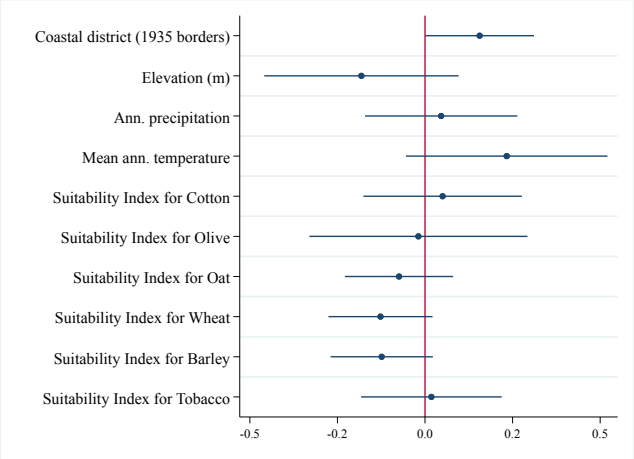
(a) Development and Demography



(b) Culture and Politics



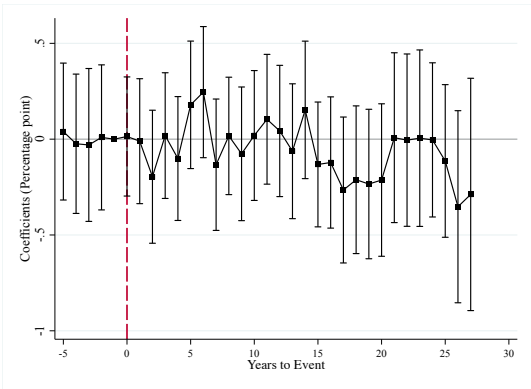
(c) Geography



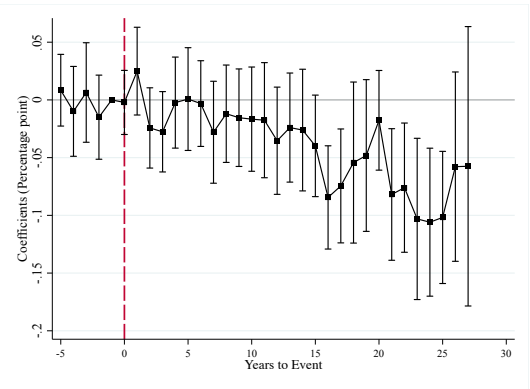
Notes: These graphs plot standardized beta coefficients of bi-variate regressions of the variables listed on the left on the visit status with province fixed effects and robust standard errors. Regressions are run using the restricted sample (removing targeted cities and focusing only on districts along his road) as displayed in Figure 3. Visited and non-visited districts along the road are comparable along various dimensions.

Figure A5: Effect of the Visits on Other Types of Names

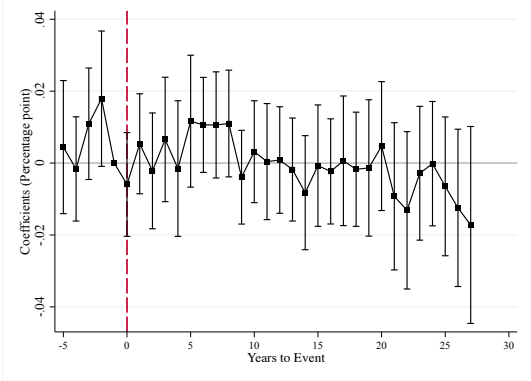
(a) Religious names



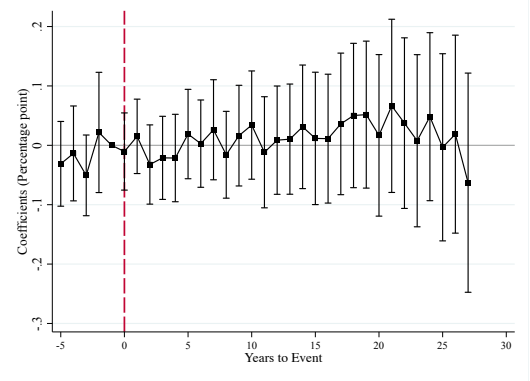
(b) Muhammed



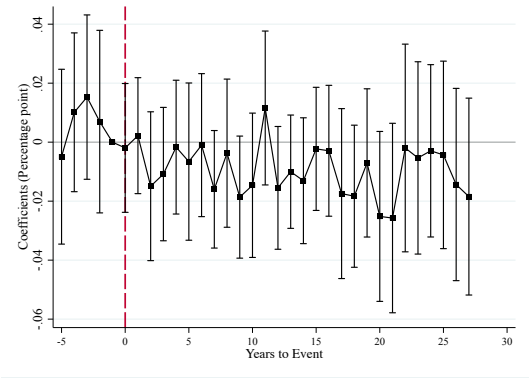
(c) Jewish Names



(d) Kurdish Names

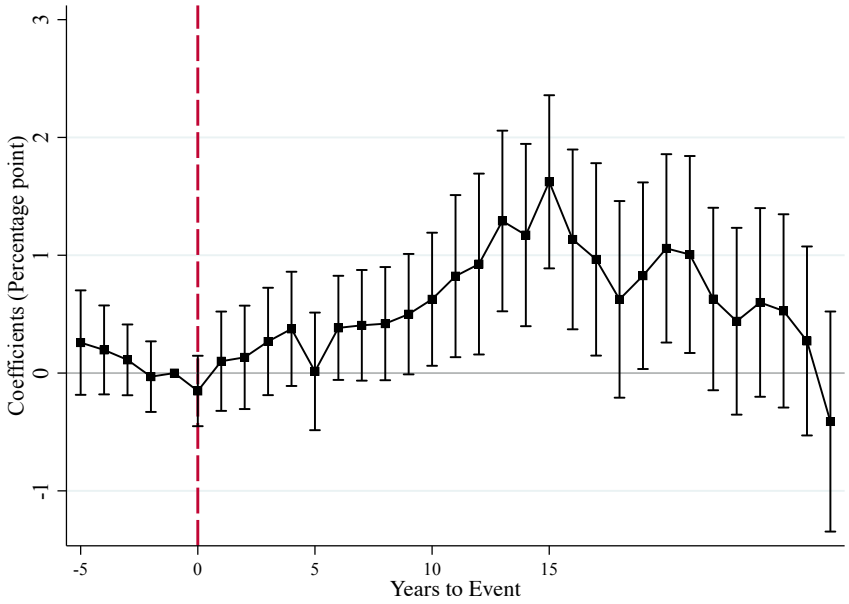


(e) Armenian Names



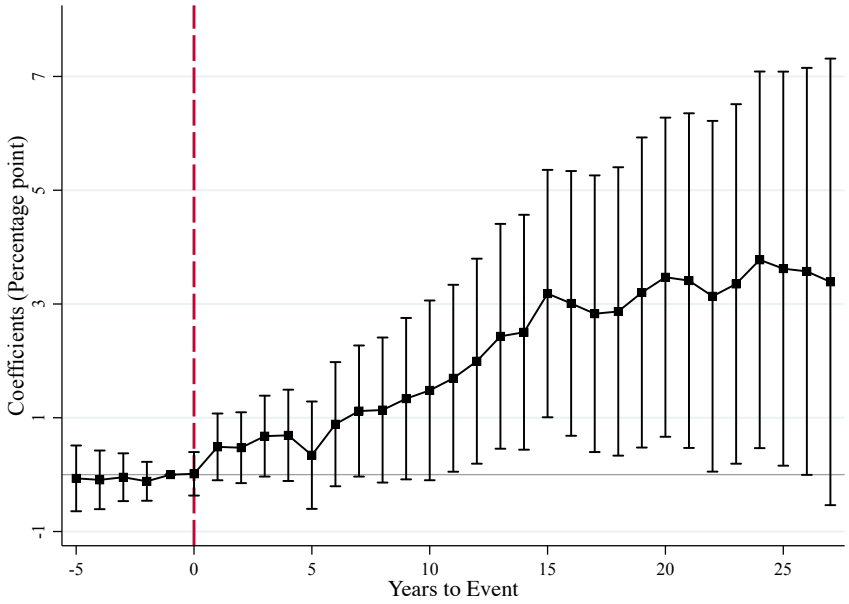
Note: This figure plots the estimated β_j coefficients from a regression of the form given in equation 2 run the full sample. The dependent variables are the share of newborns with religious names (a), named Muahmmed (b), with Jewish (c), Kurdish (d) or Armenian (e) names, by district and year. The event is defined as the first time a district is visited by Atatürk. The coefficient of the year prior to the first visit is normalized to zero. The vertical lines reflect the 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A6: Robustness check: Event-study results on Pure Turkish names, after re-weighting following Hainmueller (2012)



Notes: This figure plots the estimated β_j coefficients from a regression of the form given in equation 2 run the full sample, after re-weighting the observations using entropy balancing following Hainmueller (2012). The dependent variable is the share of newborns with Pure Turkish names in a given district and year. The event is defined as the first time a district is visited by Atatürk. The coefficient of the year prior to the first visit is normalized to zero. The vertical lines reflect the 95% confidence intervals.

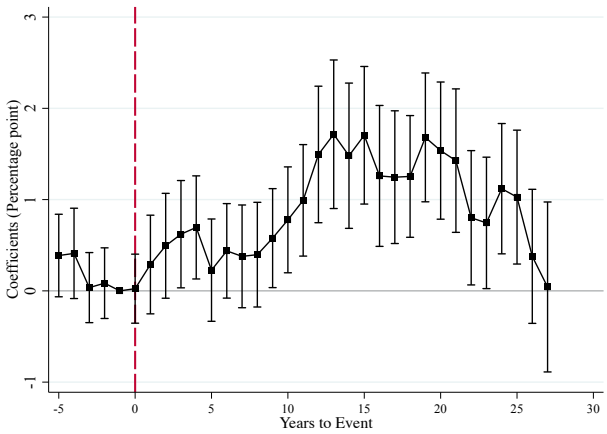
Figure A7: Robustness Check: Effects on Pure Turkish Names in Visited Districts Only



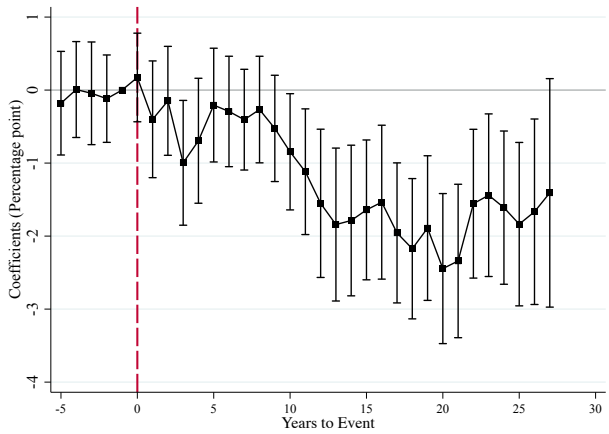
Notes: This figure plots the estimated β_j coefficients from a regression of the form given in equation 2 run a sample including only visited districts. The dependent variable is the share of newborns with Pure Turkish names in a given district and year. The event is defined as the first time a district is visited by Atatürk. The coefficient of the year prior to the first visit is normalized to zero. The vertical lines reflect the 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A8: Impact of Kemal's Visit on'Pure Turkish", focusing on children with father born in the same district

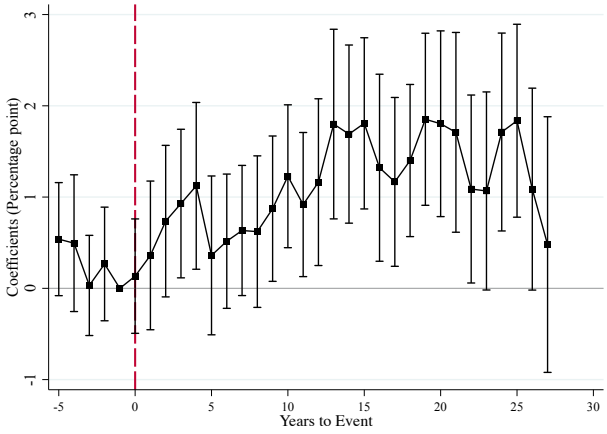
(a) Pure Turkish Names, Full Sample



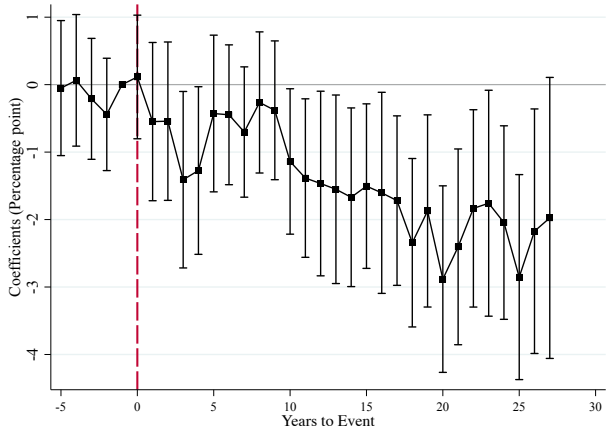
(b) Arabic Names, Full Sample



(c) Pure Turkish Names, Restricted Sample

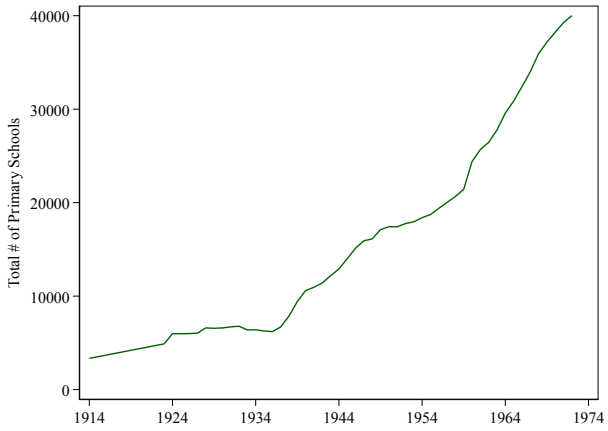


(d) Arabic Names, Restricted Sample



Notes: These figures plot the estimated β_j coefficients from a regression of the form given in equation 2 run both the full and restricted samples. The dependent variable is the share of newborns with Pure Turkish names in a given district and year, having a father born in the same district. The event is defined as the first time a district is visited by Atatürk. The coefficient of the year prior to the first visit is normalized to zero. The vertical lines reflect the 95% confidence intervals.

