

**SOCIAL POLICIES ON FEMALE BODY  
IN TURKEY IN THE 1930S**

by

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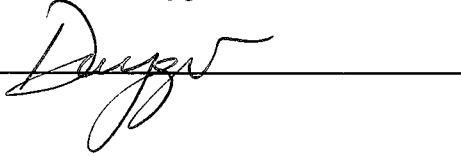
“Social Policies on Female Body in Turkey in the 1930s”, a thesis prepared by  
Laden Yurttagüler in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts  
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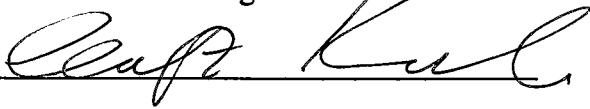
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Title: Social Policies on Female Body in Turkey in the 1930s

This thesis explores the social policies on female body in the 1930s in Turkey. The 1930s witnessed the construction and the institutionalization of the new regime. Early Republican elite had a vision and a project in the “creation” of the new generation and the construction of the new state. Nationalist discourse due to its unification effect and modernist discourse due to its stress on the progress had hegemonic tone in the project. With the impacts of the nationalist and modernist discourse, female body was determined as a “social” value. In this study, the construction of female identity, which is defined as a “social” value in the 1930s project, was questioned. This thesis that particularly examined the “desired” practices of female body sought to display the regulation of the everyday life by the new system with the legal applications, moral and social discourses. In order to follow the developed policies on body, particularly female body, the scientific, nationalist and modernist discourses and their effects on female body were examined.

Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkilâp Tarihi Enstitüsünde Yüksek Lisans derecesi için Laden Yurttagüler tarafından Eylül 2004'te teslim edilen tezin kısa özeti

**Başlık: 1930lar Türkiye'sinde Kadın Bedeni Üzerine Sosyal Politikalar**

Bu tez 1930'larda Türkiye'de kadın bedeni üzerine geliştirilen sosyal politikaları ele almaktadır. 1930'lar yeni rejimin kurulması ve kurumsallaşmasına tanıklık eden yıllar olarak düşünülebilir. Cumhuriyetin erken dönem elitleri yeni neslin "yaratılmasında" ve yeni devletin kurulmasında bir vizyona ve projeye sahiptirler. Projede birleştirici olduğu için milliyetçi ve ilerlemeyi vurguladığı için için modernist söylemin hakim olduğu söylenebilir. Milliyetçi ve modernist söylemlerin etkisiyle kadın bedeni "sosyal" bir değer olarak öne çıkmıştır. Bu çalışmada "sosyal" bir değer olarak tanımlanan kadın kimliğinin 1930'ların projesinde kurgulanması sorgulanmıştır. Özellikle kadın bedeni tarafından uygulanması "istenen" pratiklere bakan bu çalışma, yeni rejimin günlük hayatı, hukuki uygulamalar, ahlaki ve sosyal söylemlerle nasıl düzenlemeye çalıştığını ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Bedenin, özellikle kadın bedeninin üzerine geliştirilen politikaları izlemek için 1930'larda üretilen bilimsel, milliyetçi ve modernist söylemler ve bu söylemlerin kadın bedeni üzerinde yaratmaya çalıştığı etkiler incelenmiştir.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In the interwar period, in the 1920s and 1930s, the Turkish Republic struggled with problems related to the former system of the Ottoman Empire and settlement of the new regime. Influences from the world abroad, such as the rise of nationalism and militarism, and the Great Depression affected the transformation process of the young Republic. In the 1930s, the elites of the new regime were still trying to turkify the nation, to resettle the immigrants, to fight against diseases and to increase the population. It was assumed by the predominant figures of the new regime that the aforementioned diagnosed problems could only be solved by “young and healthy” generations. The early Republican elites had a vision and project to apply in the creation of this new generation. This project attempted to construct a nation with the goal of “progress” towards modernization.

The state could be interpreted as an essentially imaginative construction and an ideological project.<sup>1</sup> The Turkish Republic was a “state in the construction.” This paper thus analyzes a set of policies and narratives that fed each other in the formation of the new system. The narratives of the 1930s, particularly, pointed to the new regime’s target, which was democracy and equality among citizens. The new

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<sup>1</sup> Ayşe Gül Altınay, “Making Citizens, Making Soldiers: Military Service, Gender and National Identity in Turkey” (Ph.D diss., Duke University, 2001), p. 10.

regime sought to create new citizens of the Republic. Related to the citizenship paradigm, despite the “all citizens are equal” slogan of the Republic’s project, it aimed to create two different citizens’ identities – male and female – with different duties, rights and responsibilities. The Republican regime can be considered to have been a male dominant project, since the decision makers were mostly men.

Republican woman figured as the “modern mothers” of the nation who were in charge of raising sons/soldiers for the nation.<sup>2</sup> Therefore the definition and figure of “modern mothers/women” inevitably took one of the crucial places in the citizenship construction project.

This thesis focuses on the state’s project concerning the woman of the new Republic. Surely, it is not argued that the project was well planned, organized or systematically imposed/applied. But I questioned the construction process of the identity of woman during the 1930s. If the female body is defined as a *social* value of a nation and located in the modern domain of knowledge/state,<sup>3</sup> then it becomes crucial to examine the symbolization and the representation of the female *body* on the discursive level related to the governmental practices in the 1930s. Through this construction process, focus is directed to the desired practices of the state on female bodies.

The practices intended by the government to be applied on female body could be described as a part of nationalist and modernist project. I aim to display the state’s policy and its project, which affected woman’s everyday life and so shaped her daily practices. As “mother of the Republic,” woman was situated in the private sphere. Yet “daughter of the Republic” also became a symbol of the modernization of the

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<sup>2</sup> Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap* (Reform without Woman) (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2003), pp. 22-23.

<sup>3</sup> David Horn, *Social Bodies* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 4.

new regime. Therefore this paper traces the nationalist and modernist practices on the female body both in the private and public spheres. Since reproduction, housework, health, and outlook have direct impacts on the body and therefore on daily experiences, the traces of the state's practices to shape female bodies can be followed through these channels.

Transforming the "biological" body into the "discursive" body allows for the discussion of the "scientific" results, processes, explanations and practices, which allows for the body and the practices toward it to be read as text, as if we assume that, "science and technological practices are historically and culturally produced, thus biomedicine and its associated technologies, like all other cultural domains, are subject to discursive negotiation."<sup>4</sup> An analysis will be made of the state's attempt to regulate and control the female body through modern scientific knowledge.

Throughout the paper, I tried to trace the processes through which female bodies were controlled through a set of discourses and practices, which aimed to govern both the individual's body and the health, education and welfare of the population.<sup>5</sup> Since due to their reproductive capacities and representative powers, women are a concern for the state and society, nationalist values, in addition to scientific knowledge, helped to regulate the behaviors of women. In the Republican project, two dominant discourses, science and nationalism, overlapped and fed each other to create the "daughters/mothers of the Republic." Analyzing the representation of the identity of woman will help to locate woman's position in the process of structuring

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<sup>4</sup> Margaret Lock and Patricia A. Kaufert, "Introduction," in *Pragmatic Women and Body Politics*, eds. Margaret Lock and Patricia A. Kaufert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Jana Sawicki, "Disciplining Mothers: Feminism and the New Reproductive Technologies," in *Feminist Theory and the Body*, eds. Janet Price and Margrit Shildrick (New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 190.

the “Republican and modern” society as a part of the modernist and nationalist agenda of the early Republican period.

One of the arguable areas of my study is the identity of Turkish woman. Chatterjee argues that the struggle of woman’s agency and the contestation area of governmental practices became the middle class woman’s home.<sup>6</sup> Therefore the desired body, which was subjected to regulations and control, was the middle class woman’s (the average woman’s) body. Throughout the thesis, though I look at the female body in the Turkish Republic during the 1930s, what is underlined is the “differentiation” of female bodies in the Republic’s project. The project aimed at the fixity of “woman,” which leads to the idea of a unifying body (all of the women of the Republic). Throughout the thesis, since I’m trying to argue the representation of the female body as an object of the project, the narrative – which I produced – was also limited to the idea that “all female bodies are the same,” especially in the chapters where the focus is given to women’s biological capacity to give birth and women’s historically structured bodily functions as nurturers. However, as Probyn clearly states, replacing the body with anatomy could lead us to ignore the differences between female bodies of different classes and minorities.<sup>7</sup> Again I’d like to restate at this point, the new regime’s project mainly depended on “creating citizens.” In this process, the motto was based on the “indifferent” citizens. Therefore, taking “women” as a unitary category in order to analyze the

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<sup>6</sup> Partha Chatterjee, *Ulus ve Parçaları* (The Nation and its Fragments), trans. İsmail Çekem (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p. 229.

<sup>7</sup> Elspeth Probyn, “Theorizing through the Body,” in *Women Making Meaning*, eds. Lana F. Rakow (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), p. 89.

representation of the Republic is re-producing the 1930s regime's narrative, which tried to erase the differences and came up with slogans about "indifferent and equal" citizens. Since this slogan emphasized the regular, "normal" man of society, I think, it is necessary to state that throughout my analysis, the female body is that which belonged to the woman who described herself as "middling" class/average and Turk.

Through my thesis, the "official" discourse about regulating and controlling the female body are reflected. The sources used narrate the history from the "rule-maker/constructor" perspective. Looking from this perspective may lead us to assume that women were passive recipients/appliers of the project or that they did not reject what was offered to them. Since my interpretations depend on the discourse analysis of the elites, no matter how careful and sophisticated, they tend to leave us with little knowledge about men's and women's actual lives.<sup>8</sup> The questions raised by this study do not address the practices and the responses of the Republican women to the new regime's policies. Unfortunately, I was not able to look at the stories of the every day lives of women. Researching the intense battles over rights and restrictions in the lives of women through oral history is beyond the scope of this study.

Another arguable area is related to the main subject of the study: the body. By focusing on the body, I never tried to reproduce the dichotomy between body and mind. On the contrary, I sought to exhibit the practices of the dichotomy and the analogies constructed on this particular discourse. According to this narrative, nature, woman, the private and the physical were taking a side, whereas science, man, public

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<sup>8</sup> For a similar problem in finding resources and reflecting the lives of men and women, see the introduction chapter of Soland's study, where she discusses the problems derived from the nature of such research. Birgitte Soland, *Becoming Modern* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 7.

and mental were on the other side.<sup>9</sup> Looking at the female body helped me to analysis the construction of such narratives around the identity of woman. Yet a detailed analysis of the production of those dichotomies must remain the subject of another study due to its wide range.

The theoretical formation of the paper is based mainly on the literature of gender studies focused on the subject “*body*.” A high percentage of the sources in this thesis were based on the speeches or articles of prominent figures of the decade. Since I look at the project, the perspectives of “the architects” (the Republican elite) took the most crucial place in the narrative. The written and visual material used in this paper were produced mainly during the 1930s. The 1930s project and its implications, whether they changed during the process or not, were based on complicated social, cultural and political negotiations. To understand, or at least to analyze, the impacts on the female citizens of the Republic, I tried to display the intended aims of the new project based on published primary sources such as parliamentary transcripts, statistical evidence, newspapers, women’s magazines, advice manuals, popular fiction, health magazines and contemporary reverential journals.

First of all, I examined the women’s magazine *Muhit*, which yielded the most significant data about the domestic sphere in which women wanted to be situated.

The codes of “modern” woman were drawn and determined through appearance,

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<sup>9</sup> For further discussions about dichotomies, see Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 1996); Ludmilla Jordanova, “Natural Facts: A Historical Perspective on Science and Sexuality, in *Feminist Theory and the Body*,” eds. Janet Price and Margrit Shildrick (New York: Routledge, 1999).

involving aspects such as fashion and make-up, as well as with the change of the attitude, such as with the recommendations to regulate how to behave, talk or express oneself. In these magazines it is also possible to find out the formula of modern life. Know-how about housework such as how to cook, clean or serve household members was provided. Newspapers such as *Cumhuriyet* offered discussions about the social and political life of the period in state-determined discourses.

Journals published by the Public Houses (*Halkevleri*) have an important place in my thesis. Particularly *Ülkü* and *Yeni Türk* were my sources for following the official discourse of the Republic. The Public Houses were fundamental institutions created by the Republic. Their structure, aims and functioning help us to understand the “desired society” of the Republic. *Ülkü* was the journal of the central Public House, Ankara Public House, published in 1932. It helped to draw the contours of the state’s official discourse as the articles were written by the leading figures and intellectuals of the new Republic. Articles in the Public Houses’ Journals appeared like explanations of state policy. *Yeni Türk* was the journal of the Istanbul Public House. At the beginning of my thesis, I hypothesized that there would be a difference between two “centers” – Ankara and Istanbul - of the Republic. Yet on the subject of “female body,” they produced similar discourses despite the differing genders of their writers. *Yeni Türk* had female writers whereas all of *Ülkü*’s writers were male. These journals also featured news from the various Public Houses, pictures and future-oriented plans/projections, which offer clues about the tone and the degree of the relation between the public and the state. The journals functioned as a key to recognizing the decade’s leading figures. As a complementary source to the *Ülkü* and *Yeni Türk*, I looked at the People's Republican Party conferences series. During the 1931 the general assembly of the People's Republican Party, the party’s principles

became part of the state's policy. Therefore it is helpful to analyze the Party's conferences, enacted laws and articles in the official magazines to see the whole picture.

Writers such as Yakup Kadri and Nezihe Muhittin also help to follow the reflections of the official ideology, since they were the leading literary figures of the era under examination. Through my analysis, I realized that the official discourse during this period about the woman and woman's body also involved medical prevention methods and concerns, therefore journals like *Sihhi Sahifalar* and *Sihhiye Vekaleti Mecmuası* offer valuable clues on social policy. Articles in these journals aimed to regulate the daily activities of woman through scientific knowledge.

Another magazine, which became a self-representation tool for the new Republic, was *La Turquie Kémaliste*. *La Turquie Kémaliste* was published in Ankara between the years 1934 and 1948. I benefited most from the photographs in the magazine. *La Turquie Kémaliste* with its foreign language articles and photographs provided data on woman's "modern" appearance. Materials written and published during the 1930s are plentiful. Yet as the focus of the paper is the state's project, I limited my study to the official narrative of the regime produced by the predominant figures of the decade.

In my study I analyze the "conventions and codes of representations and their work in constructing subjectivities"<sup>10</sup> related to the female body, looking at the desired functions and locations of the female body. As complementary evidence I support the construction of the female body's "physical" existence with symbolic values such as patriotic feeling or the sacred place of motherhood woman carried. Not only articles, but also visual material such as photographs – the way women

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<sup>10</sup> Probyn, p. 90.



dressed, for example - helped me to analyze the representation of woman's identity in early Republican Turkey.

Rather than focusing on a single topic, bounded site, I examined different threads that have to do with the reproduction, health and motherhood are interwoven together in a large, cultural space. The chapters of the thesis are based on conceptual divisions such as reproduction and motherhood. In this way, I was able to reach the systematic manner in which the power was practiced on the body. The same order also allowed me to see the state's regulating activity in modernist and nationalist ways. After an opening chapter that discussed the theoretical framework of the thesis and describes Republican Turkey during the 1930s, the paper is divided into three main parts. The opening chapter consists of two parts. The main theoretical framework of the thesis is discussed in the first part of this chapter. In first part, I discuss the relationship between social sphere and the individual body. Referring to Horn's study *Social Bodies* and Donzelot's study *The Policing of Families* I focus on the constructing process of "social." The theoretical structure of the "body politics" and its place in the "social" are examined. In the second part of this chapter, I look at the Turkish Republic as a state in construction. Therefore, here, I discuss the main ideological formation of the young Republic. I argue that the identity of the "Republic's woman" in the 1930s context turned into an area of legitimation, modernization and unification of the nation.

Chapter Three is the place, where I discuss the "population problem" of Turkey. This chapter examines the connections between the conceptions of the welfare of society, population, health politics and pronatal policies. At the end of the

chapter, I further suggest that this relationship between those concepts has established a eugenic tone in the pronatal policies of Turkey.

The implications of this formulation are discussed in Chapters Four and Chapter Five. In both chapters I focus on the practice of the reproduction. Reproduction was mainly based on pronatal policies, medical concerns, the sexuality of woman, mothering identity and nationalist values. To draw the boundaries of female citizen identity during the 1930s Turkey, I looked at both the expected duties and roles of woman, which are mainly based on their “bodies.” In Chapter Four, I suggest that the close relationship established between the female and reproduction turns woman’s body into a “reproductive tool.” The sexuality of woman was directly related to marriage and reproduction. In the last part of this chapter, I discuss the possible “negative” circumstances of the reproduction, such as bachelorhood and venereal diseases.

In Chapter Five I argue that woman was held responsible, not only for giving birth but also for raising children. I analyze the relationship between the female identity and nurturing process. Moreover, I discuss that linked to the nurturing duty of woman, she was held responsible for re-producing the nationalist discourse. I argue that woman was drawn as the “mother of the nation.” In an effort to see the effects of the relationship between nationalism and modernization on female body, I look at the domestic sphere. In the last part of Chapter Five, drawing upon woman’s magazines, I discuss the aim of rationalizing women in the household.

In my thesis the story of the Republican woman is narrated through their bodies, which were turned into objects that needed to be regulated and controlled, even exhibited, for the sake of the new system and welfare of society.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE RELATION BETWEEN THE “SOCIAL” SPHERE and THE BODY

“Begin...not with a continent or a country or a house, but with the geography closest in – the body.”<sup>11</sup>

This chapter of the study consists of two parts. In the first part, I discuss the relation between the population and the state mechanisms. Moreover, it is argued that there is a strong relationship between the population, which is defined later as the “social body,” and the individual body that caused direct intervention of the state to the physical “*body*” of individuals. In the last part of the section, it is claimed that female body particularly has a pivotal effect in the control and regulation of the “social body.”

In the “Structuring the 1930s Turkey as a Project” part of this chapter, I examine the construction process of the 1930s Turkey and the implications of its legitimation, modernization and unification process on the population. It is suggested that the modernization and unification process of the Republic had direct impacts on the citizens, particularly female citizens.

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<sup>11</sup> Adrienne Rich, “Notes toward a Politics of Location,” in *Blood, Bread and Poetry* (London: Virago Press, 1987), p. 212. Quoted from Probyn, p. 84.

The eighteen and nineteenth centuries witnessed the change of the relationship between the state and society. The institutional differentiation of modern societies started with the change in the production systems. The administrative techniques of the state locate “the mechanisms of production” at the center of the attention. In this sense, population as the mechanism of production was turned into the pivotal subject. In line with the differentiating concerns of the nineteenth century, the administration techniques changed.<sup>12</sup>

The modern state has focused on the development of population’s productive capacity.<sup>13</sup> Therefore it became necessary to ensure the well being of the population. In Foucault’s well known lecture, “Governmentality,” one of the most critical (and differentiating) features of the new type of government was stated as its focus on “its inhabitants.”<sup>14</sup> The health, improvement of the living conditions, and welfare of the population, which were called the “social questions,” were turned into the concerns of the state.<sup>15</sup>

As Dean suggests, “every theory, or program of government presupposes an end, a telos: a type of person, community, organization, society and a world which is to be achieved.”<sup>16</sup> The new type of government aimed to reach a “particular” type of population. Therefore the project of the state / power aimed, in the end, to control the population. The new type of government took the institutions and practices that

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<sup>12</sup> For a detailed discussion of the change of the relation between the administration techniques and population, see Micheal Foucault, *Toplumun Savunmak Gerekir* (Society must be defended), trans. Şehsuvar Aktaş (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002).

<sup>13</sup> Nadir Özbek, “Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Sosyal Devlet” (Welfare State reconsidered: Social Policy in the Late Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey), in *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 92 (Spring 2002), p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> Micheal Foucault, “Governmentality,” in *The Foucault Effect – Studies in Governmentality*, eds. Graham Butchell, Colin Gordon, Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 87-104.

<sup>15</sup> Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (London: Sage Publications, 1999), p. 19.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

helped to stabilize the welfare of the population onto its agenda. This development resulted in the deployment of new techniques and governmental mechanisms such as scientific knowledge and professional expertise. Before discussing new techniques and mechanisms of government, it is worth mentioning that the critical feature of this type of government lies in its unseen power behind the newly created tactics (institutions and mechanisms).<sup>17</sup> The state used the institutions and the mechanisms to control society.

In the stabilization process of the new institutions and mechanisms, the relation between the state and the science played a critical role.<sup>18</sup> The modern state enabled the legitimation of its institutions and mechanisms with the support of “scientific knowledge.” Grosz writes that, “as legitimized and sanctioned knowledge, discourses are then able to feed back into the regimes of power which made them possible and to enable power to operate subtle or systematic, more economical or vigilant, forms.”<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, scientific knowledge is produced by the institutions (which are tools of the state and produced by the state to control the population), which shape the functioning of knowledge.<sup>20</sup>

Science (scientific rationalization) enables administrative figures (the state) to construct an unquestionable authority over the population. The results of practices in the domain of population, the social, are justified through scientific knowledge. Scientific knowledge thus turns into a major instrument and technique of state. It becomes an authority in people’s lives, therefore also in their practices with the

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<sup>17</sup> Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality, Vol. 1* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1998), p. 80.

<sup>18</sup> For a detailed discussion about the science and power, see Micheal Foucault, “Two Lectures,” in *Culture, Power, History*, eds. Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, Sherry B. Ortner (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 200-222.

<sup>19</sup> Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 148.

<sup>20</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

alignment of the institutions and the mechanisms. The authority of science justifies as well as prepares individuals for the practices of the institutions of the state. In addition to strengthening the legitimacy of the institutions of the state, scientific knowledge developed techniques used by science such as surveys, observation, and measurement, and helped in the collection of information about population, which generates knowledge in the end. Out of information collection, domains of knowledge such as statistics and public health were born. Knowledge has fed the institutions of the modern state.

The governmental institutions organized, mainly, to serve, solve the problems and improve society. Solutions to the “common” problems of society were sought in a new structured domain: the “social.” The social domain has been regulated by the modern state. The administration of the social depends on the development of the particular kinds of knowledge and governmental practices. Governmental practices that focus on the domain of the “social” have become fundamental evidence of the state’s modernity.<sup>21</sup> Intervention into the social, on the one hand, has become a necessity. On the other hand, the same practices have gained legitimacy from the social itself. From health to providing shelter, issues related to the population that have gained importance in the domain of the social have been opened to the practices of institutions.

As Jones and Porter argue, in the introduction chapter of *Reassessing Foucault*, the mechanisms used by the power in the name of improvement of the society served to locate “hegemonic social control.”<sup>22</sup> Particularly sciences related to the welfare of society, such as medicine, statistics, sociology, social hygiene and

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<sup>21</sup> Horn, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Colin Jones and Roy Porter, “Introduction,” in *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine and the Body*, eds. Colin Jones and Roy Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 1-2.

social work, have been turned into mechanisms of intervention. On the other hand institutions derived from these particular sciences, such as hospitals, schools, and clinics, have been turned into institutions used by the system to regulate “the social.” Collecting data and supporting it with knowledge helps diagnose, classify and codify individuals according to the scientific rules.

The emergence of social and scientific knowledge creates “experts” of the social. Scientific knowledge creates theoreticians who will produce it and technicians who will apply it. Hewitt argues that experts, whether “individuals and groups, official and unofficial, are actively engaged in conducting strategies of intervention” to daily practices.<sup>23</sup> Experts became a part of the social sphere. Teachers, social workers and doctors “differentiate, quantify and rank an individual according to his or her ability to conform to the normative prerequisites of disciplinary technology.”<sup>24</sup>

Among other professions, physicians assume a primary place since they have direct authority over anatomical bodies. The scientific knowledge produced by the experts helps gain control over human bodies. With the authoritarian power, they analyze the patient’s body and classify individuals according to their state of health. The body of the individual is objectified by the doctors after the classification and evaluation by medical knowledge. Therefore the patient becomes the object of medicine, since medicine’s expertise focuses on human bodies. Through the aforementioned process individuals or groups who are in the authority of examining the social become capable of knowing the subject. Social experts, particularly physicians, turned into the voice of the state (power), are capable of diagnosing

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<sup>23</sup> Martin Hewitt, “Bio-Politics and Social Policy: Foucault’s Account of Welfare,” in *The Body*, eds. Mike Featherstone, Mike Hepworth, Bryan S. Turner (California: SAGE Publications, 1991), p. 241.