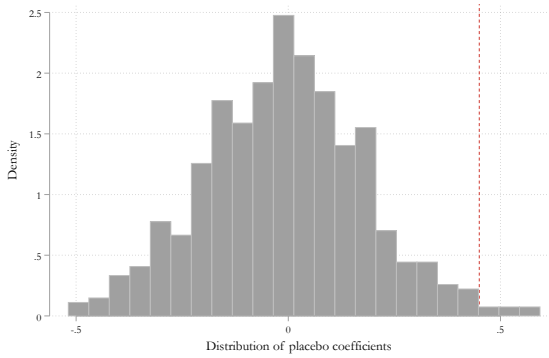
Figure A9: Evolution of the number of Primary School in Turkey, 1914-1972



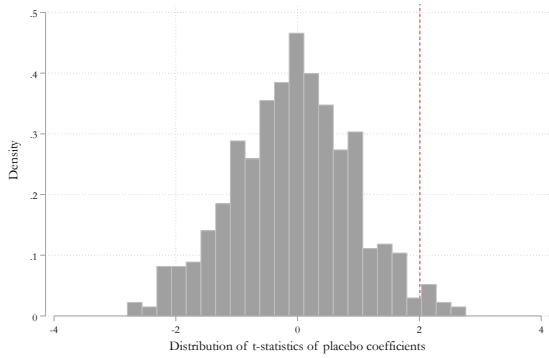
Notes: This figure presents the evolution of the total number of primary schools in Turkey, between 1914 and 1972. Sources: National Education Statistics, from the Directorate of Statistics of the Prime Ministry Office (Maarif ve Milli Egitim Istatistikleri).

Figure A10: Placebo Tests

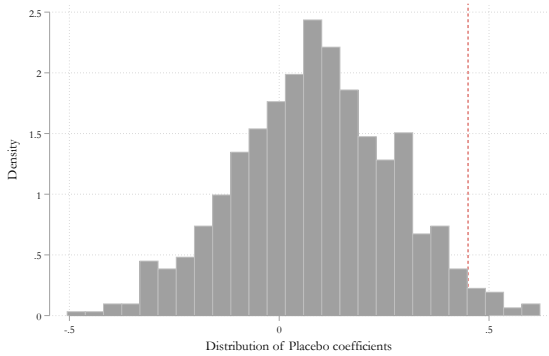
(a) Test 1: Distribution of placebo coefficients



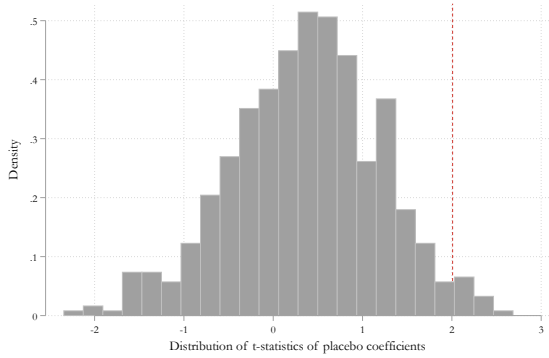
(b) Test 1: Distribution of corresponding t-stats



(c) Test 2: Distribution of placebo coefficients

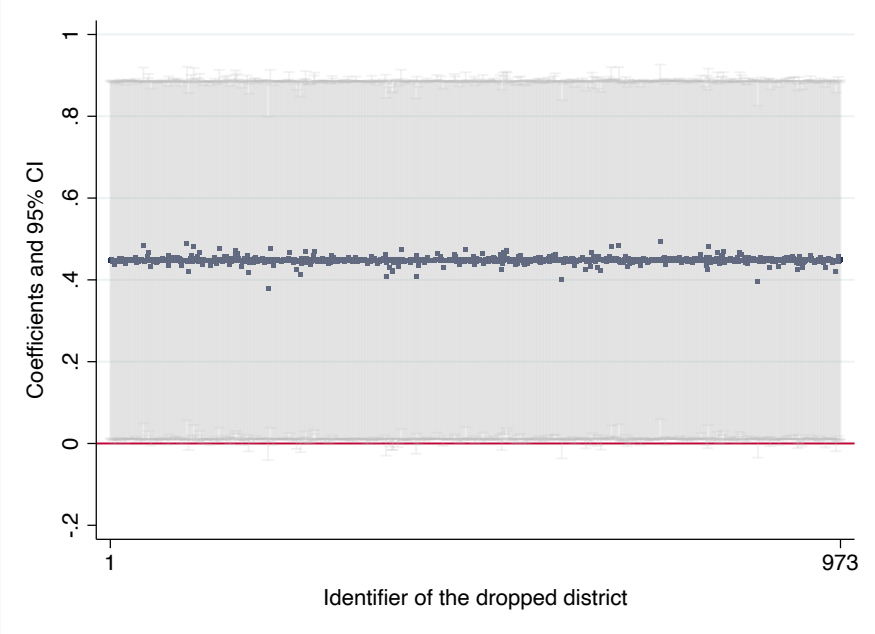


(d) Test 2: Distribution of corresponding t-stats



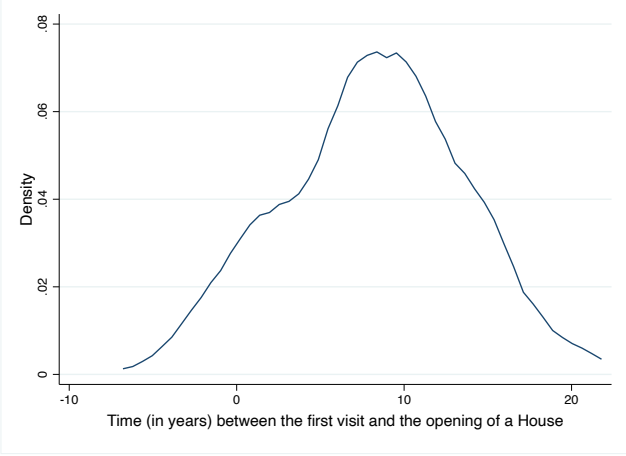
Notes: These figures compare results from the main difference-in-differences specification in equation 1, estimated on the full sample to results from two placebo treatments. The first one randomly draws districts and years of treatment, 500 times. Figures (a) and (b) display the coefficients and their t-statistics. The second one randomly assign treatment to non-visited districts within the same province and year when other districts experienced a visit. Figures (c) and (d) displays the corresponding distribution of coefficient and t-statistics. The thick vertical lines indicate the result for the real event for the specification similar to the one presented in Column 1 of Table 3. Both the coefficient and its t-statistics from the estimation of the effect of the true event are outside of the corresponding distributions for the placebo events.

Figure A11: Sensitivity Analysis: coefficient from the main specification, after dropping one district at a time from the sample



Note: This figure displays results from the main difference-in-differences specification in equation 1, estimated on the full sample, removing one district at a time. Each dot plots the corresponding coefficients. The vertical lines reflects the 95% confidence intervals. The estimated coefficients is quite stable and results are not driven by one specific district.

Figure A12: Kernel density of the time between the visit and the opening of a People's House



Notes: I plot the kernel density of the time between the visit and the opening of a People's House. The sample includes visited districts only. On average, eight years pass between a visit and the opening of a club.

Table A1: Predicting the visits: Probit estimates of Ataturk's appearances, by year

Dep. Var:	**Visited between 1923-1938**		**Visited between 1923-1924**		**Visited between 1925-1928**		**Visited between 1929-1933**		**Visited between 1934-1938**	
	Coeff.	(S.E.)	Coeff.	(S.E.)	Coeff.	(S.E.)	Coeff.	(S.E.)	Coeff.	(S.E.)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Demography and Development										
(Log) Total Nb births, 1920	0.530***	(0.113)	0.636***	(0.198)	0.577**	(0.248)	0.410***	(0.132)	0.245*	(0.145)
Has a province center	1.938***	(0.255)	1.363***	(0.253)	0.215	(0.385)	0.855***	(0.295)	0.120	(0.347)
Has a district center	0.233	(0.164)	0.235	(0.230)	0.476	(0.342)	-0.0446	(0.250)	0.0640	(0.208)
(Log) Dist. to Railway, 1919	-0.0631	(0.0619)	-0.264***	(0.0807)	0.0230	(0.111)	0.0348	(0.0752)	0.0579	(0.0902)
(Log) Dist. to Road, 1928	-0.120**	(0.0553)	-0.112	(0.0715)	0.0590	(0.104)	0.0161	(0.0769)	-0.170**	(0.0714)
(Log) Dist. to Ancient Trade Roads	-0.0242	(0.0528)	-0.0667	(0.0664)	0.151	(0.114)	-0.0576	(0.0749)	-0.00461	(0.0709)
City density	84.82**	(39.05)	60.16*	(32.41)	44.66	(32.72)	58.36**	(25.84)	85.98***	(28.23)
Culture and Politics										
(Log) Dist. to Ottoman nationalistic clubs	-0.182**	(0.0886)	0.152	(0.107)	-0.327**	(0.132)	-0.183	(0.115)	0.0228	(0.122)
Density of Kurdish villages	0.0812	(0.123)	-0.639**	(0.273)	0.437	(0.375)	0.0602	(0.325)	0.0724	(0.126)
Density of Arm. villages	0.210	(0.236)	0.268	(0.215)	-7.091**	(3.366)	-1.303	(1.111)	0.414	(0.282)
Density of Arab villages	-13.28***	(4.506)	-10.04	(8.580)			-4.409	(4.454)	-4.023**	(1.980)
Density of Greek villages	-0.0143	(0.0728)	-0.0315	(0.0763)	0.0633	(0.108)	-0.0669	(0.0665)	0.143	(0.140)
(Log) Dist. to Istanbul	0.271**	(0.118)	0.274	(0.180)	0.417	(0.329)	0.00141	(0.150)	-0.0789	(0.198)
(Log) Dist. to Ankara	-0.262*	(0.148)	0.518*	(0.281)	-0.491**	(0.198)	-0.479*	(0.259)	-0.182	(0.189)
(Log) Dist. to Border	0.229**	(0.0955)	0.655***	(0.193)	0.0213	(0.200)	0.101	(0.128)	0.123	(0.106)
Occupied after WWI	0.0436	(0.226)	0.511*	(0.308)	0.315	(0.471)	-0.266	(0.276)	-0.436	(0.350)
Density of minority schools	0.487	(2.744)	6.712*	(3.942)	-18.34	(11.73)	21.09*	(12.06)	1.894**	(0.792)
Density of religious minority buildings	-0.00565	(0.0110)	-0.0221*	(0.0118)	0.0230*	(0.0135)	-0.133**	(0.0603)	-0.0188***	(0.00521)
Geography										
Coastal	0.972***	(0.233)	0.526	(0.348)	1.270***	(0.409)	0.264	(0.291)	0.659**	(0.320)
Ann. precipitation (cm)	-0.904	(0.575)	0.0212	(0.734)	-2.516*	(1.285)	0.985*	(0.537)	-1.494	(1.130)
Mean ann. temperature	-0.0994	(0.0633)	-0.191	(0.138)	-0.251*	(0.138)	-0.123	(0.127)	-0.0292	(0.0819)
Elevation (km)	-0.880***	(0.320)	0.290	(0.445)	-1.155*	(0.679)	-0.442	(0.395)	-1.225***	(0.470)
Suitability Index for Cotton	2.509	(3.386)	2.877	(6.287)	-3.843	(6.111)	7.517	(4.825)	2.751	(4.593)
Suitability Index for Olive	0.947*	(0.526)	0.121	(0.779)	1.906*	(1.021)	1.793***	(0.645)	0.0852	(0.732)
Suitability Index for Oat	0.952	(1.354)	1.992	(2.096)	7.431**	(2.998)	-2.088	(1.743)	-0.637	(1.614)
Suitability Index for Wheat	-1.741	(1.065)	0.411	(1.313)	-7.415	(6.921)	0.562	(1.501)	-48.81*	(25.15)
Suitability Index for Barley	1.668**	(0.831)	-0.461	(0.687)	6.430	(6.799)	-0.538	(1.020)	48.14*	(24.79)
Suitability Index for Tobacco	-2.227***	(0.710)	1.061	(1.230)	-4.090***	(1.498)	1.139	(1.626)	-1.881**	(0.931)
Suitability Index for Potato	0.00286	(0.0106)	0.0152	(0.0166)	0.00760	(0.0206)	-0.00960	(0.0134)	-0.00229	(0.0164)
Constant	-2.772	(1.812)	-14.82***	(3.456)	-6.201	(4.214)	1.317	(2.554)	1.875	(2.148)
Observations/ # Visited cities	973/153		973/52		973/28		973/36		973/37	

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. This table reports probit estimates and their standard errors, clustered at the district level. Column (1) reports the estimates for all visits (between 1923 and 1938); Column (3), (5), (7) and (9) report the estimates for the visits for different time periods.