<sup>24</sup> Hewitt, pp. 228-229.

individuals as cases. Knowledge is turned into discourses and used on the bodies as the representatives of the “truth” of their bodies and their pleasures.<sup>25</sup>

The experts became a figure who diagnosed the proper and appropriate individual of the social body. Normalization became one of the great instruments for drawing the lines of the social and also designated who fit the appointed norms. The differentiation between the proper and inappropriate leads to the assessment of subjects according to the norms of society. In medicine, as an example, the fundamental differentiation is based on the “health” of individuals. Being “healthy” turned into a norm to fit the social body. The “unhealthy” needed to be cured to fit the social body.

Norm setting brings a standardization of the mind and body.<sup>26</sup> The “healthy” individual became the “normal,” the desired subject, of the social body. On the other hand the “unhealthy” was in need of the correction. The body of the “unhealthy” becomes the object of various technologies in order to regulate and control it.<sup>27</sup> Norm setting includes correcting deviations of the body, its behavior, timing, and speech according to the required norms.<sup>28</sup> From the limits of sexuality to political thought, concepts and their spaces are described by the norms of society. As the application of modern knowledge is seen mostly on the human body, the normalization process starts with the physical body of individual.

With their visibility, inevitably, bodies are a part of the social and are considered as natural beings of the social sphere, which must be regulated according to the requirements of the social. The body carries the norms, values, rules,

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<sup>25</sup> Grosz, pp. 148-149.

<sup>26</sup> Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 297-298.

<sup>27</sup> Hewitt, p. 228.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 228-229.



restrictions and rights applied by society. The physical condition, clothes, behaviors, even the voice of the individual, appeared as codes of the social on the body. The individual body can be considered as a map that exhibits the norms and values of society.<sup>29</sup> Bodies are thus transformed into texts, on which discourses and narratives are shaped. Grosz argues that the body is regarded “as a social object, as a text to be marked, traced, written upon by various regimes of institutional, (discursive and non discursive) power, as a series of linkages (or possibly activities) which form superficial or provisional connections with other surfaces or planes.”<sup>30</sup>

The body can be analyzed as a text in which different layers of the system are reflected and practiced. The perception of the social majority constructed objects that are placed in society, in which the bodies of individuals are the most common objects (with their visibility). If bodies are considered as objects, then it can be assumed that they are invented, created and fabricated through the perception and reflection of the system.<sup>31</sup> They are “invented” through the regulations of the social. Grosz writes that, the “[Body as a surface] was inscribed and reinscribed by social norms, values and practices.”<sup>32</sup> As the carriers of the system, the biological existence of the bodies is reflected in political existence.<sup>33</sup> The body becomes a matter of politics with its productive, economic and visual forms. Knowing the body does not end with its

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<sup>29</sup> Grosz, *Volatile Bodies*, p. 139.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p.116.

<sup>31</sup> David Armstrong, “Bodies of Knowledge/Knowledge of Bodies,” in *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine and the Body*, eds. Colin Jones and Roy Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 23.

<sup>32</sup> Grosz, *Volatile Bodies*, p. 138.

<sup>33</sup> Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 142.

functioning but with its conquest with administrative practices which find an application area on it.<sup>34</sup>

Legal, medical, moral, penitential and educational institutions gain power and the right to intervene directly in the body through their rules, punishments and limits. The materiality of the body is turned into a target of the political power.<sup>35</sup> Bodies as politic beings are organized according to the laws of society. By laws, they are isolated or protected. Even the existence of bodies needs the recognition of the state in order to take part in the social. The exterior of the body is marked by science, law, rights, requirements, social imperative, customs, and corporeal habits. Grosz tells us that “the inscription of the social surface of the body is the tracing of pedagogical, juridical, medical and economic texts, laws, and practices onto the flesh to carve out a social subject as such, a subject capable of labor, of production and manipulation, a subject capable of acting as a subject and, at the same time, capable of being deciphered, interpreted, understood.”<sup>36</sup>

Disciplines mainly focus on the anatoma-politics of the individual body, which perceives body as a machine.<sup>37</sup> It aims to control the body and its practices and also tries to normalize the individual for the sake of integration into the existing system.<sup>38</sup> The physical body of the individual becomes the anatomical focus of the

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>35</sup> Hewitt, p. 231.

<sup>36</sup> Grosz, *Volatile Bodies*, p. 117.

<sup>37</sup> “This type of body politics, which Foucault argued emerged in Euro-America from the beginning of the nineteenth century, construes the body as a corporeal entity, the boundaries of which are clearly demarcated anatomically. This physical entity has become the systematic target for disciplinary measures implemented by experts of various kinds. Biopower is conceptualized by Foucault as having two poles: that of “anatomy-politics” focused on the manipulation of individual bodies”. Margaret Lock and Patricia A. Kaufert, “Introduction”, in *Pragmatic Women and Body Politics*, eds. Margaret Lock and Patricia A. Kaufert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 6-7.

<sup>38</sup> Hewitt, p. 233. Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, p. 139.

experts. Bodies are turned into entities that can be examined through the “gaze of science.” The proper body – its form and structure - of the individual was shaped by scientific discourses. The norms of the physical conditions set by the experts determine the proper individual for the welfare of society. The health of bodies, their physical condition is under close monitoring for the sake of society. As the welfare of society is a concern for the common good, bodies become the legitimation arena of the source of scientific power. Efforts are made not only to regulate bodies anatomically/biologically, but also to equip them with moral values. Bodies are assigned to fulfill roles in the social sphere. In addition to the materiality of bodies, social expectations also create roles for the body,<sup>39</sup> which form the basis for the desired figure and describe the duties of the individuals. The duties of bodies become a tool for disciplining the subject. The figure and duties of bodies not only shape interactions in society, which constructs the social, but also produce boundaries between males and females, public and private and even natural and artificial.<sup>40</sup> Horn notes that “the bodies of individuals are, after all, instruments for social ends.”<sup>41</sup> They turn into the final product of the state, which will, in the end, re-produce the system of governance.

The administration of individuals (bodies) through various techniques aim to regulate the productive capacities of the members of the social. Regulatory control<sup>42</sup> is the biological control of the population mainly focused on the reproductive

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<sup>39</sup> Lynda Birke, “Bodies and Biology,” in Price and Shildrick (New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 47.

<sup>40</sup> Horn, p. 17.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, p. 119.

<sup>42</sup> At the other pole of individual control lies “the manipulation and control of populations, systematized from the mid- nineteenth century onwards through “techniques of the survey”, which ensured the possibility of regulation of both public and private life.” Lock and Kaufert, “Introduction”, in Lock and Kaufert, pp. 6-7.

abilities of the processes such as propagation, birth and death, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions which cause these to vary.<sup>43</sup> The sexual capacities of bodies are regulated by the norms set by the state on gender related values. The state aims to control the private lives of individuals since “private” is the reproduction unit of society.

The family as an institution is placed in the domain of private. It was reconstituted as an intimate sphere that produces the ordinary life.<sup>44</sup> The family as a unit can be considered as an apparatus that produces the “generations” of society. In addition, it also functions as a unit that reproduces the ruling ideology.<sup>45</sup> Either way, family becomes the area in which the system is able re-produce itself continuously. The family was transformed gradually during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This transformation had two aspects, inside and outside. On the one hand, new medical, educational and relational norms that tried to preserve children found place and authority in the household. On the other hand, family laws changed the situation and the position of family members.

It was the tutelage between two agencies, namely between the welfare state and the citizen, that brought certain rights and a relation of interdependence. Also family law can be considered as a contract that offers the liberalization of the

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<sup>43</sup> Hewitt, p. 233. Foucault, p. 139.

<sup>44</sup> Craig Calhoun, “Introduction”, in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, eds. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 1996), p. 10.

<sup>45</sup> Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families*, trans. Robert Hurley (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1979), p. xx. Donzelot summarizes definition and functions of the family as a concept in his preface. He states that Marxists sees family “as an apparatus indispensable to the bourgeois order.” According to Marxists family is “the anchorage point for private property and its functions of reproduction of the ruling ideology.”

relations within and outside of the family.<sup>46</sup> New regulations aimed to turn the family into a social subject, which would be the core unit of society. New services of the state in areas such as health or education for children not only offered better living standards, but also regulated ways of living. Issues such as mortality, increasing fertility and marriage were placed in the domain of family. Since the protection and health of the family was seen as the basis of social life, norms set and implemented by administrative figures were applied to the aforementioned subjects, therefore controlling the domain of family with scientific tools for the sake of the community. This shift of the family institution to the social sphere opened the private to the intervention of the state.<sup>47</sup> In addition to regulating the bodies of men and women, children as the “future of the society,” who were situated within the family, became the target of the state.<sup>48</sup> Not only did the health of children become a concern of society, but also educating them as part of the desired society became an object of

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<sup>46</sup> Donzelot, p. xxi.

<sup>47</sup> As a contradictory argument see Jürgen Habermas, *Kamusalığın Yapısal Dönüşümü* (Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit), trans. Tanıl Bora and Mithat Sancar (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997). In *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Habermas aimed to describe the ideal public sphere of the bourgeois in England, France and Germany during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. [Jürgen Habermas, *Kamusalığın Yapısal Dönüşümü* (Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit), trans. Tanıl Bora and Mithat Sancar (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), p. 15.] He touches on issues such as the definition of public and private spheres, the construction of public sphere, the political meaning of citizenship, the relationship between state and civil society, and the structure and effects of public opinion and democracy. In his study, he developed for the eighteenth century bourgeoisie three domains that had their own forms and structures. Habermas proposes that, “society [is separated] separate from the rules (or the state) and a private realm [is separated] from the public.” [Calhoun, “Introduction”, in Calhoun, p. 7.] The public sphere is constructed by “private” individuals as a domain where policies to affect the state could be generated. “It is viewed democratically as the creation of procedures whereby those affected by general social norms and collective political decisions can have a say in their formulation, stipulation and adoption.” [Seyla Benhabib, “Models of Public Sphere: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jürgen Habermas”, in Calhoun, p. 87.] The private sphere was described as an arena of complete freedom in which individuals could carry out their personal agendas. [Calhoun, “Introduction”, in Calhoun, p. 22.] Benhabib points out Habermas’ view that the private sphere has three distinct dimensions: moral and religious conscience, economic liberties, and the intimate sphere, which includes household, sexuality, reproduction and care and the reproduction of the household’s members. [Benhabib, in Calhoun, p. 91.] The division of two spheres with a strict line also separates the life of the individual into two domains.

<sup>48</sup> Michel Foucault, *İktidarın Gözü* (Dits et Ecrits), trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2003), p. 55.

interest for the state. The line that separates the private from the public and situated the family in the private was terminated with the state's regulating practices. Family was thus formed as a unit for the normalization of society.

The family can be considered as a disciplining institution that also contains model identities for men and women. The obvious cooperation between disciplinary institutions such as family, army, school and health services/hospitals can be followed through the model identities individuals carry. In all those institutions, individuals do carry various identities such as mother, student, or patient. More than that, they are required to act according to the rules that define expected behaviors to discipline members of the society. The formation of bodies, predominantly female bodies, was based on social expectations and the needs of society. With time, the meanings loaded onto the (sexed) bodies differed according to the social policies. Population came up as a "social" aspect. Bodies were imagined due to the reproductive needs of the state.

In the family, in addition to being "normal" citizens, the most obvious assigned duty was that based on the reproductive capacities of both man and woman. Woman was transformed into mother in the family. Assigned duties were justified by scientific and cultural norms. Since science, as a unit, produces norms, mothering became a natural role of the woman. Particularly biology supports the scientific norms regarding the female body, as it examines living organisms and their processes, including human beings. At this stage, it divides humans into two main groups, male and female. The biological body and sex are somewhat problematic subjects because of their determinist stands. Biology considers the female body as a "universal, stable entity, outside of history, culture, geography, language."<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> "Introduction for Bodies in Science and Biomedicine," in Price and Shildrick, p. 145.

Biological determinism produces a scientific discourse that binds the female body, generally, with her reproductive capacity. Particularly “mothering” became a genetically defined identity due to its nurturing part based on lactation. Biology’s reference to rational scientific knowledge hinders the questioning of the social constructs of the female body. The female body is formed as “naturally” productive. Since women are the productive units of society, they are determined by their bodies.<sup>50</sup> Mothers are represented as the builders of society. Giving birth is situated as one of the primary concerns of society. Therefore, female body has been turned into a particular focus of the social. The materiality of the female body is opened to the examination and practices of the experts. Social regulation, which takes its legitimacy from social and scientific concerns, reaches the female body. It thus becomes a target to shape, regulate, correct and use for the sake of the community. The controller group is made up of physicians, social workers or even charity volunteers. Yet fundamentally, physicians are the ones most capable of penetrating households, since they take their authority from the power of science.

The household is formed as the domain of women and children. Since the private is limited to the household, the female body, which is placed in the private, becomes a part of the household. The dichotomy between private and public re-creates other dichotomies, such as woman and man. The matching between the two creates two pairs. The first one is private and woman, and the second public and man. Activities in the female sphere, such as housework, reproduction and nurturing, are placed in the domain of private. The constructed duties of womanhood and artificial dichotomies produced by the social authorities form discourses that feed

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<sup>50</sup> Katie Conboy, Nadia Medina and Sarah Stanbury, “Introduction,” in *Writing On the Body*, eds. Katie Conboy, Nadia Medina and Sarah Stanbury (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 1.

each other. More importantly, those activities are considered to be the consequences of the “natural.” Woman’s duty is labeled as domestic. Yet, like the birth of the social, domesticity is another category related to the social domain. The naturalness of domesticity is questionable.<sup>51</sup> However, as Conboy notes “women are encouraged to internalize and embody all the values of domesticity.”<sup>52</sup>

Woman’s everyday practices are expected to take place in the domestic/private domain. The daily practices of woman are closely related to the reproduction of society. Not only bearing children, but also nurturing occur in the household. Since children are the concern of the state, mechanisms of the administration aim to regulate and control woman’s behaviors. Rules that set values in the daily practices of the people’s lives could be interpreted as disciplinary activities. They can consist of dress codes for women, diets, household habits, hygiene-related activities, and even their sexuality. The boundaries between public and private became blurred once the attempts to regulate woman’s everyday practices emerged. Though the private, often equated with the household, is displayed as sacred and untouchable, laws enacted by the state, mainly, aim to regulate the relationships in the home, which is the core unit of society. Whether scientific or cultural, norms control the female body and reshape the identity of woman. They offer a “modern” way of living supported by scientific knowledge that covers areas from medicine to home management. The need to create an “average” woman of society is formed by the policies of the state. Normalizing attempts aim to create a woman with proper physical conditions to give birth, sufficient knowledge of medicine, cooking, home management and also with the desired physical

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<sup>51</sup> Leonore Davidoff, “Ev ve Feminist Tarih” (Household and Feminist History), in *Feminist Tarih yazımında Sınıf ve Cinsiyet* (Class and Gender in Feminist Historiography) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p. 103.

<sup>52</sup> Conboy et al, p. 3.



appearance. The parameters of “average” are determined by the scientific and cultural norms. The entry of the social sciences into administration helps legitimate this definition, with science as a reference point.

Womanhood came under reconstruction in the emergence process of the social. Therefore, looking at the body, particularly the female body, helps produce knowledge about the formation of modern society.<sup>53</sup> Since the social body/society is the reflection of techniques of power on individual bodies, it displays the construction method of the “social” project on the human body. Such an analysis helps to deconstruct the sovereign discourse, which is on the surface, and to find out what lies beneath. It also shows the construction of social gender hierarchies, their legitimation, the way of their existence and reproduction. The history of the female body allows us to see the mechanisms of how the social functions.

Social controls construct norms with the help of science. Norms legitimize the control of bodies. Body control helps to regulate daily practices and to determine proper individuals. Proper individuals produce family settings. In the unit of family, woman as a “normal” member of society fulfills her duties. As a so-called “final product” of the state, proper individuals are raised and join society. The cycle reproduces itself with the help of “proper individuals.” Particularly woman takes the crucial part in the cycle. The female body, “as social and discursive object, a body bound up in the order of desire, signification and power,”<sup>54</sup> stands as a key point in the regulation and coordination of populations.

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<sup>53</sup> Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 10.

<sup>54</sup> Birke, p. 43.

## Structuring the 1930s Turkey as a Project

*“İçi dışı, dört yanı değişen bir memleketteyiz.”*

(We are a country changing inside and out, in four directions.)<sup>55</sup>

Recep Peker, the general secretary of the Republican People’s Party, gave courses in 1934 and 1935 at Ankara and Istanbul Universities to explain the ideology of the new regime. During the courses named “*Inkılâp Dersleri*” (Classes of Revolution), he defined the change of the regime from the Empire to the Republic as the “Turkish Revolution.” According to Peker, the Turkish Revolution was not only a political or an economic movement. He declared that “Turkish Revolution is a national, social, political, economic and cultural movement that affected even the daily practices of the people.”<sup>56</sup>

As Peker, one of the elites of the 1930s in Turkey, described above, the new Republic was a project of creating a state, a nation and a system. The Republican project sought to form a national and modern culture. The Republic’s motto was “walking towards modernization and civilization in solidarity.” Based on this motto, forming solidarity was one of the primary targets of the project. For forming solidarity, the project targeted the unification of the nation. In the modernizing and civilizing processes, there were two areas that mutually transformed each other. One area was based on the activities of shaping individuals. The other area, which

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<sup>55</sup> Vecdi Ahmet, “Halkevleri” (Public Houses), *Yeni Türk* (October, 1933), p. 1082. “We are in a changing country.”

<sup>56</sup> Recep Peker, *Inkılâp Dersleri* (Classes of Revolution) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1984), p. 19.

focused on other practices, functioned on the body of society. The new regime intended to construct new citizens of the Republic who would form a “new” nation.

In order to apply the practices both on the citizens and on society, the new regime needed to prove that it had the right to be in control of the state. One of the greatest concerns of the Turkish Republic was its legitimacy. The legitimacy problem consisted of two points, the first related to its territory and the second is related to its “youngness”/newness. The legitimacy of the young Republic was needed to be proven against the Western world and its inhabitants.

The new regime had to form the nation within a newly determined geography, building a new system on the surface of an old empire. Whereas the Ottoman Empire had sovereignty over three continents, the Turkish Republic was limited to Anatolia and a small part of Thrace. The Turkish Republic had to prove its legitimacy over that of the Ottoman Empire with a smaller territorial sovereignty. Therefore the elites of the decade had concerns related to the new territory of the young Republic,<sup>57</sup> as to the “youngness”/newness of the new regime. The Turkish Republic did not accept the Ottoman past and legacy and positioned itself at the “zero point.” İsmet Paşa said in a speech that the new regime’s revolution with its internal and national content was not the continuation or evolution of the Ottoman Empire’s occasional reform attempts.<sup>58</sup> The new regime was a new movement. Thus the elites of the Republic with only a couple of years long of history, sought to prove the legitimacy of the Republic over that of a six-hundred years old empire.

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<sup>57</sup> Discussions on the concerns of Kemalist on the territorial issues, see Hande Özkan, “The History of Geographical Perceptions in the Turkish Republic: A Spatial Interpretation of the Republican Regime during the Single-Party Era” (MA Thesis, Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, 2002).

<sup>58</sup> İsmet Paşa, “İnkılap Kürsüsünde İsmet Paşa’nın Dersi” (İsmet Paşa’s Lecture at Revolution Lectern), in *Ülkü*, no. 15 (April 1934), p. 81.

In the 1930s, Turkey was still dealing with the shadow of the former regime. Both inside and outside of the country, the legacy of the Ottoman Empire was still powerful. The new regime worked to prove its competence as a legitimate state to other countries, mostly the European state. Even in 1938, the British ambassador to Turkey, Sir Percy Loraine, described the Turkish Republic as “the vigorous son of the Sick Man” and the Turks the heirs of the Ottomans.<sup>59</sup> One of the most popular medical metaphors used in the previous century for the Ottoman Empire had been the “Sick Man of Europe.” The new Republic defined itself in contrast to the old system. Being young also implied being well built, healthy and potent. The young Republic sought to represent itself to the world, in contrast to the previous regime, as a state in the modernizing and civilizing process. The state’s discourse of modernity was based on the young and healthy images of individuals.

The journal *La Turquie Kemalist*, published between June 1934 and December 1947, with forty-eight issues in total, in French, German and English, by the Ministry of Interior Affairs was considered as a propaganda tool of the regime. Basically, the journal sought to exhibit to outsiders the contrasts in every field of social life between the old and new systems. The articles of prominent figures of the decade such as Falih Rıfkı, Reşit Galip, and Yakup Kadri were published, and photographs that allowed the visualization of the difference were given crucial places in the journal. Photographs of women practicing their professions as doctors, teachers, and artists were used in *La Turquie Kemalist* to prove the liberalization effect of the new regime on women, as were photographs of healthy, young people playing tennis, horse-back riding or working as representative figures of the new system.

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<sup>59</sup> Selim Deringil, *Denge Oyunu* (Balance Game) (İstanbul: Yurt Yayınları, 2003), 3. Print, p. 3.

The comparison between the old and new was based not only on human figures. Architecture also became a sign of civilization and modernity.<sup>60</sup> In architecture particularly the contrast was stated on a geographical axes and turned into a comparison between Ankara, the “new” capital of the Republic, and Istanbul, the “old” capital of the Empire. Pictures of Ankara with new, modern buildings were placed opposite pictures of Istanbul with its mosques and old dilapidated buildings.

In addition to the journal, public discourse reproduced the contrasts of Istanbul and Ankara. Yakup Kadri’s well known novel *Ankara* described the process of modernization in the capital as a story of civilization and the development of the new regime. Medical descriptions of individuals, such as “healthy members of the society,” or of the state, such as the “healthy son of the Sick Man,” became tools to structure the discourse according to the objectives and the needs of the young Republic. The new regime used two main tools as a reference point in constructing its own legitimation and identity. While architecture, on the one hand, was used as an area in which to change the appearance of the system and exhibit it, medicine, on the other hand, provided for the needs of the population. Both architecture and medicine helped the new regime to portray itself as a modern, restructured regime. Ankara as the capital became the symbol of the Turkish Republic. Against Istanbul, the intellectual center of the country, Ankara created new institutions to centralize the cultural production of the new system as a part of the self-proving and controlling process.

The early Republican regime offered the new institutions such as a new capital, a new type of womanhood, a new architecture and, most of all, a new living style, which resulted in an offer of a new system. The new system deployed new

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<sup>60</sup> For further discussions architecture as a sign for modernization and civilization see Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2002).

technical and legal practices. The new practices brought the question of the legitimacy of the new regime.<sup>61</sup> The young Republic had to prove the legitimacy of the new system, which was positioned in opposition of the Empire's religion-based order. The early Republican elites created the fundamental principles of the state as a part of the Republic's legitimation efforts.<sup>62</sup> The perception of the new order could be seen in the principles, which displayed the goals and ideological formation of the project, creating the basis of practices, which aimed to transform society according to the state's project. The practices and the fields of practices were also shaped through those ideas.

Çelik argues that the RPP was designed as an apparatus of change in the service of the Republican ideals. After the years of foundation, in the 1930s,<sup>63</sup> the Party became the center of the political practice.<sup>64</sup> The RPP was equated with the state since it was the single political mechanism and in charge of the administration. Because the state was identified with the party, the party's program was equated with the main ideology of the state. The principles of new regime, labeled Kemalism by Atatürk himself,<sup>65</sup> took their final form in the third Congress of the Republican

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<sup>61</sup> Hasan Ünder, "Atatürk İmgesinin Siyasal Yaşamdaki Rolü" (Role of Atatürk's Image in Political Life), in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Kemalism), eds. Ahmet İnel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 150.

<sup>62</sup> For a detailed discussions about the principles of the new regime see: Nur Betül Çelik, "Kemalizm: Hegemonik bir Söylem" (Kemalism: A Hegemonic Discourse), in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Kemalism), eds. Ahmet İnel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 87.

<sup>63</sup> Particularly after the closing of the *Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası* (the Free Republican Party of Turkey), RPP turned into the single political institution.

<sup>64</sup> Nur Betül Çelik, "Kemalizm: Hegemonik bir Söylem" (Kemalism: A Hegemonic Discourse), in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Kemalism), eds. Ahmet İnel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 76.