Table A2: Effect of Atatürk's visits on first names—Piecewise linear regressions

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Dep. Var: Share of newborns with a			
	Pure Turkish Name	Arabic Name	Religious Name	Muhammed
Panel A: Full Sample				
Visited × Post × Between 1-5 years after a visit	0.272	-0.584*	-0.085	-0.011
	(0.236)	(0.330)	(0.067)	(0.011)
Visited × Post × Between 5-10 years after a visit	0.378*	-0.429	-0.022	-0.020
	(0.207)	(0.300)	(0.069)	(0.013)
Visited × Post × Between 10-15 years after a visit	0.959***	-1.205***	-0.082	-0.035**
	(0.263)	(0.381)	(0.079)	(0.017)
Visited × Post × Between 15-20 years after a visit	0.863***	-1.379***	-0.222**	-0.059***
	(0.268)	(0.382)	(0.096)	(0.019)
Visited × Post × Between 20-28 years after a visit	0.533*	-1.080**	-0.154	-0.088***
	(0.291)	(0.433)	(0.112)	(0.022)
Observations	29760	29760	29760	29760
R-squared	0.750	0.814	0.671	0.444
Mean of outcome at baseline	6.523	71.44	3.386	0.0563
s.d. of outcome	3.432	9.142	2.866	0.269
Panel B: Restricted Sample				
Visited × Post × Between 1-5 years after a visit	0.404	-0.824*	-0.042	-0.014
	(0.311)	(0.426)	(0.088)	(0.012)
Visited × Post × Between 5-10 years after a visit	0.627**	-0.667	-0.021	-0.016
	(0.266)	(0.406)	(0.089)	(0.016)
Visited × Post × Between 10-15 years after a visit	1.149***	-1.380***	0.019	-0.023
	(0.307)	(0.456)	(0.099)	(0.018)
Visited × Post × Between 15-20 years after a visit	1.190***	-1.758***	-0.226*	-0.038
	(0.338)	(0.499)	(0.122)	(0.025)
Visited × Post × Between 20-28 years after a visit	0.962**	-1.608***	-0.114	-0.062**
	(0.401)	(0.591)	(0.144)	(0.028)
Observations	8432	8432	8432	8432
R-squared	0.797	0.772	0.482	0.309
Mean of outcome at baseline	6.097	74.38	2.839	0.0383
s.d. of outcome	3.025	6.273	1.953	0.204
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. The Table presents the results of piecewise linear regressions, decomposing the effect by time periods. Panel A displays the results using the full sample and Panel B using the restricted sample. The dependent variables are the share of first names by type (Pure Turkish, Arabic, Religious) among newborns. The unit of observation is the district. Baseline controls are described in section 4.3. Standard errors in parenthesis, clustered at the district level, the level of the treatment.

Table A3: Effect of Atatürk's Visits on Naming Practices, focusing on children with a father born in the same district—Additional effect of a year following a visit

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Dependent Variables: Share of newborns with a:						
	New Names	Traditional Names			Minority Names		
	Pure Turkish Name	Arabic Name	Religious Name	Muhammed	Kurdish Name	Armenian Name	Jewish Name
Panel A: Full Sample							
Visited × Years since the Visit	0.041***	-0.071***	-0.012**	-0.003***	0.001	-0.001*	-0.000
	(0.015)	(0.021)	(0.005)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Observations	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760
R-squared	0.698	0.766	0.639	0.445	0.911	0.655	0.804
Panel B: Restricted Sample							
Visited × Years since the Visit	0.054***	-0.083***	-0.007	-0.002**	0.001	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.019)	(0.027)	(0.007)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Observations	8432	8432	8432	8432	8432	8432	8432
R-squared	0.756	0.719	0.460	0.307	0.804	0.523	0.741
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Baseline Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. The Table presents the results of the estimation of specification 1 but using as treatment variable a variable which equals zero if the district is not visited or not yet visited, and which equals the years since the visits when visited. Panel A displays the results using the full sample and Panel B using the restricted sample. The dependent variables are the share of first names by type (Pure Turkish, Arabic, Religious or minority first names), computed excluding newborns with a father not born in the same district (or for which the place of birth of the father is not available). The unit of observation is the district. Baseline controls are described in section 4.3. Standard errors in parenthesis, clustered at the district level, the level of the treatment. Following a visit, in the restricted sample, the average increase in "Pure Turkish" names among newborns with fathers born in the same district equals 0.05 percentage points for any year following a visit.

Table A4: Balance in district-level characteristics, following Hainmueller (2012)

	Treated group		Control group					
			Before weighting			After weighting		
	Mean	Var.	Mean	Var.	Difference	Mean	Var.	Difference
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Demography and Development								
(Log) Total Nb births, 1920	5.95	.58	5.17	.63	1.02	5.93	.61	.02
Has a province center	.31	.21	.01	.01	.64	.3	.21	.02
Has a district center	.78	.18	.34	.23	1.03	.78	.25	.02
(Log) Dist. to Railway, 1919	3.4	2.91	3.99	1.88	-.35	3.41	3.13	-.01
(Log) Dist. to Road 1928	1.54	1.37	2.17	1.4	-.54	1.55	1.96	-.01
(Log) Dist. to Ancient Trade Roads	1.81	1.82	2.46	1.58	-.48	1.83	1.63	-.01
City density	0	0	0	0	.25	0	0	0
Culture and Politics								
(Log) Dist. to Ottoman nationalistic clubs	3.33	1.14	3.96	.67	-.59	3.34	1.59	-.01
Density of Kurdish villages	0	0	0	0	-.61	0	0	-.02
Density of Arm. villages	0	0	0	0	-.23	0	0	0
Density of Greek villages	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(Log) Dist. to Istanbul	5.79	.74	6.08	.96	-.35	5.79	1.22	0
(Log) Dist. to Ankara	5.82	.42	5.9	.41	-.11	5.83	.45	-.01
(Log) Dist. to Border	5.41	.51	5.21	.98	.28	5.4	.68	.01
Occupied after WWI	.54	.25	.33	.22	.43	.54	.25	.01
Density of minority schools	.04	.09	.01	.01	.12	.04	.1	0
Density of religious minority buildings	.13	.73	.03	.14	.12	.13	.97	0
Geography								
Coastal	.25	.19	.05	.04	.48	.25	.19	.01
Ann. precipitation (cm)	645	23	634	43	.07	646	21	-.01
Mean ann. temperature	12	9	11.56	10.67	.33	12.58	8.27	.01
Elevation (km)	732	286	1011	289	-.52	737	229	-.01
Suitability Index for cotton	.06	0	.04	0	.32	.06	0	0
Suitability Index for olive	.4	.1	.25	.08	.49	.4	.08	.01
Suitability Index for oat	1.3	.01	1.25	.03	.42	1.3	.02	0
Suitability Index for wheat	2.28	.09	2.27	.11	.02	2.28	.07	0
Suitability Index for barley	2.29	.09	2.28	.12	.02	2.29	.09	0
Suitability Index for tobacco	.38	.02	.35	.03	.23	.38	.02	0
Suitability Index for potato	22.71	46.97	20.84	67.33	.27	22.63	81.25	.01

Notes: This table presents the mean and variance of historical and geographic covariates in visited districts (Columns 1 and 2) and non-visited districts (Columns 3 and 4), and the differences of the groups means between Columns 1 and 3, before re-weighting. Columns 6-7 presents the mean and variance in the control group, after re-weighting with the formula of Hainmueller (2012). The unit of observation is the 2018 Turkish district (n=973).

Table A5: Effect of Atatürk's Visits - Heterogeneity analyses depending on minority presence

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Dep. Var: Share of newborns with a		"Pure Turkish" name			
Panel A: Full Sample					
Visited × Post	0.44**	0.44**	0.44**	0.44**	0.44**
	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Visited × Post × Number of Arm. villages		-0.00			
		(0.03)			
Visited × Post × Number of Greek villages			-0.00		
			(0.04)		
Visited × Post × Number of Kurdish villages				-0.00	
				(0.03)	
Visited × Post × Number of Minority villages					-0.00
					(0.02)
Observations	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760
R-squared	0.750	0.750	0.750	0.750	0.750
Panel B: Restricted Sample					
Visited × Post	0.56**	0.57**	0.67**	0.64**	0.64**
	(0.26)	(0.28)	(0.33)	(0.28)	(0.28)
Visited × Post × Number of Arm. villages		-0.02			
		(0.03)			
Visited × Post × Number of Greek villages			-0.16		
			(0.19)		
Visited × Post × Number of Kurdish villages				-0.07**	
				(0.03)	
Visited × Post × Number of Minority villages					-0.04*
					(0.02)
Observations	8432	8432	8432	8432	8432
R-squared	0.796	0.796	0.796	0.796	0.796
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Baseline controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. This Table presents the results of the estimation of specification 1 on the full sample (Panel A) and on the restricted sample (Panel B), adding as heterogeneity variable the total number of minority villages, by type, in a given district. The dependent variables are the share of Pure Turkish name. Baseline controls included. Standard errors in parenthesis, clustered at the district level, the level of the treatment.

Table A6: Effect of Atatürk's Visits - Heterogeneity analyses depending on literacy rates and distance to a Turkish Hearth

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Dep. Var: Share of newborns with a	"Pure Turkish" name				
Panel A: Full Sample					
Visited × Post	0.44**	-0.25	-0.43	0.12	0.62**
	(0.20)	(0.32)	(0.40)	(0.24)	(0.29)
Visited × Post × Literacy rate (6+) in 1927 (%)		0.06**			
		(0.02)			
Visited × Post × Male literacy rate (6+) in 1927 (%)			0.05**		
			(0.02)		
Visited × Post × Female literacy rate (6+) in 1927 (%)				0.07**	
				(0.03)	
Visited × Post × Dist. to Ottoman nationalistic club					-0.00
					(0.01)
Observations	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760
R-squared	0.750	0.750	0.750	0.750	0.750
Panel B: Restricted Sample					
Visited × Post	0.56**	-0.51	-0.88**	0.07	1.15***
	(0.26)	(0.35)	(0.40)	(0.28)	(0.35)
Visited × Post × Literacy rate (6+) in 1927 (%)		0.10***			
		(0.03)			
Visited × Post × Male literacy rate (6+) in 1927 (%)			0.08***		
			(0.02)		
Visited × Post × Female literacy rate (6+) in 1927 (%)				0.10***	
				(0.04)	
Visited × Post × Dist. to Ottoman nationalistic club					-0.01***
					(0.01)
Observations	8432	8432	8432	8432	8432
R-squared	0.796	0.796	0.796	0.796	0.796
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Baseline controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. This Table presents the results of the estimation of specification 1 on the full sample (Panel A) and on the restricted sample (Panel B), adding as heterogeneity variable the literacy rates, by gender, in a given district and the distance to the closest Turkish Hearth. The dependent variables are the share of Pure Turkish name. Baseline controls included. Standard errors in parenthesis, clustered at the district level, the level of the treatment.