<sup>65</sup> Taha Parla, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları: Kemalist Tek Parti İdeolojisi ve CHP'nin Altı Oku* (Official Sources of Political Culture in Turkey: Kemalist Single Party Ideology and Six Arrows of Republican Public Party) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992). Quoted by Neşe G. Yeşilkaya, "Halkevleri" (Public Houses), in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Political

People's Party (RPP). During the 1931, RPP Congress, the Kemalist principles were declared to be as the "Six Arrows" for the first time. The six arrows represented republicanism, secularism, populism, etatism, revolutionism and nationalism. Although the Party's principles were equated with the state's ideology, 1937, as Koçak puts on, was the year of changes in the constitution.<sup>66</sup> Recep Peker, as the general secretary of the Party, tried to strengthen the Party's sovereignty over the state in the organizational and doctrinal areas. After his trip to Italy and Germany in 1935, he prepared a new program and regulations in which he defended the identification of the state and the party. Although Peker was dismissed in 1936, his ideas affected the system.<sup>67</sup> The Six Arrows were added to the Constitution and became the official ideology of the state in 1937.<sup>68</sup>

The Six Arrows were implemented as a tool to draw the framework of the 1930s state ideology. Among the ideals represented by the Six Arrows, republicanism and etatism<sup>69</sup> were the tools of politics. The rest of them can be considered as the core units of the state's ideology.<sup>70</sup> Ahıska, in an article discussing the power mechanisms and ideological formation of the Republic, argues that the

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Tought in Modern Turkey: Kemalism), eds. Ahmet İnel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 113. In 1935 Party Congress principles of the RPP were announced as Kemalism.

<sup>66</sup> Cemil Koçak, "Kemalist Milliyetçiliğin Bulanık Suları" (Blurred Waters of Kemalist Nationalism), in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Kemalism), eds. Ahmet İnel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 38.

<sup>67</sup> Ahmet Yıldız, "Recep Peker", in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Kemalism), eds. Ahmet İnel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 60.

<sup>68</sup> Koçak, p. 38.

<sup>69</sup> Economic development and independence were considered as a forth condition for political independence. Etatism was thought as a solution for Turkish economic struggle. Direct state intervention was tried after 1930. Yet economic conditions of the new regime were still in trouble when Second World War started. Quoted by Deringil, *Denge Oyunu*, p. 18.

<sup>70</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, "Kemalist Düşüncenin Osmanlı Kaynakları" (Ottoman Sources of Kemalist Thought), in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Kemalism), eds. Ahmet İnel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 44.

philosophy of Kemalism was not positivism, but pragmatism. She claims that Kemalist principles were used as functional tools. They were not considered for their value, but for the practical purposes.<sup>71</sup> Even science was used for the development of society, not for its “real” value. Yakup Kadri stated in *Ankara* that the elites took their strength from civilization, science and the natural sciences (*fen*) and formulated their path according to these subjects.<sup>72</sup> Scientific advances in modernizing the country were not the final destination to reach, although scientific discourse could be considered as a tool for changing society. Both modernization and rationalism refer to science that cut diagonally at all four discourses. Modernization and rationalism’s stress on science was supported through ideologies, nationalism, secularism, revolutionism and populism, which were described mainly as aimed to develop society.

The 1930s, the second decade of the Turkish Republic, were the interwar period. The rise of nationalism and fascist politics, particularly in Europe, affected the policies of Turkey. From Italy to Greece, many countries were seen as a threat to the unification and existence of the Turkish Republic.<sup>73</sup> In *Ülkü*, Zeki Mesut wrote a special column under the headline *Ayın Politikası* (Politics of the Month). Giving information about world politics, he also supported the news with his comments. He particularly called the attention of the public to the arming of countries in Europe. While reassuring the public that they were in no danger, he also implied that Turkey

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<sup>71</sup> Meltem Ahıska, “Türkiye’de İktidar ve Gerçeklik” (Power and Truth in Turkey), *Defter*, no. 33 (Spring, 1998), p. 24.

<sup>72</sup> Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p. 137.

<sup>73</sup> Italy was considered as a threat towards the unity of country. Italian policy about the Mediterranean sea caused increasing concerns of Turkish Republic. Especially Mussolini’s speeches that mentioned Mediterranean Sea as “Mare Nostrum” (Our Sea) are fed the fear about the threats towards national being of the country. Deringil, *Denge Oyunu*, p. 6.



was a country in support of peace building. Yet if there were an attack or breach of the principles of the Turkish reforms, he assured, Turkey would be awake and ready.<sup>74</sup>

Increased tension in Europe led the Turkish Republic to speed up its preparation plans related to its defense policies. Because the equipment of the military was both structured on old technology and in low quality, the military forces could only be strengthened by the quantity of its soldiers and this directly depended on the population.<sup>75</sup> Military preparations did not end with strengthening the army. The public was also informed through articles in *Ülkü* under the headline “*Yurt Koruması*” (country protection). In the articles, toxic gas, and protection from toxic gas were the main subjects.<sup>76</sup>

Events in Europe were leading to the crystallization of races and ethnic identities. Besides the external developments, the project was based on unifying the “nation.” Nationalism took a central place in the project. Since the aim was to unify the nation, it was necessary to define the nation initially. The Turkish Republic was built on the legacy of an empire, yet it was built as a nation on a single subject: the Turk. In the official discourse every member of the country – citizen - was counted as a natural member of the nation – Turk. For that reason, using citizenship rights was related to meeting the necessary conditions of being a Turk.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Zeki Mesut, “Ayn Politikası” (Politics of Month), *Ülkü*, no. 16 (May, 1934), p. 173. Also for further articles see “Ayn Politikası” in *Ülkü* during the year of 1934. Similar articles were written as a special column under the headline “*Dünya İşleri*” (World Politics) by Rauf Ahmet in *Yeni Türk* (Istanbul Public House’s journal).

<sup>75</sup> For detailed numbers of equipments of Turkish Army during the 1930s see Deringil, *Denge Oyunu*, pp. 30-37.

<sup>76</sup> Hikmet Rıfat, “Yurt Koruması: Zehirli Gaz Harbi” (Country Protection: Toxic Gas War), *Ülkü*, no. 17 (June, 1934), pp. 304-308. For further discussions see also August and November 1934, *Ülkü*.

<sup>77</sup> Ahmet Yıldız, “Kemalist Milliyetçilik” (Kemalist Nationalism), in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Kemalism), eds. Ahmet İnel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 213. The most important duty of citizenship was stated as compulsory

In the RPP's 1923 Regulations, nationalism was not stated as a principle. In the 1927 Regulations, however, it was among the principles of the state. The three principles of the state were articulated as republicanism, populism and nationalism, in that order in. Since the RPP's first program was approved by the parliament in 1931, it should be noted that the official date of nationalism's emergence was 1931, which improved its ranking to second place. Yet this change in ranking was not explicitly stated.<sup>78</sup> Nationalism, officially articulated in the RPP's first approved program in 1931, was one of the principles first touched upon in the 1927 Regulations. The appearance of the Six Arrows and their order is significant in following the path of the Kemalist ideology and transformation of the society, which the reformists tried to construct related to this philosophy.

In 1935, during the RPP's congress, though the name of the nationalism principle was changed from "*milliyetçilik*" (nationalism) to "*ulusçuluk*" (nationalism),<sup>79</sup> the definition was made clear and emphasized the political and social "solidarity of citizens through the bonds of language, culture and goal [*ülkü*]. There was a trend towards normalizing and neutralizing nationalism. Equalizing the RPP, the governmental part and the state, was a process shaped in the ideology. Though the pioneers had a vision for legitimizing the power, the project, which aimed to stabilize power, was shaped through the practices and time. To "imagine a nation" power needs first the control and then regulation of society with invented rules. Nationalism was a tool in a sense, figured as a "faith" in which to believe. However,

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military service. "*Biz, vatandaş vazifelerinin iyi yürekle ve fedakarlıkla ifasını daima ehemmiyetli tutacağız. Biz, vatandaşlara herşeyden evvel eğer yaşı gelmiş ve askere çağrılmışsa askere gitmesi lazımdır.*" Quoted by İsmet Paşa, "Halkevleri Yıldönümünde İsmet Paşa'nın Nutku" (İsmet Paşa's Speech in Public Houses' Anniversary), *Ülkü*, no. 2 (March, 1933), p. 101.

<sup>78</sup> Koçak, p. 38.

<sup>79</sup> Related to Sun-Language Theory for nationalism "*ulusçuluk*" was started to use in Turkish instead of "*milliyetçilik*."

it was not only configured as a political discourse. Attempts were made to intervene into the community. In the RPP's programs nationalism appeared as a defensive and modernizing discourse.<sup>80</sup>

Nationalist discourse also functions to create solidarity among citizens. Kemalist nationalism offered a society without "class and privilege."<sup>81</sup> The aim of the ideology was based on erasing the differences in the public. Nationalist attempts were supported by processes and reforms such as *Milli İktisat Siyaseti* (National Economic Politics), *Türk Tarih Tezi* (the Turkish History Thesis), *Güneş-Dil Teorisi* (the Sun-Language Theory), and *Ezanın Türkçeleştirilmesi* (the Turkification of Prayer), all achieved in the first fifteen years of the Republic. As for the modernizing efforts of the nationalist discourse, many practices were implemented, such as the abolition of the office of the *Sheikh Ul-Islam*, the closing of the religious courts and schools, the closing of religious centers (*tekke ve zaviyelerin kapatılması*), the abolition of religious courses in schools, the enactment of Western laws instead of religious legislations, the prohibition of polygamy (for men), the *Şapka Kanunu* (Hat Law), the introduction of the prohibition of teaching and playing *ala turca* music, the promotion of opera, ballet, Western music, the plastic arts, the acceptance of the western calendar system, and the official adoption of western style clothing and manners.<sup>82</sup>

Nationalism and modernity most visibly intersected in the efforts that aimed to prove the origins of the Turks according to scientific rules. Since being scientific

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<sup>80</sup> Yıldız, "Kemalist Milliyetçilik", p. 214.

<sup>81</sup> Nusret Kemal, "İnkılap İdeolojisinde Halkçılık" (Populism in Revolution Ideology), *Ülkü*, no. 14 (March, 1934), pp. 41-45.

<sup>82</sup> Yıldız, "Kemalist Milliyetçilik," p. 214.

and rational were two obligatory components of modernity, history as a science was in the service of the Turkish Republic.

Under the leadership of the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Turk History Institution), two History Congresses gathered in 1932 and 1937 to approve the scientific validity of the Tenets of Turkish History, which aimed to prove the eternal existence of Turks in Anatolia through the use of archeological evidence. Enver Ziya Karal argues that the fresh and material documents taken from the young sciences such as prehistory, archeology and anthropology prove the validity of the Tenets of Turkish History.<sup>83</sup> The thesis, on the one hand, provided historical scientific information for the ethnic basis of Turks. On the other hand, it proposed that Turks had had a higher civilization for centuries. The sibling of the Tenets of Turkish History was formulated in the First Language Congress, gathered 23 September 1932. This theory stated that as primitive people worshipped the Sun, the first language must have been developed from an origin related to the Sun. The origin was determined as Turkish according to this theory. The theory was supported by the Tenets of Turkish History's assumption, which identifies Turks as the "origin race." Since the first language was Turkish, every language (in the world) had to stem from Turkish, like every race and civilization. The Sun-Language Theory was officialized in the third meeting of the Language Congress, in 1936.<sup>84</sup> The two theories had three similarities. First, they served to create an ethnic identity by forming a race such as Turk and language such as Turkish. Second, both of them were supported by "scientific" knowledge. Third, the theories not only invented Turk and Turkish, but their

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<sup>83</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, "Türk Tarih Kurultayı" (Turkish History Congress), *Yeni Türk*, no. 58 (October, 1937), pp. 1143-1144.

<sup>84</sup> Yıldız, "Kemalist Milliyetçilik," p. 228.

discourses turned them into the “norms” that needed to be followed in order to be civilized and be Turkified.