Table A7: The Visits are among the main predictors of the Opening of a People's House

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dep. Variables:	(Log) Dist. House	Has a House	(Log) Dist. House	Has a House
Years of opening	1932-1938	1932-1938	1939-1944	1939-1944
Model	OLS	Probit	OLS	Probit
(Log) Dist. to the nearest Visit	0.10***	-2.27***	-0.01	0.16
	(0.01)	(0.40)	(0.01)	(0.18)
(Log) Dist. nearest to the nearest Province center	0.65***	1.88	-0.03*	-1.60***
	(0.02)	(1.18)	(0.02)	(0.41)
(Log) Dist. nearest to the District Province center	0.40***	-5.69***	0.25***	-2.10***
	(0.01)	(0.46)	(0.01)	(0.10)
(Log) Dist. to the road, 1928	0.03***	-0.34***	0.03***	-0.22***
	(0.00)	(0.13)	(0.00)	(0.07)
(Log) Dist. to the nearest Ott. nationalistic club	0.14***	-1.07***	0.01	1.27***
	(0.01)	(0.39)	(0.01)	(0.21)
(Log) Dist. to Ankara	-0.52***	-0.85	-0.10*	-0.14
	(0.05)	(4.98)	(0.05)	(1.47)
(Log) Dist. to the nearest rebellion	0.01	-1.01***	-0.06***	-0.69***
	(0.01)	(0.35)	(0.01)	(0.21)
(Log) Dist. to the nearest battle	0.10***	-1.01***	-0.04***	-0.82***
	(0.01)	(0.32)	(0.01)	(0.19)
Nb of arab villages within 10 km	0.01***	0.81***	0.00	0.10
	(0.00)	(0.28)	(0.00)	(0.07)
Nb of arab villages within 20 km	0.00**	-0.31**	0.01***	0.02
	(0.00)	(0.15)	(0.00)	(0.04)
Nb of kurd villages within 20 km	-0.00***	-0.12***	-0.01***	-0.02
	(0.00)	(0.03)	(0.00)	(0.02)
(Log) Dist. to the nearest Arab village	-0.09***	5.76***	-0.48***	-1.13
	(0.03)	(1.70)	(0.03)	(0.88)
(Log) Dist. to the nearest Arm. village	-0.13***	-7.63***	-0.50***	-3.59*
	(0.04)	(2.71)	(0.04)	(1.87)
(Log) Dist. to the nearest Greek village	0.02	-2.75	-0.30***	3.35***
	(0.04)	(3.05)	(0.05)	(1.04)
Growing Period Length	-0.00**	0.02***	-0.00***	0.00*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Elevation	0.00***	-0.00*	0.00**	-0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Suitability index for oat	0.00***	-0.00	-0.00***	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Suitability index for olive	-0.00***	-0.01	0.00***	-0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	1.73***	43.07**	6.94***	9.81
	(0.21)	(17.45)	(0.24)	(8.31)
Observations	35,703	11,248	35,703	7,105
R-squared	0.859		0.833	
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Controls selected by LASSO	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. This table shows the effect of the logarithm of the distance to the nearest visited on the distance to the nearest house (Columns 1 and 3) and on the probability on having a house (Columns 2 and 4) for houses opened between 1932-1938 (Columns 1 and 2) and 1939-1944 (Columns 3 and 4). Regression models include district fixed effects and covariates selected by a LASSO procedure. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Table A8: Visits are predictors of the Opening of the Houses: Robustness to Spatial Auto-correlation

Dependent Variable: (Log.) Distance to the nearest People's Houses		
Assumption about variance-covariance matrix:		(Log.) Dist. Nearest visited city
Coefficient		0.08
1	Baseline: OLS Regression with district fixed effects	(0.01)***
	Conley correction for spatial correlation within:	
2	10 km	(0.02)***
3	20 km	(0.03)**
4	50 km	(0.04)*
5	100 km	(0.04)*
Observations		35,703
Controls Selected by lasso		✓

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. The table shows that the results on the prediction of the opening of a People's House, presented in Table 5 are robust to adjusting the standard errors to spatial correlation at 10, 20, 50 and 100km. The coefficient and standard errors of the distance to the nearest visit at baseline are the one presented in Column (2),Table 5.

Table A9: Effect of the visits and of the expansion of railway

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Dep. Var:	Share of newborns with a:											
	Pure Turkish Name			Arabic Name			Kurdish Name			Religious Name		
Has a Railway × Post	0.300*	0.278	0.317*	-0.395	-0.363	-0.446	-0.006	-0.006	-0.017	-0.060	-0.058	-0.042
	(0.175)	(0.174)	(0.190)	(0.261)	(0.261)	(0.291)	(0.066)	(0.066)	(0.077)	(0.080)	(0.080)	(0.090)
Visited × Post		0.346*			-0.513*			-0.001			-0.039	
		(0.206)			(0.291)			(0.042)			(0.067)	
Has a Railway × Post			-0.115			0.333			0.076			-0.124
× Visited Before			(0.433)			(0.575)			(0.110)			(0.150)
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760	29760
Mean of outcome	6.523	6.523	6.523	71.44	71.44	71.44	1.467	1.467	1.467	3.386	3.386	3.386
s.d. of outcome	3.432	3.432	3.432	9.142	9.142	9.142	3.178	3.178	3.178	2.866	2.866	2.866

Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. This table presents the results of the estimation of specification similar to equation 1, but where the treatment variable is a dummy variable switching to one the first year a railway line is opened in a given district. The dependent variables are the share of first names by type (Pure Turkish, Arabic, Religious or minority first names). The unit of observation is the district. Baseline controls included. Standard errors in parenthesis, clustered at the district level, the level of the treatment.

B Data sources

B.1 Atatürk Visits

B.1.1 Data sources

The main source used to build my treatment variable is a secondary source, the book by Kocatürk (1988). I complement this source with academic articles—mostly in Turkish—analyzing the visits in a given city and region, listed in the Reference section of the Appendix and municipalities' websites, listed in Figure B1. Finally, I cross-check the information by looking at historical newspapers, available online on the website of the project "A look at History using newspapers", implemented by Istanbul University. Figure B2 provides example of historical articles describing the visits. Using these various sources, I collect information on the date and location of the universe of Atatürk's visits, listed in Table B1, and can document the activities he conducted for 122 out of 154 visits. The following section provides several examples of visits to illustrate the activities implemented.

B.1.2 Examples of Visits

- **Tarsus, March, 1923**. "The second night he spent in Tarsus, Mustafa Kemal asked to meet with the hosts of the house he was staying in with his delegation. Their host were Doctor Ali Refik and his wife Nimet Hanim. Kemal asked whether they had children. Ali Refik brought him their two daughters. Kemal asked the girls their names and when he heard they were named Güzin and Umran, he said "*These are Arabic names, we should no longer use them. Instead, we will use Turkish names. Shall the name of Güzin become Gazne, and of Umran, Turan".* Kemal also explained them why it was necessary to purify the language".[44]

- **Kastamonu and Inebolu August, 1925** "On August, 23rd, Atatürk left Ankara for Kastamonu, with Nuri (Conker), deputy for Konya, Fuat (Bulca), deputy for Rize, his secretary general and other members of his government. He was welcomed by twenty one gun fires. The next day, he visited military bases, wearing his uniform. Afterwards, he inspected the hospital and the public library. Then, he went to the municipality building where he met several delegations of Turkish Hearths from other nearby districts. The evening, the inhabitants of Kastamonu organized a torchlight procession in his honor. Atatürk and his delegation then went to Inebolu on the 25th of August, 1925. Atatürk met with local government officers, artisans, military officers and representatives of the Turkish Hearth during two days. On August, the 27th of 1925, he gave a speech in Inebolu's Turkish Hearth hall, which came to be known as the "Hat Speech". He promoted hats along with trousers and shirts as the "civilized" and "westernized" way of dressing while arguing that wearing a fez, the traditional Ottoman hat, was backward and not worth of a Turk".[45]

[44] Source available online.
[45] Source available online.

- **Sivas, September, 1928**: "During his stay in Sivas, Mustafa Kemal held a meeting in the city's public square, to speak about the new alphabet and check the progress on its use. He invited a butcher from the crowd, Abidin, to the blackboard. Abidin came to the front and admitted that he did not know the new alphabet. In ten minutes, Kemal taught him the vowels and showed him how to write his name. As Abidin learnt a new letter, repeated rounds of applause were shaking the square. When Abidin finally was able to write his name, the square erupted in cheers and shouted: "*Long live Turkey and the great Atatürk !*". Figure 2 (a) is a photography of the corresponding scene, where Kemal describes the new latin alphabet to the crowd.[46]

- **Aydin, February, 1931** "Following the Menemen Incident, a revolt led by Dervish Mehmet Efendi to protest against the secularizing reforms and calling for the restoration of the Sharia Law and the Caliphate, Atatürk visited the Aegean region. On February the 3rd, 1931 at 4:30pm, Atatürk arrived in Aydın. He visited the municipality building and the Turkish Hearth.[47] He gave a speech to the members of the Hearth, in where he stressed the importance of their role in promoting and teaching his reforms: *"(...)The Turkish Hearths are the cultural branches of the Republican's People's Party. The party will educate the people in all fields, such as science, economics, politics and fine arts. Members of the Turkish Hearths shoudl explain the Republican People's Party program to the people."*.[48]

- **Gaziantep, January, 1933**: "On January, the 25th, 1933, Atatürk went to Gaziantep. After a long journey, he first stoped in Fevzipaş, a village in the West of Gaziantep. He was greeted by Gaziantep's Governor, Major, and the party's provincial representative. He arrived to the city center the next day, on the day of Eid-el-Fitr. The crowd celebrated his arrival with a flourish of trumpets. He went to the governor's office to celebrate the Eid. Afterwards, he went to the municipality, where he met with local elites and listened to their concerns. When he was informed about the need for a high school, he immediately took action and a part of the Gaziantep secondary school was turned into a high school within five days".[49]

- **Yozgat, February, 1934**: "Atatürk spent the night of 2 February 1934 in his train at the train station of Yerköy, a district of Yozgat province. The next day he arrived in Yozgat city center at 16:30. During his presence in Yozgat, he visited the government's house, military bases, his party's office, People's House, the municipality, the high school and governor's residence respectively. He finished all his visits in nine hours to leave the city at 1:30 AM and passed the night at his train in Yerköy.

[46]Source: Yildirim (1996).
[47]Source: Newspaper Milliyet, 5.2.1931, 1.
[48]Source: Newspaper "Vakit", 5.2.1931 and Günver Güneş "Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün Aydın Seyahatleri", Atatürk Aracstırma Merkezi Dergisi 21 (2020).
[49]Source: Newspaper Milliyet, 27.1.1933, 1.

- **Elaziz, November, 1937** "As part of his Eastern campaign tour, Atatürk went to Elaziz. On his way, he made a stop in Sivrice, a town next to the lake Gölcük, to rest. He was particularly happy to hear that the surrounding mountains were named after the Khazars, a Turkic State of Central Asia. Kemal seized the occasion to rename the lake Gölcük to Khazar. On November, the 17th, 1937, Atatürk and his delegation arrived to the Elaziz district. He visited the People's House at Pertek. On his way to Pertek, Ataturk inaugurated a bridge which he renamed "Singeç", instead of as "Soyungec" or Sungeç" arguing that this name was the most compatible with the Turkish pronunciation. On the same night, a celebration was organized in his honor at Elaziz's People's House. Two speeches were given, the first by Fazil Ahmed, the deputy of Elaziz and the second by Müştak Mayakon, the deputy of Siirt. Ahmed's speech discussed the etymology of the city's name. He argued that its true origin is the Turkish word Elazık, meaning "fertile city", and not the widely held ideas that it was named after the Ottoman Sultan Abdelaziz. After the speech, Atatürk suggested to change the city name to Elazik or simply Elazig".

Pure Turkish words and names

The main sources used to create the list of words are listed below and Figure B3 displays some example of the sources:

- Besim Atalay, 1935 Türk Büyükleri veya Türk Adları [Turkish Heroes and Turkish Names] . Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi.
- Karauguz, Akin Tahir. 1935. Öz Turk Adları Kilavuzu. Zonguldak: Karaelmas Basımevi.
- Behnan, (Şapolyo) Enver. 1935. Türk Soyadı: 3396 Türk adı [The Turkish Surname: 3396 Turkish Names] Maarif Kitab evi sahibi Tarık. Ankara: Köyhocası Matbaası
- D.K.O. 1935. Öztürkçe Seçme Soy Adları: Karsılıkları ve Manaları. Tefeyyüz Kitaphanesi;
- Orbay, K.Ş. 1935. Öz türkçe Adlar ve Sözler: Yeni soy adları [Names and Words in Öztürkçe: The new Surnames]. Istanbul: Hilmi Kitap Evi.
- Vural, M. 1935. Öz türkçe Kadın ve Erkek Adları ve Soy Adları: Öz türkçe Dil Değişimine Armağan [Women's and Men's Proper Names and Surnames in Öztürkçe: A Gift to the Öz türkçe Language Turn] (3. Basılışı) Bursa Bizim Matbaa.
- Osmanlıcadan türkçe ye Cep Kilavuzu [Ottoman-Turkish Pocket Guide] (Istanbul: Devlet Basım Evi, 1935);
- Karauguz, Akın Tahir. 1935. Öz Turk Adları Kilavuzu. Zonguldak: Karaelmas Basımevi ;
- Riza Nour, "Noms propres turcs", Revue de Turcologie 5 (February 1935): 65-72; 65 (circulaire du Ministère de l'Education).