The nationalist discourse also underlined the importance of the “modernization and civilization of the country.” The aim was to “*muasır medeniyet seviyesine çıkmak*” (reach the status of modern civilization). Particularly, references given to progress were targeted to achieve the “*içtimai inkılap*” (social reform) of society. Yet the discourse underlined the importance of being selective of the exports from the western world. Technology and positive sciences should be transferred from the western world, because they would help the country in the path of modernization. However, the inner values of the nation were in need of protection. Otherwise degeneration would arise as a threat to the national identity. The new system carried social and moral regulation concerns to strengthen its power in the themes of “*terbiye and islah*” (good manner/moral training and regulation).<sup>85</sup> Nationalist ideology was not merely based on ethnic roots, race or geographical belonging. “Good manners/moral training” was an issue for the new way of governmentality and discourses structured by the new system. Moral training included teaching the public the principles of the new regime and educating the citizens about being a Turk.<sup>86</sup> The idea of giving moral training was based mainly on educating citizens in order to teach them their duties and responsibilities.<sup>87</sup> Moral training was widened to encompass foreign language learning, art, social manners, and rural manners training.<sup>88</sup> Moral/Manner Training, as a complementary element to race and

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<sup>85</sup> Özbek, p. 19.

<sup>86</sup> Nusret Kemal, “Halk Terbiyesi” (Moral Training of Population), *Ülkü*, no. 7 (August, 1933), p. 20.

<sup>87</sup> Nusret Kemal, “Terbiye Meselesi” (Moral Training Issue), *Ülkü*, no. 6 (July, 1933), p. 438.

<sup>88</sup> Articles about moral/manner trainings: Nusret Kemal, “Milli Bayram ve Halk Terbiyesi” (National Fest and Moral Training of Population), *Ülkü*, no. 9 (October, 1933). Nusret Kemal, “Başka Memleketlerde Terbiye: Sovyetler’de Bayram ve Terbiye” (Moral Training in Different Countries:

language, supported the creation of the citizen formation project. Culture as a component became a part of the desired “normal” Turk. Therefore it needed to be thought according to state’s principles.

One of the problematic issues of the Turkish Republic related to its legitimacy concern was surely secularization. After the foundation of the Republic in October 1923, one of the earliest activities was to abolish the Caliphate, on 3 March 1924. On the one hand, the Caliphate, besides being a symbol of the Islamic religion, was an official legacy from the Ottoman Empire. Particularly during the reign of Abdülhamit II, being “head of the Muslim world” was used for the empowerment of the Empire.<sup>89</sup> Islam was represented as a symbol of the former system. However, more importantly, Mert argues that the Republican project presented secularism as a part of the modernization and civilization process. Religion was held responsible for the decay of the Ottoman Empire. Particularly the backwardness of the scientific knowledge was reasoned by the “falsified” perception of Islam that hindered the improvement of rational thinking.<sup>90</sup> Mustafa Kemal, in his speeches in the senate, underlined scientific development that made reference, surely, to rationalization for the modernity of the new system. Secularization was closely linked to the rise of

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Fest and Moral Training in Soviets), *Ülkü*, no. 9 (October, 1933). Halil Bedi, “Halk Terbiyesi ve Operalar” (Moral Training of Population and Operas), *Ülkü*, no. 16 (May, 1934). Nusret Kemal, “Bir Köy Terbiyesi Örneği” (An Example of Rural Moral Training), *Ülkü*, no. 12 (January, 1934). “Garp Memleketlerinde Terbiye” (Moral Training in Western Countries), *Ülkü*, no. 4 (May, 1933). Nafi Atuf, “Terbiye Anlayışında İlerleyiş” (Development in the Perception of Moral Training), *Ülkü*, no. 3 (March, 1933). Fazıl Ahmet, “Bedii Terbiye” (Moral Training of Beauty), *Ülkü*, no. 2 (March, 1933). Hamit Zübeyr, “Halk Terbiyesi Vasıtaları” (Tools of Population’s Moral Training), *Ülkü*, no. 2 (March, 1933). Osman Halit, “Cumhuriyette Halk Terbiyesi” (Moral Training of Population in Republic), *Ülkü*, no. 10 (November, 1933). Ali Sami, “Yeni Terbiyede Resmin Yararlılığı” (Beneficiaries of Painting in New Moral Training), *Ülkü*, no. 19 (August, 1934). Mustafa Şekip, “Yabancı Dil Meselesi” (Foreign Language Issue), *Ülkü*, no. 16 (May, 1934).

<sup>89</sup> For the further discussions about the symbolic value of the “head of Muslim world” see Selim Deringil, *Well Protected Domains* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1998).

<sup>90</sup> Nuray Mert, “Laiklik ve Karşı Laikliğin Düşünsel Boyutu” (Ideological Dimension of Secularism and Anti-Secularism) in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Kemalism), eds. Ahmet İnel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 198.

rational critical knowledge, which is an obligation of modernity.<sup>91</sup> In addition to the modernist concerns, equality among citizens could not be achieved with the traditional titles and privileges derived from the religion. Sadri Ethem satirically described the effects of religion in the public space in the Ottoman Empire. He explains the outlooks of the individuals who wear religious customs and criticizes the outlooks and the privileges of the people derived from the religion.<sup>92</sup> Particularly law was turned into a powerful tool to erase the differences caused by the religious practice. The change of the administrative system was proven by the change of the legal system. Sıddık Sami, in *Cumhuriyet ve Hukuk Telakkileri* (Republic and Legal Evaluations), explained the consequences of the secular system and the differences between the Empire and the new regime.<sup>93</sup> Secularism became a tool to construct a line between the traditional and the modern system, which also helped the new system to prove its legitimacy.

Revolutionism, the fifth in the ranking of the principles, had two functions. The first function was to protect the successes of the national independence movement. The second one was to continue the transformation of society until it reached the same level as the modern civilizations.<sup>94</sup> The notion of the principle was based on the understanding that the transformation of society could only be achieved through the elites administrating society. The attempts to modernize the country were based on the project led by the educated elites and were aimed to form

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<sup>91</sup> Calhoun, "Introduction", in Craig Calhoun, p. 36.

<sup>92</sup> Sadri Ethem, "Festen Şapkaya" (From *Fes* to Hat), *Yeni Türk*, no. 10 (October, 1933), pp. 1140-1143.

<sup>93</sup> Sıddık Sami, "Cumhuriyet ve Hukuk Telakkileri" (Republic and Legal Evaluations), *Yeni Türk*, no. 10 (October, 1933), pp. 937-952.

<sup>94</sup> Nur Betül Çelik, "Kemalizm: Hegemonik bir Söylem" (Kemalism: A Hegemonic Discourse), in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Kemalism), eds. Ahmet İnel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 87.

institutions for the sake of society. For societal change, legislation was seen as a tool to achieve the transformation and a way to gain acceptance from society.

Revolutionism was in contradiction to populism, which proposed the absolute sovereignty of the public. According to populism, all of the citizens in society were assumed equal and in control of the administration. Yet Nusret Kemal proposed that the system did not have to be built on the upper and lower classes. On the contrary, the new regime demanded its citizens follow their leaders in solidarity.<sup>95</sup>

A part of the state's legitimation effort was to publicize the regime's ideological formation to the citizens. New regime used various ways to express the system, such as formulating the principles of the regime as the Six Arrows, founding Public Houses, reforms in the university, the teaching history of revolution classes and even reorganizing school curricula accordingly.<sup>96</sup> Structures were built to explain to society the ideas and the reasons of the practices. The most visible attempt of the regime to build a bridge between the state and public was the establishment of the *Halk Evleri* (Public Houses).<sup>97</sup> The Republican regime constructed these places as centers for familiarizing the public with the new system's practices and ideals.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Nusret Kemal, "İnkılap İdeolojisinde Halkçılık" (Populism in Revolution Ideology), *Ülkü*, no. 14 (March, 1934), p. 41.

<sup>96</sup> Hasan Ünder, "Atatürk İmgesinin Siyasal Yaşamdaki Rolü" (Role of Atatürk's Image in Political Life), in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Kemalism), eds. Ahmet İnel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 144.

<sup>97</sup> For a descriptive study about the Public Houses see Anıl Çeçen, *Atatürk'ün Kültür Kurumu Halkevleri* (Cultural Institution of Atatürk: Public Houses) (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2000).

<sup>98</sup> Meltem Ahıska, "Türkiye'de İktidar ve Gerçeklik" (Power and Truth in Turkey), *Defter*, no. 33 (Spring 1998), p. 29; Neşe G. Yeşilkaya, "Halkevleri" (Public Houses), in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Kemalism), eds. Ahmet İnel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 113. A quotation from İsmet Paşa's speech in March 1933 could be given as an example: "*Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkasının kendi prensipleri ne olduğunu ve bu prensiplerin memlekette nasıl tatbik edildiğini her gün halkımıza söylemek için de başlı başına bir merkezdir. CHF'nin prensiplerini her gün söylemek, nasıl tatbik edildiğinden her gün malumat vermek lazımdır.*" p. 100.



Yeğen states that the Public Houses could be considered as institutions structured by the state to shape and discipline society.<sup>99</sup> The regulations book of the Public Houses stated that they were developed as an example of formerly structured corporatist systems such as the Hungarian Culture Society, the Worker Gymnastics Clubs, Farmer Foundations, the Public Moral Training Institution in Czechoslovakia, *Dopolavoro* in fascist Italy, and the German Public Culture Organizations.<sup>100</sup> Celal Sahir wrote in 1933 that the doors of the Public Houses would be open to every Turk so that s/he would join the national community to become a ring (link in the national chain) of the national chain.<sup>101</sup>

The founding of the Public Houses was decided in 1931, during the third Congress of Republican Public Party. In line with Peker's policies, the *Türk Ocakları* (Turkish Hearths) became a part of state and immediately abolished themselves. Instead of the Turkish Hearths, in the same congress, it was decided to found another organization, Public Houses. On 19 February 1932, Public Houses were started to be opened throughout the country with ceremonies and public announcements.<sup>102</sup> In one year, fourteen Public Houses were opened in Afyon, Ankara, Aydın, Bolu, Bursa, Çanakkale, Denizli, Diyarbakır, Eminönü/Istanbul, Eskişehir, İzmir, Konya, Malatya,

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<sup>99</sup> Mesut Yeğen, "Kemalizm ve Hegemonya" (Kemalism and Hegemony), in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Kemalism), eds. Ahmet İnel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 61.

<sup>100</sup> Meltem Ahıska, "Türkiye'de İktidar ve Gerçeklik" (Power and Truth in Turkey), *Defter*, no. 33 (Spring, 1998), p. 30. There is a relation between the other systems of the decade that stressed on the centralist process aiming modernization.

<sup>101</sup> Celal Sahir, "Halkevleri Yıldönümünde Düşünceler" (Thoughts on the Anniversary of Public Houses), *Ülkü*, no. 2 (March, 1933), p. 97.

<sup>102</sup> Neşe G. Yeşilkaya, *Halkevleri* (Public Houses), in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Kemalism), ed. Ahmet İnel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 113.

and Samsun.<sup>103</sup> İsmet Paşa described Public Houses as the national institutions of the country.<sup>104</sup> The Public Houses (or similar institutions in other countries) were charged with reaching out to the public and setting forth the ideology of the regime, as well as regulating individuals' free time.<sup>105</sup> They were created by the regime to penetrate into the daily lives of the citizens of the Republic. They worked to accustom the public to the reforms through the "inspiration of good manners."<sup>106</sup> In every book of the RPP's conferences series, which were the transcriptions of the conferences held in the Public Houses, the reasons for the publishing of these particular training books were explained. In the introduction page, Public Houses were held responsible of the development of the culture and the knowledge of the public, the internalization of the principles by the public and the publication of the positive and rational knowledge that was related to the daily activities of the

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<sup>103</sup> In 24 June 1933, 20 additional Public Houses were opened and in 24 February total number of Public Houses was 55. In 1950, when all the Public Houses were closed, there were in total 478 Public Houses all around the country. Every year, at the new openings or anniversaries of the Public Houses' opening speeches held by prominent figures were published in *Ülkü*. For examples see İsmet Paşa, "Yeni Halkevleri Açma Nutku" (Speech of Openings of New Public Houses), *Ülkü*, no. 14 (March, 1934), pp. 1-4; Necip Ali, "Halkevleri Yıldönümü Nutku" (Anniversary Speech of Public Houses), *Ülkü*, no. 14 (March, 1934), pp. 5-15; Necip Ali, "İsmet Paşa ve Halkevleri" (İsmet Paşa and Public Houses), *Ülkü*, no. 19 (August, 1934), pp. 401-404; Cevdet Nasuhi, "Halkevinin Çatısı Altında" (Under the Roof of Public Houses), *Ülkü*, no. 3 (April, 1933), pp. 194-197; "Halkevleri Yıldönümünde Necip Ali Bey'in Nutku" (Necip Ali Bey's Speech at the Anniversary of Public Houses), *Ülkü*, no. 2 (March, 1933), pp. 104-114; Necip Ali, "Halkevleri" (Public Houses), *Ülkü*, no. 9 (October, 1933), pp. 233-237.