- Öztürkçe seşme soy adları: Müessese Isimleri ve Yeni Adları: Karşılıkları ve manaları, Tefeyy üz Kitaphanesi, 1935
- Ulus Newspapers, available online.[50]

İnönü's Visits

The main source used is the following website, which lists all visits made by İnönü (Yapi Kredi Yayınları, p984), 2016, by Ahmet Demirel, which compiles information from more than a hundred notebook written by
.Inönü between 1919 and 1973.

People's Houses

I collect and digitize two new sources to obtain the location and year of creation of the People's Houses built between 1932 and 1945 by the single-ruling party, the CHP. The first source is the National Education Statistics for 1944-1945, from the Directorate of Statistics of the Prime Ministry Office.[51] These records contain information on the name of the city or village where there was a house in 1945, the last year during which houses were built, as well as the number of readers and books. I complement this source with another document from the Prime Ministry Republican Archives in Ankara (BCA) that lists all houses as well as their year of creation. I locate 400 houses. Figure B4 present the two sources used and Figure B5 maps the houses as well as the timing of their expansion.

Railroads

I use geo-coded data on train stations collected by Akgüngör et al. (2011) and QGIS software to generate yearly railway shapefiles at a disaggregated level from 1925 to 1949.

Public Primary Schools

I use school administrative censuses, from the Library of the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK), in 1925 as well as between 1932 and 1946. The census provide information at the historical district level on the number of schools, teachers, students and graduates. The data is available at the historical district level (approximately 400 districts in 1927, compared to 973 today), that is at a higher level than the rest of my analysis. To obtain harmonized and yearly panel variables, I track all changes in district names as well as their subdivisions, and harmonized the data to the census year 1927, that I then matched to the contemporary district level, my main level of analysis.

Road Network

I digitize historical maps of the road network in 1928, as displayed in Figure B6, from Özdemir (2006).

[50] The list of words starts on March, the 25th, 1935

[51] "Milli Egitim Istatistikleri", Başbakanlık Istatistik Genel Mudurluğu, No. 273, p10-36 (1947).

Turkish Hearth

Data on the Turkish rooms come from a book by Füsun Üstel, *Türk Ocakları 1912-1931* and a book by François Georgeon *Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşmesi 1900-1930*. There is no exact date of creation for all of them. Given this uncertainty, I assume that there were between 50 and 75 Hearths before the visits. This does not affect the results.

Minority Buildings

I use information on the localization of former Armenian and Greek community building (schools or religious building) as of 1912 collected by the Hrant Dink Foundation's cultural heritage inventory project and available online.

Elites Names and Member of Parliament Biographies

I digitize the biographies of all Turkish deputy members between 1920 and 2010, from the Library of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (*Türkiye Büyüuk Millet Meclisi*), in four volumes, are available in pdf format in the following website. The books contain information on the first names and dates of birth of 6,022 deputies, born between 1844 and 1977, as well as the first names of their parents. Figure B7 provides two examples of biographies used to collect the first names and year of birth of deputies, as well as first names of their parents.

Ancient Trade Roads

I use information on the three ancient trade roads, the Anatolian Silk Road between 1200 and 1400, the Silk Road from the Adriatic between 1200 and 1400 and Ottoman trade roads between 1300 and 1600, made available by the Old World Trade Routes (OWTRAD) Project.

Population Data

I also collect additional information on population from the 1914, 1927 and 1935 official population Censuses of the Turkish Republic, from the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK). Information is available at the (historical) district level, except for the 1935 census where it is available at the township level (city and villages), for 21,000 towns. For the literacy rate, I use the share of population who is recorded as literate in 1927, available at the district level. I match the historical districts ($\sim$ 400) to contemporary districts ($\sim$ 973) by tacking subsequent subdivisions and change of names using law decrees and maps used in Sakallı (2019). The total number of births in the birth certificates in 1920 is highly correlated with the 1914 population from the official census, as shown in Figure B8.

Minority Presence and Villages

To capture historical minority presence at the district level, I use information on the ethnic origin of villages gathered by Nişanyan (2010) and geo-coded by Sakallı (2019). The database provides a list of all localities (towns and villages) whose names were changed after the creation of the Republic, as well as the linguistic origins of its historic name. I use this information to geo-coded former Armenian, Greek, Arabic and Kurdish villages. I then

count the number of villages in each contemporary district, and compute the village density to capture former minority presence.[52] To run my heterogeneity analysis depending on the presence of minorities locally, I construct an indicator which equals one if the number of Kurdish (or other minorities) villages is above or below the median in a given district.

Occupation during WWI

I use indicators created by Sakallı (2019), that indicates whether an area was occupied or not during the Independence War (1919-1922) by the French, Italian, Greek, British or Russian.

Geographic Covariates

I collect data on geographic covariates : mean annual temperature, precipitation, elevation, growing period length and temperature, and crop suitability indexes for relevant agricultural products in Turkey—wheat, barley, olive, tobacco, potato, cotton. Data are retrieved from the GAEZ data portal at the grid cell level. I compute the average across cell within contemporary district boundary using QGIS and rescale the resulting average by dividing by 1000.

[52] Reassuringly, the number of minority villages is highly correlated with the historical population figures from the 1914 national censuses. I prefer to use the villages as they are easier to aggregate at contemporary district level than the census data.

Figure B1: Additional sources: Online websites on various visits

- Afyonkarahisar
- Amasya
- Antalya
- Balikesir (Ministry of Culture and Tourism)
- Balikesir
- Burdur
- Bursa, Association of Journalists
- Canakkale
- Canakkale and Gelibolu
- Cankiri
- Devrekani
- Kastamonu
- Dortyol
- Edremit
- Erzincan
- Eskisehir
- Gaziantep
- Gemlik
- Isparta
- Izmit
- Kayseri
- Manisa
- Menemen
- Narli
- Nigde
- Ordu
- Pertek
- Rize
- Samsun
- Sebinkarahisar
- Tarsus
- Trakya
- Usak
- Cinarcik
- Yalova

Figure B2: Example of Historical Newspapers with Information on Ataturk's Visits

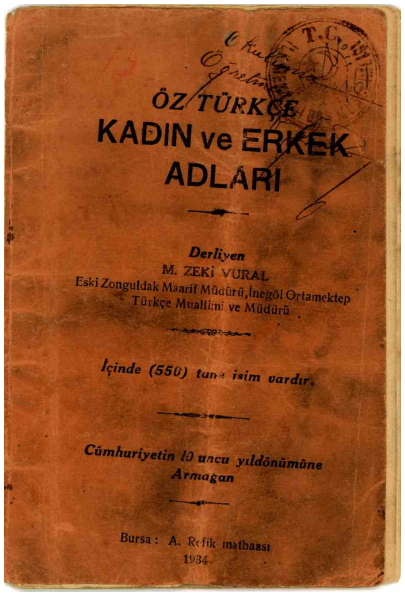

Reisicumhur Hazretlerinin seyahati
Gazi Hz. "Tokad„da heyecanla karşılandılar
Reisicumhur Hz. "Tokad„ da Meb'us Mustafa B. in hanesine misafir oldular
Gazi Hz. seyahat hıyafetile
Gazi Hz. İzmir
Büyük Reis İzmirden ayrılırken
Yollarda tezahürat
Atatürk Diyarbakırda
Ulu Önder Erganide maden faaliyetini tetkik ettiler ve Diyarbakırda bütün halkın coşkun tezahüratile karşılandılar
Şark vilâyetlerinde ekonomik vaziyet
Gece Halkevine giden Atatürk halka hitab etti:

(a) Tokat, *Cumhuriyet*, April 1930 (b) Izmir-Antalya, *Milliyet*, March 1930 (c) Diyarbakir and Sivas *Cumhuriyet*, February 1937

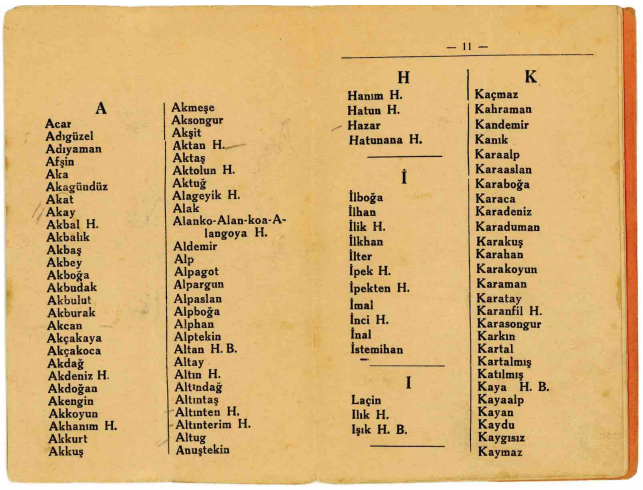
Sources: "A look at History using newspapers", Istanbul University.

Figure B3: Example of sources used to create the list of Pure Turkish words

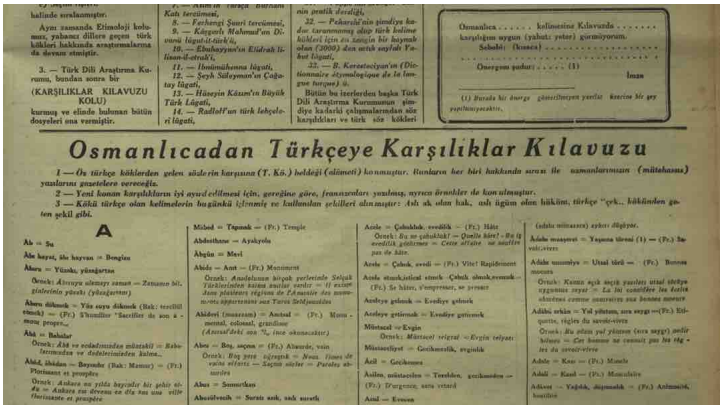
(a) Vural (1935), font page



(b) Vural (1935), p10-11



(c) Ulus Newspaper, March 1935

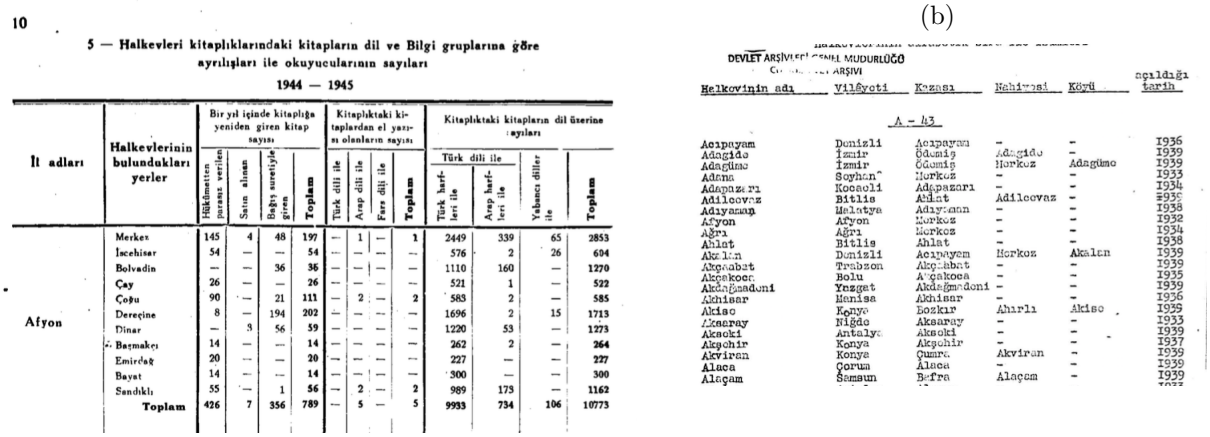


Notes: Examples of a typical book listing the new names and of a newspaper publishing the dictionary from Ottoman to Turkish, used as main sources to create a list of unique words in Pure Turkish to create my outcome variables. *Data Sources: Vural 1935, listed in the Appendix References and Ulus Newspapers, available online.*

Figure B4: Extracts of the historical sources used to list the People's Houses

(a)

(b)



10

5 — Halkevleri kitaplıklarındaki kitapların dil ve Bilgi gruplarına göre ayrılışları ile okuyucularının sayıları

1944 — 1945

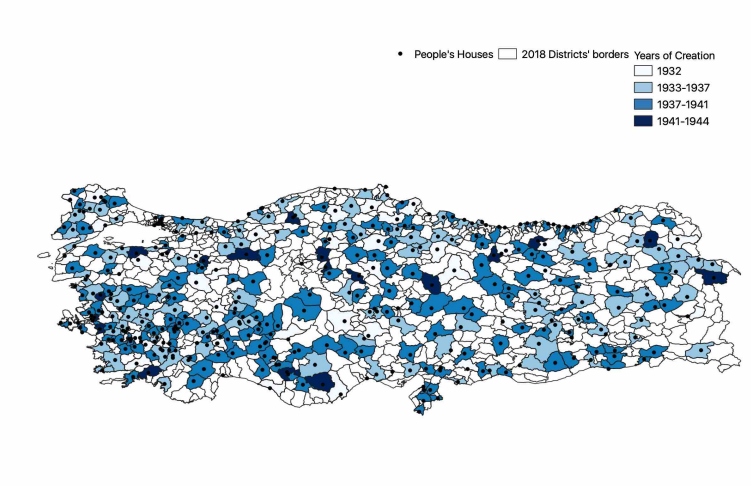
İl adları	Halkevlerinin bulundukları yerler	Bir yıl içinde kitaplığa yeniden giren kitap sayısı				Kitaplıktaki kitaplardan el yazısı olanların sayısı				Kitaplıktaki kitapların dil üzerine sayıları			
		Hükümetten parasız verilen	Satın alınan	Bağış suretiyle giren	Toplam	Türk dili ile	Arap dili ile	Fars dili ile	Toplam	Türk dili ile — Türk harfleri ile	Türk dili ile — Arap harfleri ile	Yabancı diller ile	Toplam
Afyon	Merkez	145	4	48	197	—	1	—	1	2449	339	65	2853
	İscehisar	54	—	—	54	—	—	—	—	576	2	26	604
	Bolvadin	—	—	36	36	—	—	—	—	1110	160	—	1270
	Çay	26	—	—	26	—	—	—	—	521	1	—	522
	Çobu	90	—	21	111	—	2	—	2	583	2	—	585
	Dereçine	8	—	194	202	—	—	—	—	1696	2	15	1713
	Dinar	—	3	56	59	—	—	—	—	1220	53	—	1273
	Başmakçı	14	—	—	14	—	—	—	—	262	2	—	264
	Emirdağ	20	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	227	—	—	227
	Bayat	14	—	—	14	—	—	—	—	300	—	—	300
	Sandıklı	55	—	1	56	—	2	—	2	989	173	—	1162
	Toplam	426	7	356	789	—	5	—	5	9933	734	106	10773

DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
ARŞİVİ

Halkevinin adı	Vilâyeti	Kazası	Nahiyesi	Köyü	açıldığı tarih
		A - 43			
Acıpayam	Denizli	Acıpayam	-	-	1936
Adagide	İzmir	Ödemiş	Adagide	-	1939
Adagüme	İzmir	Ödemiş	Merkez	Adagüme	1939
Adana	Seyhan	Merkez	-	-	1933
Adapazarı	Kocaeli	Adapazarı	-	-	1934
Adilcevaz	Bitlis	Ahlat	Adilcevaz	-	1935
Adıyaman	Malatya	Adıyaman	-	-	1938
Afyon	Afyon	Merkez	-	-	1932
Ağrı	Ağrı	Merkez	-	-	1934
Ahlat	Bitlis	Ahlat	-	-	1938
Akalın	Denizli	Acıpayam	Merkez	Akalın	1939
Akçaabat	Trabzon	Akçaabat	-	-	1939
Akçakoca	Bolu	Akçakoca	-	-	1935
Akdağmadeni	Yozgat	Akdağmadeni	-	-	1939
Akhisar	Manisa	Akhisar	-	-	1936
Akiso	Konya	Bozkır	Aharlı	Akiso	1939
Akaray	Niğde	Aksaray	-	-	1933
Aksoki	Antalya	Aksoki	-	-	1939
Akşehir	Konya	Akşehir	-	-	1937
Akviran	Konya	Çumra	Akviran	-	1939
Alaca	Çorum	Alaca	-	-	1939
Alaçam	Samsun	Bafra	Alaçam	-	1939

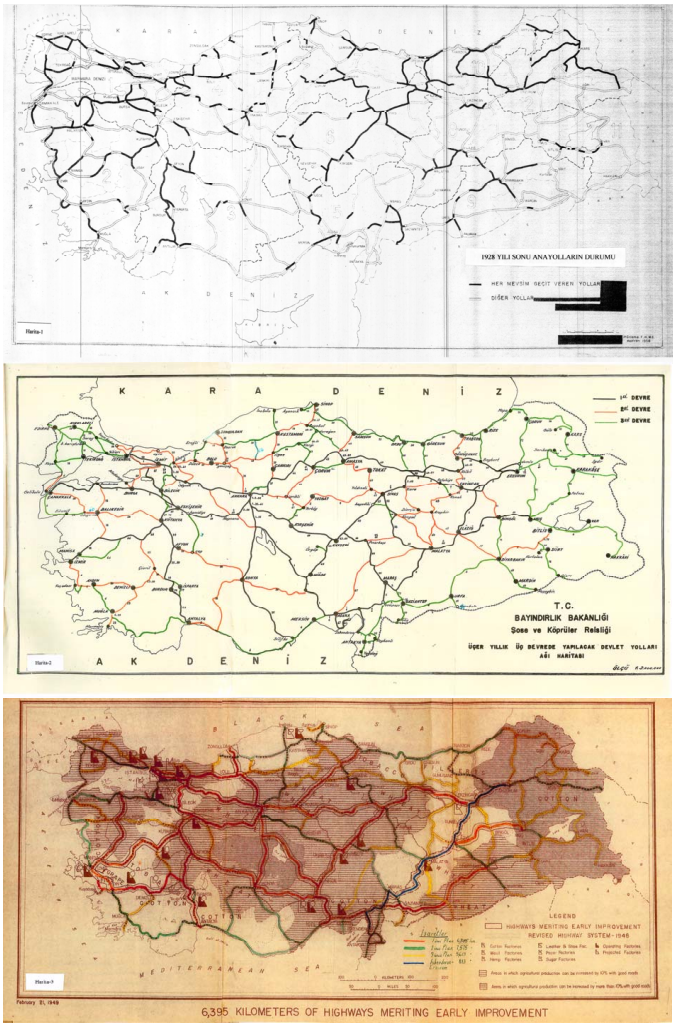
Note: This figures shows archival document extracts of the two main sources used to create the treatment variable.

Figure B5: Localization of the Houses and timeline of their expansions



Notes: This figures displays a map of the Turkish contemporary districts (as of 2018). On map (a) Black dots represent the People's Houses listed and localized using newly collected archival records. Districts in white have no house. The colors indicate the timing of expansion of the houses. Light colors are for the houses which opened first. Figure (b) plots the corresponding evolution of the number of districts with a house.

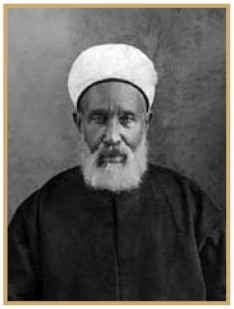
Figure B6: Map of the Road Network in 1928



Source: Özdemir (2006)

Figure B7: Examples of Biographies of Members of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey

(a)



Abdullah Faik Efendi[1]
(Abdullah Çopuroğlu)

Aşağıyirikler - 1857, İbrahim - Zeynep - Karaisalı Rüştiyesi ve Kayseri Medresesi - Arapça - Müderris - Karaisalı Mahkemesi Üyesi ve Naib Vekili, Karaisalı Müftüsü, Adana Müdâfaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti Reisi - Osmanlı Meclis-i Meb'ûsân I. ve II. Dönem Adana Mebusu – I. Dönem Adana Milletvekili – Evli, 8 Çocuk.

Ölüm Tarihi: 17.07.1939

(b)



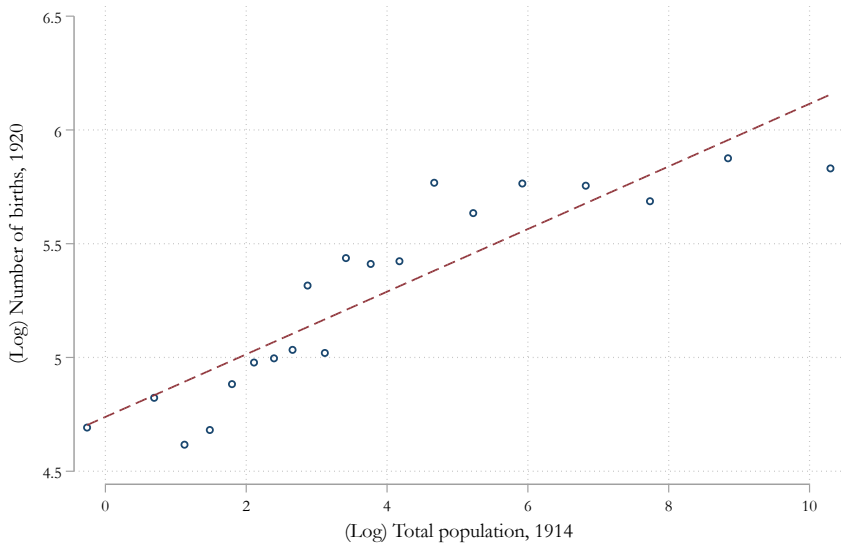
Orhan ERKANLI

Mucur – 1924, Hüseyin Avni – Münevver – Harp Okulu, Harp Akademisi, Türkiye ve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü, ABD Zırhlı Birlikler Okulu ve Harp Akademisi – İngilizce – Askerlik, Hariciye – Kurmay Yarbay – Davutpaşa 3. Zırhlı Tugay 3. Tank Tabur Komutanı, Harp Akademisi Öğretmeni, Meksika, Kanada, Yunanistan Büyükelçilikleri Nezdinde Devlet Müşaviri, Hürriyet Gazetesi Genel Yayın Müdürü, Yazar – Millî Birlik Komitesi Üyesi (27.05.1960 – 13.11.1960) ve Genel Sekreteri – Evli, 2 Çocuk.

Ölüm Tarihi: 28.03.1995

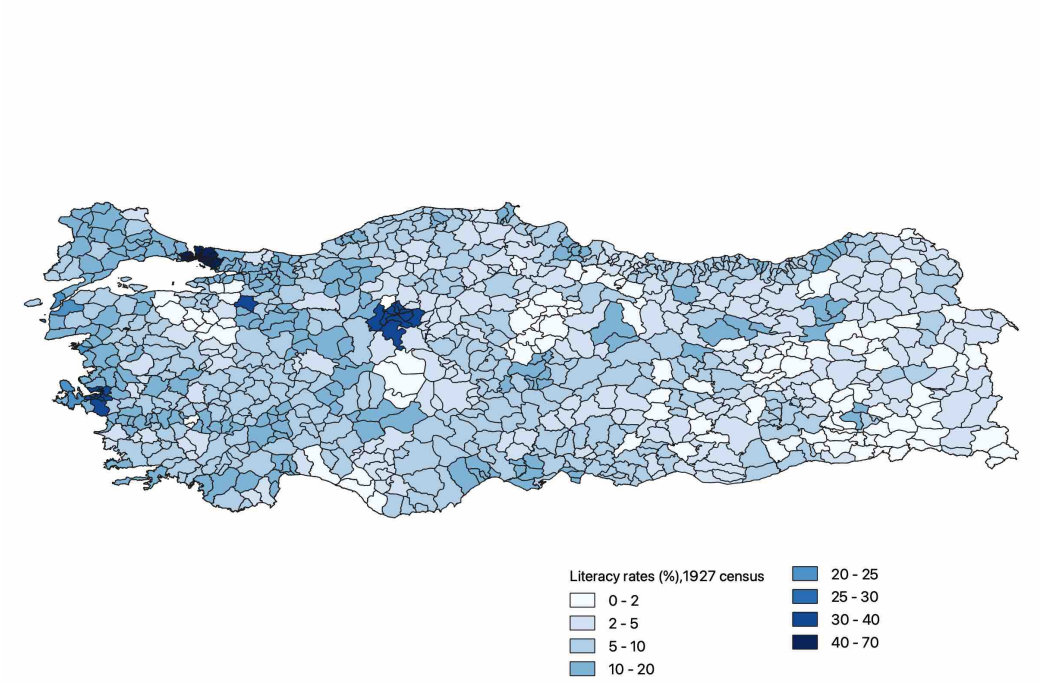
Sources: TBMM albümü: 1920-2010.

Figure B8: Correlation between the Number of Birth in 1920 and the total population in 1914



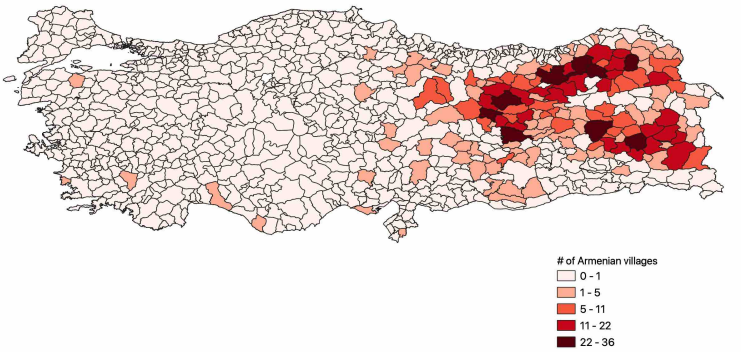
Notes: This figure displays a binscatter between the total number of births in 1920 (using the historical birth certificates database from the Population Office) and the total population in 1914, from the 1914 census, with province fixed effects.