<sup>104</sup> İsmet Paşa, "Halkevleri Yıl Dönümünde İsmet Paşa'nın Nutku" (İsmet Paşa's Speech in Public Houses' Anniversary), *Ülkü*, no. 2 (March, 1933), p. 99.

<sup>105</sup> Neşe G. Yeşilkaya, "Halkevleri" (Public Houses), in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Kemalism), eds. Ahmet İnel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 114.

<sup>106</sup> Researchers argued that Public Houses could not function as they were imagined. Karaosmanoğlu, one of the leading figures in politics, described Diyarbakır Public House in 1940 as "empty and non-use". Representative of the center/Ankara could not reach the public. Even it could not success to draw the public to the House. ("*Sana bu satırları, içinde in-cin top oynayan, Halkevi'nin çırılçıplak bir odasında yazıyorum. Bu çizgili kağıtla, içi kareli zarfı, biraz evvel bakkaldan satın aldım. Kusura bakma. Bu kültür ocağında kitap filan şöyle dursun, hatta kağıt kalem bile bulmak mümkün değil. Bahsettiğim geniş odanın ortasında bir büyük masa duruyor; bunun üstünde, İstanbul'dan, Ankara'dan gelmiş birtakım eski gazetelerle mecmualar hiç el değmeksizin kendiliğinden yıpranıp solmaktadır. Tanrım, hepimize sabır ve selamet eyleye, amin*") Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Panorama* (İstanbul: Remzi Yayınevi, 1971), p. 92. However since I tried to look at the project itself, practices and their implications will find place in another study.

public.<sup>107</sup> Çağlar describes the Public Houses as institutions that worked on the mental, spiritual and physical capacities of individuals simultaneously. They planned to structure a balance between the bodies' organs to lead the country towards modernization.<sup>108</sup>

Each House had nine working sections: language, history, literature; art; theatre; sport; social assistance; public classes and courses; library and publishing; and museums and exhibitions. The sections were structured in the service of particular objectives. Education and health were central to the project of "creating a new nation," educating the new citizens of the Republic. As for the activities of the library and publishing section, conferences were organized and the speeches given in these conferences were published. In addition to books,<sup>109</sup> in the nineteen years of the program, the Houses published seventy-seven journals.

Among the journals, *Ülkü* had an exceptional place since it was the publication of the Ankara Public House. The subjects of *Ülkü* complemented those of the House sections: literature and language (poems, stories, descriptions, examination); fine arts (music, painting, architecture); history; sociology and philosophy; economics and agriculture; public morals training; protection of the country; womanhood; science; public health and population; sports, game and entertainment; *köycülük* (peasantary); bibliography; news from public houses; and

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<sup>107</sup> "Halkın kültür ve bilgisi seviyesini yükseltmek, Kemalizm inan ve devrimini halkın içine sindirmek ödevlerinin başında gelen Halkevlerinde, gündelik hayatımızda daima müessir olan müsbet bilgileri öğretmek ve yaymak için verilen konferansların yeni bir serisi olarak İstanbul Üniversitesi ile Ankara fakülte ve yüksek okullarındaki doçent arkadaşlarımızdan kendi ihtisasları dahilinde birer mevzu seçerek tayin edilecek zamanlarda konferanslar vermelerini rica etmişti."

<sup>108</sup> Behçet Kemal Çağlar, "Halkevlerinde Bariz Çalışmalar ve Beliren Değerler" (Obvious Studies and Emergent Values in Public Houses), *Ülkü*, no. 56 (September 1937), p. 87. "Halkevi kafayı, kalbi ve vücudu bir anda işleyen ve bunların kuvvetleri arasında tam bir müvazene kurmayı aklına ve programa koymuş bir müessesedir."

<sup>109</sup> Bibliography part of *Ülkü* announced books published by the journal systematically. See as an example: Selim Nüzhet, "Cumhuriyetin Onuncu Yıldönümünde Yapılan Neşriyat" (Publish in the Tenth Anniversary of Republic), *Ülkü*, no. 12 (January, 1934), pp. 443-455.

news and propositions.<sup>110</sup> *Ülkü*'s (and other journals of Public Houses) subject areas supported the sections of the Public Houses by giving theoretical background and propaganda and also by presenting exemplary cases from around the world. Every section of the House (and the journal) was structured with a particular duty in the ideological formation of the public.

The arts were used to educate the public for the sake of internalizing national values and of being modern. Culture was considered a subject that served the unifying process of the nation. In order to conquer the minds of the public, first, it was necessary to conquer their souls. The most effective way to conquer the hearts of the public was to use art. The cultural activities and art were limited to the state's interest. Art, theatre, museums and exhibitions sections served to educate the public.<sup>111</sup> Besides their educational purpose, they became symbols of the modernizing face of the country, particularly painting and sculpture.

The theatre section of the Houses was considered as a tool to transfer "accurate and necessary values and information to the public."<sup>112</sup> Not only were the souls of individuals in need of training, also their minds and bodies. Sports were necessary as a complementary activity to educate the bodies and mentalities of the citizens.<sup>113</sup> The public courses and classes section of the Public Houses was the unit that obviously aimed to shape the ideology of the citizens through training. As evidenced by *Ülkü*'s subject areas, sociology, economics, science, health and even

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<sup>110</sup> "Ülkü'nün Yazı Bölümleri" (Article Sections of *Ülkü*), *Ülkü*, no. 14 (March 1934), pp. 76-79.

<sup>111</sup> The Ministry of Education was in charge of forming cultural policies during 1930s.

<sup>112</sup> Necip Ali, "Halkevleri Yıldönümü Nutku" (Anniversary Speech of Public Houses), *Ülkü*, no. 14 (March 1934), pp. 12-13.

<sup>113</sup> Halkevleri 1932-1935: 103 Halkevi Geçen Yıl Nasıl Çalıştı? (Public Houses 1932-1935 : 103 How Did Public Houses Work Last Year?), p. 15. Quoted by Meltem Ahıska, "Türkiye'de İktidar ve Gerçeklik" (Power and Truth in Turkey), *Defter*, no. 33 (Spring 1998).

womanhood were covered in the educational programs. In the social assistance unit, people were asked to help improve the welfare of society. Particularly they were asked to assist poor people and single mothers. The social sphere became the interest area of the decade's elites out of their belief in progress. Progress and *içtimai inkılap* (social revolution) had to be completed if society was to improve.<sup>114</sup> Not only were the Public Houses' practices and social organizations parts of the social supporting system, but also the bureaucratic order was changed accordingly. The hierarchical order in the bureaucracy was also affected by the policies of the system. Frey states that during the 1930s the top of the ministries' pyramid in Turkey belonged to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.<sup>115</sup> This ministry and the Ministry of Health dealt with the social problems of the 1930s Turkey. The welfare of the population was also supported by the activities of two main organizations, *Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu* (Children's Protection Society) and *Türkiye Kızılay Cemiyeti* (Turkish Red Crescent).<sup>116</sup>

In line with the supporting institutions, the legal system was also changed to regulate the system for the well being of society. Legislation shaping society such as the *Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu* (Public Hygiene Law), which was enacted in 1930, penetrated into the daily practices of the citizens.<sup>117</sup> This law brought regulations to various areas of the social. From health to working conditions, the law covered a

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<sup>114</sup> M. C. Duru (only the initials of his name was given), "Halkevlerimizde Sosyal Yardım Faaliyetleri" (Social Assistance Activities in Our Public Houses), *Ülkü*, no. 79 (August, 1939), p. 561.

<sup>115</sup> Frederick Frey, *The Turkish Political Elite* (Cambridge: Massachusetts: The M.I.T Press, 1965). Quoted by Deringil, *Denge Oyunu*, p. 31. Deringil's quotation from Frey underlines the difference between the former system and new regime. It states in the old system the Ministry of Defense took first place in the pyramid.

<sup>116</sup> Özbek, p. 22. Further discussions for Children's Protection Society see Kathryn Libal, "The Children's Protection Society: Nationalizing Child Welfare in Early Republican Turkey", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 23 (Fall, 2003), pp. 53-79.

<sup>117</sup> Another law that regulated social welfare was the *İşçi Kanunu* (Labor Law), accepted in 1936 and enacted in 1937.

wide area of the social sphere. It introduced crucial regulations to the social security and social welfare practices. Concepts of everyday life were institutionalized with the help of science and governmental practices. While defining social problems, the practices of the daily lives and man-woman identities were questioned during the period.

The discourses produced by the new regime such as nationalism, rationalism or modernism served to construct the well-being of society. The aim of the RPP was to construct a society with solidarity and equality among its citizens. They tried to change the form of society's identity through promoting the reproductive capacities of individuals by focusing on the subject "population." Reproduction, welfare and social planning formed the main parts of the project. Yet the modernity project also re-constituted experiences linked to the everyday practices of man and woman-male and female citizens. Particularly their physical existences were affected by this project. Their appearance and daily acts were changed for the good of the modernized community. They turned themselves into objects that could be worked on to achieve the state's modernist goals.

As an obligatory part of modernity, science gained a crucial authority. Particularly the social sciences played a central role in problematizing issues related to population. Narratives produced by the social sciences affected every field of daily practices. From sociology to medicine, scientific knowledge was presented under the service of nation. Yet the discourse produced by those fields created the narrative itself. Looking at the discourses produced by the individuals and groups within the political, administrative and economic spheres helps to see in which categories, classifications and forms of knowledge they created the subjects.

Nationalism, modernization and social policies were subjects that had a common intersection point: the female body. With their physical appearance, sexuality, mothering identity, and patriotic positions women have regulatory effects on the modernist, nationalistic and reproductive features of nations. The mutual process between culture and the female body tells the story of Turkey's modernization process. The "new" female body affected the appearance of the nation. Also the female body was shaped by the conditions of the new system. Berktaý argues that the transformation process from the Empire to the Republic divided the Turkish society into two parts (such as old vs. new or traditional vs. modern). The concerns related to the complications of this particular division, like the change of the "known" world, were projected symbolically onto the area of the sexual identities, most explicitly to the female identity. The female identity of the new regime was created under the control of man as the "new woman" in parallel to the new conditions. She argues that the creation of the "new woman" helped to prove the maintenance of the patriarchal power in spite of the changed conditions.<sup>118</sup> On the one hand, the "new woman" became a symbol of modernization. On the other hand, she was represented as the main figure of the national unity and the stability of the order.<sup>119</sup> Meliha Avni Sözen's statement supports Berktaý's analysis. She stated that value of a nation could be measured by the position of the woman. If woman takes a central place in the nation, the nation could improve and modernize. Sözen

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<sup>118</sup> Fatmagül Berktaý, "Dođu ile Batının Birleřtiđi Yer: Kadın İmgesinin Kurgulanışı" (The Intersection of the East and the West: the Construction of the Female Image), in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Modernization and Westernization), eds. Uygur Kocabaşođlu (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p. 275.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

claims also that woman is the creator of the next generation, and that her efforts to raise proper citizens empowers the unity of the nation.<sup>120</sup>

The “Daughters of the Republic” became role models for society, not only with their mothering identity, but also as the modern girls of the new regime. They showed up in the public sphere with their westernized physical appearances in modern clothing. But also as the modern “fertile” mothers of the Republic, they were transformed into the hope for the future in the household. The woman of the new Republic was positioned at the center of the social. Civilized (westernized) woman was defined as rational, modern, and scientific. As a complementary discourse, “fertile” mothers were defined as honorable, giving, loyal to their children and their homes. Westernized women’s role in the social sphere was separated according to their roles both in the household and in the public space. Deconstructing women’s place in the new Republic would bring to light paradigmatic issues related to the place of the female citizens in the everyday life. The constructed identity of the Republican “modernized” woman can be followed through the traces on the surface of her body.

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<sup>120</sup> Meliha Avni Sözen, “Kadın ve Vazifesi” (The Woman and Her Duty), *Yeni Türk*, no. (January 1935), p. 1827.