Figure B9: Distribution of Literacy Rates in Turkey, 1927 (%)

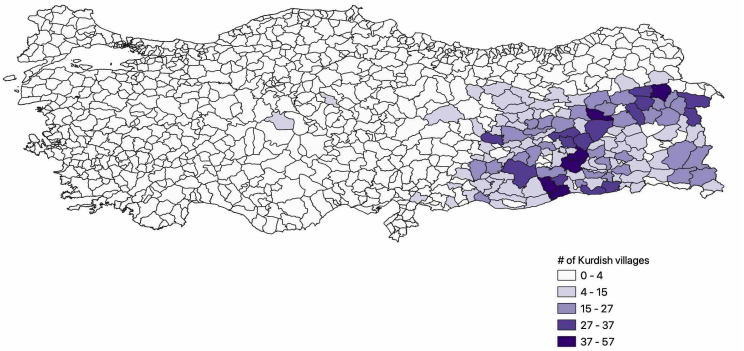


Sources: Turkish National Census, 1927.

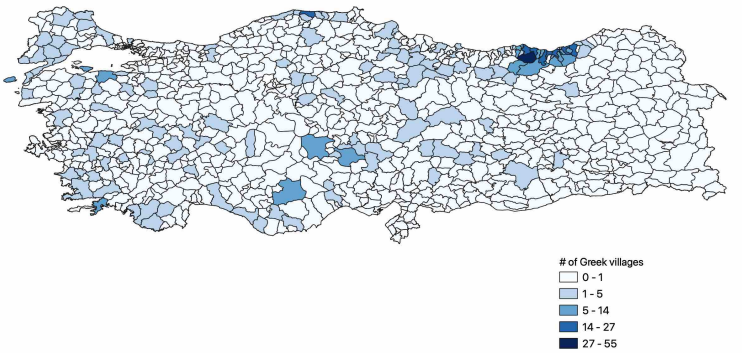
Figure B10: Distribution of Armenian, Kurdish and Greek Villages



(a) Armenian Villages



(b) Kurdish Villages



(c) Greek Villages

Note: This figures displays the number of minority villages per contemporary districts, using Nişanyan (2010).

Table B1: List of visited cities

City name	District	Province	Date of first visit	Total # of Visits	Whether or not it was a target
Ankara	Altindag	Ankara	29Oct1922	10+	1
Eskisehir	Odunpazari	Eskisehir	15Jan1923	10+	1
Arifiye	Arifiye	Sakarya	16Jan1923	1	0
Izmit	Izmit	Kocaeli	16Jan1923	4	1
Bilecik	Bilecik	Bilecik	19Jan1923	2	1
Bursa	Osmangazi	Bursa	20Jan1923	10+	1
Alasehir	Alasehir	Manisa	25Jan1923	1	1
Salihli	Salihli	Manisa	26Jan1923	2	0
Turgutlu	Turgutlu	Manisa	26Jan1923	3	0
Manisa	Sehzadeler	Manisa	26Jan1923	5	0
Menemen	Menemen	Izmir	26Jan1923	5	0
Karsiyaka	Pamukkale	Denizli	27Jan1923	2	0
Karsiyaka	Karsiyaka	Izmir	27Jan1923	2	0
Izmir	Konak	Izmir	27Jan1923	10+	1
Akhisar	Akhisar	Manisa	04Feb1923	3	0
Balikesir	Karesi	Balikesir	06Feb1923	7	1
Balya	Balya	Balikesir	08Feb1923	2	0
Edremit	Edremit	Balikesir	09Feb1923	2	1
Konya	Selcuklu	Konya	14Mar1923	10+	1
Yenice	Tarsus	Mersin	15Mar1923	5	0
Adana	Seyhan	Adana	15Mar1923	7	1
Mersin	Akdeniz	Mersin	17Mar1923	8	1
Tarsus	Tarsus	Mersin	17Mar1923	4	0
Afyonkarahisar	Afyonkarahisar	Afyonkarahisar	23Mar1923	7	1
Kutahya	Kutahya	Kutahya	24Mar1923	2	1
Dumlupinar	Dumlupinar	Kutahya	30Aug1924	1	1
Giresun	Giresun	Giresun	14Sep1924	2	1
Trabzon	Ortahisar	Trabzon	15Sep1924	3	1
Rize	Rize	Rize	17Sep1924	1	1
Ordu	Altinordu	Ordu	19Sep1924	1	1
Samsun	Ilkadim	Samsun	20Sep1924	3	1
Havza	Havza	Samsun	24Sep1924	3	0
Amasya	Amasya	Amasya	24Sep1924	3	0
Turhal	Turhal	Tokat	25Sep1924	3	0
Tokat	Tokat	Tokat	25Sep1924	3	0
Sivas	Sivas	Sivas	27Sep1924	5	1
Zara	Zara	Sivas	28Sep1924	1	0
Hafik	Hafik	Sivas	28Sep1924	1	0
Susehri	Susehri	Sivas	28Sep1924	1	0
Refahiye	Refahiye	Erzincan	29Sep1924	1	0
Erzincan	Erzincan	Erzincan	29Sep1924	1	0
Erzurum	Yakutiye	Erzurum	30Sep1924	1	1
Pasinler	Pasinler	Erzurum	02Oct1924	1	0
Sarikamis	Sarikamis	Kars	04Oct1924	1	0
Kars	Kars	Kars	06Oct1924	1	1
Tercan	Tercan	Erzincan	10Oct1924	1	0
Sebinkarahisar	Sebinkarahisar	Giresun	12Oct1924	1	0
Kayseri	Melikgazi	Kayseri	13Oct1924	4	1
Yozgat	Yozgat	Yozgat	15Oct1924	2	0
Kirsehir	Kirsehir	Kirsehir	17Oct1924	2	1
Dortyol	Dortyol	Hatay	13Jan1925	3	1
Silifke	Silifke	Mersin	27Jan1925	4	0
Tasucu	Silifke	Mersin	28Jan1925	4	1
Tekir	Silifke	Mersin	29Jan1925	2	0
Cankiri	Cankiri	Cankiri	23Aug1925	2	0
Kastamonu	Kastamonu	Kastamonu	23Aug1925	1	1
Seydiler	Seydiler	Kastamonu	25Aug1925	1	0
Kure	Kure	Kastamonu	25Aug1925	2	0
Inebolu	Inebolu	Kastamonu	25Aug1925	1	1
Devrekani	Devrekani	Kastamonu	28Aug1925	1	0
Taskopru	Taskopru	Kastamonu	29Aug1925	1	0
Daday	Daday	Kastamonu	29Aug1925	1	0
Mudanya	Mudanya	Bursa	12Sep1924	10+	1
Istanbul	Fatih	Istanbul	12Sep1924	10+	1
Gemlik	Gemlik	Bursa	04Oct1925	4	0
Soma	Soma	Manisa	10Oct1925	3	0
Kemalpasa	Kemalpasa	Izmir	12Oct1925	2	0
Bornova	Bornova	Izmir	12Oct1925	3	0
Usak	Usak	Usak	16Oct1925	4	0
Bozuyuk	Bozuyuk	Bilecik	19May1926	1	0
Bandirma	Bandirma	Balikesir	13Jun1926	2	1
Urla	Urla	Izmir	30Jun1926	1	0
Cesme	Cesme	Izmir	30Jun1926	1	1
Buyukada	Adalar	Istanbul	14Jul1927	9	0
Tekirdag	Suleymanpasa	Tekirdag	23Aug1928	1	1
Canakkale	Canakkale	Canakkale	01Sep1928	6	1
Eceabat	Eceabat	Canakkale	01Sep1928	1	0
Kucukanafarta	Eceabat	Canakkale	01Sep1928	1	0
Buyukanafarta	Eceabat	Canakkale	01Sep1928	1	0
Conkbayiri	Eceabat	Canakkale	01Sep1928	1	0
Ariburnu	Eceabat	Canakkale	01Sep1928	1	0
Gelibolu	Gelibolu	Canakkale	02Sep1928	1	0
Sinop	Sinop	Sinop	15Sep1928	1	1
Imrali	Karacabey	Bursa	10Aug1929	1	0
Yalova	Yalova	Yalova	19Aug1929	10+	1
Derince	Derince	Kocaeli	15Dec1929	9	0
Isparta	Isparta	Isparta	06Mar1930	1	0
Burdur	Burdur	Burdur	06Mar1930	1	0

Table B1: List of visited cities

City name	District	Province	Date of first visit	Total # of Visits	Whether or not it was a target
Antalya	Muratpasa	Antalya	06Mar1930	4	1
Serik	Serik	Antalya	09Mar1930	1	0
Gemerek	Gemerek	Sivas	20Nov1930	1	0
Carsamba	Carsamba	Samsun	24Nov1930	1	0
Catalca	Catalca	Istanbul	19Dec1930	1	0
Alpullu	Babaeski	Kirklareli	20Dec1930	1	0
Kirklareli	Kirklareli	Kirklareli	20Dec1930	1	1
Corlu	Corlu	Tekirdag	21Dec1930	3	0
Edirne	Edirne	Edirne	21Dec1930	1	1
Havsa	Havsa	Edirne	25Dec1930	NA	0
Babaeski	Babaeski	Kirklareli	25Dec1930	1	0
Cigli	Cigli	Izmir	27Jan1931	2	0
Selcuk	Selcuk	Izmir	03Feb1931	2	0
Germencik	Germencik	Aydin	03Feb1931	2	0
Aydin	Karacasu	Aydin	05Mar1930	3	1
Nazilli	Nazilli	Aydin	05Mar1930	3	0
Denizli	Merkezefendi	Denizli	05Mar1930	2	1
Malatya	Battalgazi	Malatya	13Feb1931	2	1
Misis	Yuregir	Adana	15Feb1931	2	0
Zonguldak	Zonguldak	Zonguldak	26Aug1931	1	1
Karadenizeregli	Eregli	Zonguldak	26Aug1931	1	0
Cinarcik	Cinarcik	Yalova	22Jul1932	1	0
Sile	Sile	Istanbul	10Oct1932	1	0
Cubuk	Cubuk	Ankara	27Jun1932	2	0
Gaziantep	Sehitkamil	Gaziantep	26Jan1933	1	1
Narli	Pazarcik	Kahramanmaras	27Jan1933	2	0
Fethiye	Fethiye	Mugla	30Jan1933	2	1
Marmaris	Marmaris	Mugla	30Jan1933	2	1
Ahlatlibel	Cankaya	Ankara	05May1933	1	0
Bala	Bala	Ankara	01Feb1934	1	0
Kaman	Kaman	Kirsehir	01Feb1934	1	0
Yerkoy	Yerkoy	Yozgat	20Sep1928	1	1
Sefaatli	Sefaatli	Yozgat	04Feb1934	1	0
Bogazkoy	Bogazkale	Corum	04Feb1934	1	0
Nigde	Nigde	Nigde	05Feb1934	1	1
Ciftehan	Ulukisla	Nigde	06Feb1934	1	0
Muradiye	Yunusemre	Manisa	09Apr1934	1	0
Foca	Foca	Izmir	09Apr1934	1	0
Gaziemir	Gaziemir	Izmir	10Apr1934	2	0
Kusadasi	Kusadasi	Aydin	10Apr1934	1	0
Seferihisar	Seferihisar	Izmir	11Apr1934	1	0
Bergama	Bergama	Izmir	13Apr1934	1	0
Dikili	Dikili	Izmir	13Apr1934	1	0
Ayvalik	Ayvalik	Balikesir	13Apr1934	1	0
Kucukkuyu	Ayvacik	Canakkale	14Apr1934	1	0
Ezine	Ezine	Canakkale	14Apr1934	1	0
Kizilcahamam	Kizilcahamam	Ankara	16Jul1934	1	0
Gerede	Gerede	Bolu	17Jul1934	1	0
Bolu	Bolu	Bolu	17Jul1934	1	0
Adapazari	Adapazari	Sakarya	02May1931	2	1
Alanya	Alanya	Antalya	18Feb1935	1	0
Muratli	Muratli	Tekirdag	03Jun1936	1	1
Cerkezkoy	Cerkezkoy	Tekirdag	16Aug1937	1	0
Luleburgaz	Luleburgaz	Kirklareli	17Aug1937	1	1
Soke	Soke	Aydin	10Oct1937	1	0
Cetinkaya	Kangal	Sivas	13Nov1937	1	0
Diyarbakir	Baglar	Diyarbakir	15Nov1937	1	1
Elazig	Elazig	Elazig	17Nov1937	1	1
Pertek	Pertek	Tunceli	17Nov1937	1	0
Viransehir	Mezitli	Mersin	21May1938	1	0
Erdek	Erdek	Balikesir	24Jun1938	1	1
Hereke	Korfez	Kocaeli	17Jan1923	1	0
Cerkesli	Dilovasi	Kocaeli	19Jan1923	1	0
Tavsancil	Dilovasi	Kocaeli	19Jan1923	1	0
Gebze	Gebze	Kocaeli	19Jan1923	1	0
Burhaniye	Burhaniye	Balikesir	15Apr1934	1	0
Gomec	Gomec	Balikesir	15Apr1934	1	0
Sivrice	Sivrice	Elazig	17Nov1937	1	0
Maden	Maden	Elazig	17Nov1937	1	0
Korfez	Korfez	Kocaeli	17Jan1923	1	0
Kalecik	Kalecik	Ankara	23Aug1925	1	0
Ilgaz	Ilgaz	Cankiri	23Aug1925	1	0
Ecevit	Kure	Kastamonu	25Aug1925	1	0
Gol	Kastamonu	Kastamonu	30Aug1925	1	0
Kiyik	Kastamonu	Kastamonu	30Aug1925	1	0
Kizilcullu	Buca	Izmir	05Feb1931	1	0
Egirdir	Egirdir	Isparta	06Mar1930	1	0
Talas	Talas	Kayseri	04Feb1934	1	0
Ayvacik	Ayvacik	Canakkale	14Apr1934	1	0
Duzce	Duzce	Duzce	18Jul1934	1	0
Ergani	Ergani	Diyarbakir	15Nov1937	1	0

Note: This table lists all visited cities (and contemporary district and province in which they are), as well as the date of the first visit, the total number of times the city was visited and an indicator of whether it was a targeted city.

Table B2: Detailed Information on the itineraries with stops along the road

Start Point	Ending Point	Transportation Mode	Departure Date	Arrival Date	# stops	Names of the stops					
Eskisehir	Izmit	Railway	16Jan1923	16Jan1923	6	Arifiye	Hereke	Korfez	Cerkesli	Tavsancil	Gebze
Alasehir	Izmir	Railway	25Jan1923	27Jan1923	5	Salihli	Turgutlu	Manisa	Menemen	Karsiyaka	
Izmir	Balikesir	Railway	04Feb1923	06Feb1923	1	Akhisar					
Balikesir	Izmir	Railway	08Feb1923	10Feb1923	2	Balya	Edremit				
Izmir	Ankara	Railway	18Feb1923	20Feb1923	1	Eskisehir					
Ankara	Adana	Railway	13Mar1923	15Mar1923	2	Konya	Yenice				
Adana	Mersin	Railway	17Mar1923	17Mar1923	1	Tarsus					
Mersin	Ankara	Railway	17Mar1923	25Mar1923	3	Konya	Afyon	Kutahya			
Ankara	Izmir	Railway	31Dec1923	02Jan1924	1	Menemen					
Bursa	Trabzon	Boat	12Sep1924	15Sep1924	1	Mudanya					
Samsun	Sivas	Road	24Sep1924	27Sep1924	3	Havza	Amasya	Tokat			
Sivas	Erzurum	Road	27Sep1924	30Sep1924	4	Zara	Hafik	Susehiri	Erzincan		
Erzurum	Kars	Road	30Sep1924	10Oct1924	1	Sarikamis					
Kars	Sivas	Road	10Oct1924	12Oct1924	3	Tercan	Erzincan	Sebinkarahisar			
Sivas	Ankara	Road	12Oct1924	18Oct1924	3	Kayseri	Yozgat	Kirsehir			
Konya	Adana	Railway	13Jan1925	13Jan1925	1	Dortyol					
Adana	Mersin	Railway	20Jan1925	20Jan1925	4	Yenice	Tarsus	Silifke	Tasucu		
Ankara	Kastamonu	Road	23Aug1925	23Aug1925	1	Cankiri					
Kastamonu	Inebolu	Railway	23Aug1925	25Aug1925	2	Seydilier	Kure				
Inebolu	Kastamonu	Road	25Aug1925	28Aug1925	3	Devrekani	Daday	Taskopru			
Kastamonu	Ankara	Road	29Aug1925	01Sep1925	1	Cankiri					
Ankara	Bursa	Railway	20Sep1925	22Sep1925	2	Izmit	Mudanya	Mudanya	Gemlik		
Balikesir	Izmir	Railway	08Oct1925	11Oct1925	5	Soma	Akhisar	Manisa	Kemalpasa	Bornova	
Izmir	Konya	Railway	13Oct1925	17Oct1925	1	Usak					
Konya	Ankara	Railway	21Oct1925	22Oct1925	1	Afyon					
Ankara	Mersin	Railway	07May1926	10May1926	4	Konya	Tarsus	S?lifke	Tasucu		
Mersin	Adana	Railway	12May1926	16May1926	3	Tekir	Yenice	Dortyol			
Adana	Bursa	Railway	16May1926	20May1926	2	Konya	Bozuyuk				
Bursa	Bandirma	Railway	04Jun1926	13Jun1926	1	Mudanya					
Bandirma	Izmir	Railway	13Jun1926	16Jun1926	4	Balikesir	Manisa	Soma	Menemen		
Izmir	Cesme	Railway	16Jun1926	30Jun1926	1	Urla					
Ankara	Istanbul	Railway	30Jun1927	01Jul1927	1	Izmit					
Istanbul	Bursa	Boat	01Jul1927	15Jul1927	2	Buyukada	Mudanya				
Ankara	Istanbul	Boat	04Jun1928	05Jun1928	1	Buyukada					
Istanbul	Bursa	Railway	23Aug1928	27Aug1928	1	Mudanya					
Istanbul	Canakkale	Boat	01Sep1928	01Sep1928	3	Eceabat	Ariburnu	Anafartalar			
Canakkale	Istanbul	Boat	01Sep1928	Sep1928	1	Gelibolu					
Samsun	Sivas	Road	18Sep1928	18Sep1928	1	Havza	Tokat	Turhal	Amasya		
Kayseri	Ankara	Railway	20Sep1928	21Sep1928	1	Yerkoy					
Ankara	Istanbul	Railway	05Aug1929	06Aug1929	1	Eskisehir					
Istanbul	Bursa	Railway+Road	Aug1929	21Aug1929	2	Yalova	Gemlik				
Yalova	Ankara	Railway	15Dec1929	16Dec1929	1	Derince					
Izmir	Antalya	Railway	05Mar1930	06Mar1930	4	Nazilli	Isparta	Burdur	Serik		
Kayseri	Sivas	Railway	19Nov1930	20Nov1930	1	Gemerek					
Sivas	Samsun	Railway	21Nov1930	21Nov1930	5	Tokat	Turhal	Havza	Amasya	Carsamba	
Istanbul	Kirklareli	Railway	19Dec1930	20Dec1930	2	Catalca	Alpullu				
Kirklareli	Edirne	Railway	21Dec1930	21Dec1930	1	Corlu					
Edirne	Istanbul	Railway	25Dec1930	25Dec1930	2	Havsa	Babaeski				
Istanbul	Bursa	Boat	03Jan1931	04Jan1931	1	Mudanya					
Bursa	Ankara	Railway	05Jan1931	06Jan1931	2	Derince					
Ankara	Izmir	Railway	25Jan1931	27Jan1931	6	Usak	Turgutlu	Cigli	Kemalpasa	Armutlu	Karsiyaka
Izmir	Aydin	Railway	03Feb1931	03Feb1931	2	Selcuk	Germencik				
Aydin	Denizli	Railway	03Feb1931	04Feb1931	1	Nazilli					
Balikesir	Izmir	Railway	08Feb1931	08Feb1931	1	Cigli					
Izmir	Antalya	Railway	08Feb1931	10Feb1931	1	Tasucu					
Antalya	Malatya	Road	10Feb1931	13Feb1931	3	Silifke	Tasucu	Mersin			
Dortyol	Adana	Railway	15Feb1931	16Feb1931	1	Yuregir					
Ankara	Istanbul	Boat	20Jul1931	21Jul1931	1	Eskisehir					
Istanbul	Bursa	Railway	Aug1931	Aug1931	2	Mudanya	Yalova				
Istanbul	Zonguldak	Boat	Aug1931	26Aug1931	1	Karadenizeregli					
Istanbul	Ankara	Road	Jun1932	Jun1932	1	Cubuk					
Ankara	Yalova	Boat	15Jul1932	16Jul1932	1	Derince					

Table B2: Detailed Information on the itineraries with stops along the road

Start Point	Ending Point	Transportation Mode	Departure Date	Arrival Date	# stops	Names of the stops					
Yalova	Istanbul	Boat	16Jul1932	31Jul1932	2	Cinarcik	Buyukada				
Ankara	Bursa	Railway	16Jan1933	17Jan1933	2	Eskisehir	Derince				
Bursa	Balikesir	Boat + Rail	17Jan1933	21Jan1933	4	Mudanya	Gemlik	Bandirma	Yenikoy		
Kutahya	Adana	Railway	24Jan1933	25Jan1933	3	Afyon	Konya	Yenice			
Gaziantep	Mersin	Railway	27Jan1933	28Jan1933	3	Narli	Adana	Yenice			
Antalya	Izmir	Railway	28Jan1933	31Jan1933	3	Fethiye	Marmaris	Bornova			
Afyonkarahisar	Bursa	Railway	04Feb1933	06Feb1933	1	Bilecik					
Bursa	Istanbul	Railway	06Feb1933	06Feb1933	1	Mudanya					
Ankara	Kirsehir	Railway	01Feb1934	01Feb1934	2	Bala	Kaman				
Kirsehir	Yerkoy	Railway	01Feb1934	02Feb1934	1	Yozgat					
Yerkoy	Kayseri	Railway	04Feb1934	04Feb1934	1	Sefaatli					
Nigde	Konya	Railway	06Feb1934	06Feb1934	1	Ciftehan					
Ankara	Izmir	Railway	07Apr1934	09Apr1934	6	Usak	Salihli	Manisa	Muradiye	Menemen	Foca ;
Izmir	Edremit	Railway	13Apr1934	13Apr1934	5	Bergama	Dikili	Ayvalik	Burhaniye	Gomec	
Edremit	Canakkale	Railway	13Apr1934	15Apr1934	3	Kucukkuyu	Ayvalik	Ezine			
Canakkale	Balikesir	Railway	15Apr1934	15Apr1934	1	Balya					
Balikesir	Ankara	Railway	16Apr1934	17Apr1934	1	Eskisehir					
Istanbul	Yalova	Boat	02May1934	02May1934	1	Bursa					
Yalova	Ankara	Railway	05May1934	06May1934	1	Derince					
Eskisehir	Izmir	Railway	21Jun1934	22Jun1934	5	Afyon	Usak	Turgutlu	Manisa	Gaziemir	
Izmir	Balikesir	Railway	24Jun1934	24Jun1934	3	Akhisar	Soma	Menemen			
Canakkale	Istanbul	Boat	26Jun1934	26Jun1934	1	Buyukada					
Yalova	Ankara	Railway	07Jul1934	08Jul1934	1	Derince					
Ankara	Istanbul	Railway	16Jul1934	19Jul1934	5	Kizilcahamam	Gerede	Bolu	Duzce	Adapazari	
Antalya	Tasucu	Boat	18Feb1935	20Feb1935	1	Alanya					
Tasucu	Mersin	Boat	21Feb1935	21Feb1935	1	Silifke					
Marmaris	Istanbul	Boat	24Feb1935	25Feb1935	1	Canakkale					
Istanbul	Ankara	Railway	03Jun1935	04Jun1935	1	Yalova					
Ankara	Istanbul	Railway	27Jun1935	28Jun1935	2	Bursa					
Istanbul	Muratli	Railway	03Jun1936	03Jun1936	1	Corlu					
Istanbul	Ankara	Railway	08Jun1936	09Jun1936	1	Eskisehir					
Istanbul	Ankara	Railway	28Jul1936	29Jul1936	1	Buyukada					
Konya	Ankara	Railway	08Jan1937	08Jan1937	1	Eskisehir					
Istanbul	Trabzon	Boat	08Jun1937	10Jun1937	1	Yalova					
Trabzon	Istanbul	Boat	12Jun1937	13Jun1937	2	Yalova					
Istanbul	Luleburgaz	Railway	16Aug1937	17Aug1937	2	Cerkezkoy	Corlu				
Istanbul	Ankara	Railway	03Oct1937	04Oct1937	1	Derince					
Ankara	Aydin	Railway	08Oct1937	08Oct1937	2	Nazilli	Soke				
Ankara	Diyarbakir	Railway	12Nov1937	15Nov1937	3	Sivas	Cetinkaya	Malatya			
Diyarbakir	Elazig	Railway	16Nov1937	17Nov1937	3	Maden	Sivrice	Pertek			
Elazig	Adana	Railway	18Nov1937	19Nov1937	1	Yuregir					
Mersin	Ankara	Railway	19Nov1937	20Nov1937	2	Konya	Afyon				
Ankara	Yalova	Railway	20Jan1938	21Jan1938	1	Derince					
Istanbul	Ankara	Road	24Feb1938	25Feb1938	1	Cubuk					
Ankara	Mersin	Railway	20May1938	20May1938	1	Mezitli					
Mersin	Adana	Railway	24May1938	24May1938	1	Tarsus					

Note: This table lists all itineraries where stops were made on the road. The start point and ending points denote the targeted ”termini” cities.

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