## CHAPTER 3

### INCREASING POPULATION WITH PRONATAL POLICIES

“It is essential that the term reproduction itself be subjected to analysis in order to understand its ideological load-bearing capacities.”<sup>121</sup>

The 1930s witnessed the construction process of the new Republic. The young Republic tried to settle the new regulations and a new way of living. During this process various social problems appeared. This chapter focuses on a particular and so-called “popular” social problem of the decade in Turkey: population. The first part of this chapter will discuss the relationship between the population and the health policies of the 1930s Turkey as a social problem. In the second part I will look into the “offered” and “applied” solutions of the problem as a part of the young Republic’s practices. In the last part of this chapter I will explore the relation between the female body and pronatal policies.

The social problems of the 1930s Republican Turkey, represented as tuberculosis; the treatment of the sick and elderly people; poverty; public health; widows;<sup>122</sup> and the child question, which entailed concerns such as high infant and

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<sup>121</sup> Ludmilla Jordanova, “Reproduction in the Eighteen Century”, in *Conceiving the World Order*, eds. Faye D. Ginsburg and Rayna Rapp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 371.

<sup>122</sup> M.C.Duru, “Halkevleri ve Sosyal Yardım” (Public Houses and Social Assistance), *Ülkü*, no. 81 (October, 1939), pp. 165-167.

child mortality rates, a large number of orphaned, abandoned, or poor children, malnourishment and disease, child labor, homelessness, begging, child abuse and abandonment, child prostitution and delinquency<sup>123</sup> had population as the common denominator. Population, with its reproductive potential against attacks on the development of the country and as a guarantee for the defense of the motherland, became a crucial subject for the transformation of society. The political, economic and moral strength of the nation was dependent on its demographic strength.<sup>124</sup>

Demographic issues were related to the concerns of nation-state building. Seen as the “*milli servet*” (national wealth of the country),<sup>125</sup> population was handled as an independent variable, which could determine the economic and social structure, and as a problem that needed to be solved for the sake of society. It was even indicated as the source of economic and social problems.<sup>126</sup> In the 1930s this subject was taken into consideration not only demographically, but also socially. The new government indicated population as the most significant actor in “*asrileşme hamlesi*” (modernization movement).<sup>127</sup> Manpower became the focus in industrialization and the defense of the nation. Stating that the Turkish population problem was a biosocial case entailing cultural, hygienic, eugenic, economic and social aspects, Şevket Aziz proposed that Turkey needed to enlighten and technically educate “sons of the

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<sup>123</sup> Libal, p. 55.

<sup>124</sup> For the importance of the demographic strenght in the Italian case in the 1930s see Horn, p. 47.

<sup>125</sup> Mazhar Osman, “Nüfus Bereketi Arefesindeyiz” (In the Population Fruitfulness Eve), *Sıhhi Sahifalar*, no. 1 (January, 1930), p. 2.

<sup>126</sup> *Nüfus* (Population), in *Atatürk Döneminde Türkiye Ekonomisi Semineri* (Seminer of Turkey’s Economics during Atatürk’s Period) (İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, 1981).

<sup>127</sup> Mazhar Osman, “Nüfus Bereketi Arefesindeyiz II” (In the Population Fruitfulness Eve II), *Sıhhi Sahifalar*, no. 2 (February, 1930), p. 33.

country” for its colonization.<sup>128</sup> This turned population into a subject to which society had a right and responsibility. When population became a part of the common welfare, it became an object to be studied and managed. Particularly the shortage of adult population, caused by wars and migration, was a serious shortcoming. Population became a critical subject for the sake of the nation that had to be known, governed and bettered.

Dr. Ali Rıfat proposed examining the reasons behind the population decrease. He argued that research had to be built on statistics.<sup>129</sup> Statistics and censuses were two complementary parts of knowing, governing and improving the population. Measurement and calculating were thus made into two crucial steps to understanding the potential of reproductive power. Şevket Aziz, in the article mentioned above, underlined the importance of demography as a science in calculating the amount of population, its gender specific distribution, birth and death rates, life expectancy, nationality, identity and profession.<sup>130</sup> To determine and understand childrens’ future, biosocial knowledge was of the utmost importance.<sup>131</sup>

The first census during the Republican period was conducted in 1927, and counted 13,648,000 people. The second census, conducted in 1935, resulted in 16,158,000 individuals. The 1935 census revealed a growth rate of 2.1 percent per

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<sup>128</sup> Şevket Aziz, “İstikbal Sevgisi ve Biyososyal Kültürümüz” (Future Love and Our Biosocial Culture), *Ülkü*, no. 49 (February, 1937), p. 410. The term “colonization” was used by Şevket Aziz. In the article he underlined the importance of the development of the country and with “colonization.” He referred to the factors those would assist the improvement of the state towards civilization.

<sup>129</sup> Ali Rıfat, “Nüfus Tenakusu” (Population Decrease), *Sıhhi Sahifalar*, no. 2 (September 1930), p. 241.

<sup>130</sup> Şevket Aziz, “Biyosyoloji” (Biosociology), *Ülkü*, no. 17 (June, 1934), p. 256. “... nüfusun umumi yekunu, her cinsteiki miktar, ölüm ve doğum miktarı, ölüm çağı, milliyet, hüviyet, meslek.”

<sup>131</sup> Şevket Aziz, “İstikbal Sevgisi ve Biyososyal Kültürümüz” (Future Love and Our Biosocial Culture), *Ülkü*, no. 49 (February, 1937), p. 409. “.. yarınki varlıklar çocuklarımızın çocukları olacaktır. Bu varlıkların talihini yağurmak ve talihlerinin ne olacağını anlamak biososyal bir bilginin yani demografyanın elindedir.”

annum since the 1927 count.<sup>132</sup> However, Turkey's demographic composition was still imbalanced according to gender, age, and marital status factors. The new Republic's population stock was dependent on gender specific issues. Shorter problematizes the low number of males in the population and draws the picture of gender and marital status more clearly. His projection, based on the 1935 census, calculated the population of 1923 Turkey. In 1923 the rate of widowhood was thirty percent in the western provinces. In 1935 it had decreased, but still twenty-three percent of adult women (age twenty and over) had lost husbands.<sup>133</sup> According to Shorter's projection, in 1923 there were ninety-one men per one hundred women. This ratio increased in the 1935 census, but only to ninety-seven men per one hundred women.<sup>134</sup> Another source states that in 1927, for every 1000 female citizens, 927 male citizens were living in the country. Yet this rate was actually lower 20-59 in the age group due to the wartime effect, 824 males for 1000 females. Again, in the same period, a high percentage of the population, 48% was children and youths under twenty years old.<sup>135</sup>

The adult male population (the potential labor force is defined as individuals aged 20-54) was 2,774,000 in 1927. Considering the labor and military needs, men were scarce. Yaşar Nabi cites the population density per square kilometer in fourteen countries: Turkey had the lowest rate, with twenty-one persons.<sup>136</sup> These low number

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<sup>132</sup> Frederic Shorter, "Turkish Population in Great Depression", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 23 (Fall, 2000), pp. 107-110.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>135</sup> *Nüfus* (Population), in *Atatürk Döneminde Türkiye Ekonomisi Semineri* (Seminar of Turkey's Economics during Atatürk's Period) (İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, 1981).

<sup>136</sup> Nabi Yaşar, "Nüfus Meselesi Karşısında Türkiye" (Turkey against Population Problem), *Ülkü*, no. 80 (September, 1939), p. 35.

caused economic and militarist problems, because population was considered as an effective weapon in the era's extreme nationalist atmosphere. However, population was not only necessary in wartime to have a large army, but it also became a tool to create a powerful economic structure in years of peace to prepare a strong base in case of war.<sup>137</sup> A 1934 dated report of the *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası Grubu Nüfus Komisyonu* (Parliamentary Committee on Population of the Republic) states that the need for population depended on economic reasons. The vast empty lands of the country were proposed to be filled by newcomers, as the population needed to be doubled as soon as possible not only for economic reasons but also due to military needs.<sup>138</sup> For the future of the country it was believed that military strength was extremely important.<sup>139</sup> Turkish nation needed “*new members*” to defend the motherland.

In the 29 September 1935 issue of *Cumhuriyet*, the editor of the newspaper wrote that the Turkish population living in Anatolia would prevent the country from becoming occupied. Referring to the census conducted in 1927, he expressed how surprised and happy he was to learn fourteen millions Turks were living in the country instead of the estimated eight million. He explicitly stated that the country

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<sup>137</sup> Nabi Yaşar, “Nüfus Meselesi Karşısında Türkiye” (Turkey against Population Problem), *Ülkü*, no. 80 (September, 1939), p. 33. Nabi Yaşar, “Nüfus Meselesi Karşısında Türkiye” (Turkey against Population Problem), *Ülkü*, no. 103 (August, 1941), p. 441. “Çünkü nüfus bugün, aşırı ve mütecaviz bir milliyetçi cereyanın istila ve tahakküm için giriştiği mücadelede müessir bir silah olarak telakki edilmeye başlanmıştır. Nüfus kesafeti yalnız harp halinde, en kalabalık orduları çıkarmak için değil, fakat sulh yıllarında da kuvvetli bir iktisadi cihaz yaratarak müstakbel harbin temelini önceden sağlamlaştırmak için bir vasıta sayılıyor.”

<sup>138</sup> Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası Grubu Nüfus Komisyonu (Population Commission of Republican People Party), Rapor (Report) (Ankara: TBMM Press, 1934), p. 25. Quoted by Frederic Shorter, “Turkish Population in Great Depression”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 23 (Fall, 2000), p. 105.

<sup>139</sup> Shorter, p. 105.

needed a Turkish population, not one of Greeks, Kurds or others. His article ended with the wish to find a higher population in the 1935 census.<sup>140</sup>

Particularly after the importance of manpower emerged the leading figures of the day started to discuss population with greater frequency. Articles in various journals offered ways to increase the population. In one article, Yaşar Nabi offers three solutions for population increase: to decrease the ratio of deaths, to increase the number of births, and to promote migration from the western and more Turkish areas.<sup>141</sup> The 14 June 1934 *İskan Kanunu* (Settlement Law) offered lands only to individuals who were ethnically or culturally Turk.

According to Kirişçi, the Turkish Republic's immigration policy depended on the Turkic subjects migrating from western areas during the 1930s. Migration compensated for the low increase among the Turkish population. Kirişçi argues that the Republic mostly accepted immigrants from the "Turkic" defined areas, which were located in the Balkans.<sup>142</sup> "Western" and "Turkic" were central concepts in the migration policies as Turkifying the nation was important in the Republican project. Although the administrative regime changed from Empire to Republic, the demographic features of the Anatolia did not take on the features deemed necessary for a nation state. Therefore importing Turkic subjects could be considered as a strategy to strengthen the Turkish identity of the country. Accordingly, with the Lausanne convention on the exchange of Greeks and Turks and with bilateral treaties for voluntary emigration from Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, Turkey accepted

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<sup>140</sup> *Cumhuriyet*, 29 September 1935, p. 1. Quoted by Shorter, p. 105.

<sup>141</sup> Nabi Yaşar, "Nüfus Meselesi Karşısında Türkiye" (Turkey against Population Problem), *Ülkü*, no. 80 (September, 1939), p. 35.

<sup>142</sup> Kemal Kirişçi, "Türkiye'ye Yönelik Göç Hareketlerinin Değerlendirilmesi" (Evaluation of Migration Movements towards Turkey), in *Bilanço 1923-1998* (Balance 1923-1998) cilt 1, eds. Zeynep Rona (İstanbul: TUBA, TSBD, Tarih Vakfı, 1999), pp. 111-122.

700,000 people between 1923-1939, which was almost four percent of the 1935 population.<sup>143</sup>

Increasing manpower was a necessary condition for the well being of the society. Therefore population turned into the subject of social policy and its objects of intervention. Even the social assistance system was classified in terms of manpower. At beginning of his article, Duru describes social assistance as “a tool” instead of a final goal, to be used by the needy in his own war against poverty.<sup>144</sup> Then he classified groups in need of social assistance in two categories. The first contained the sick, the elderly, and war veterans. The social assistance that would be provided to them was called “*muavenet*” (pure and absolute help), since they could not work. The second group was made up of poor people, waifs, widows, and other disadvantaged individuals in need of “*müzaheret*” (protection and support) as social assistance.<sup>145</sup> According to this classification, the social assistance differed according the individual’s potential to provide manpower. More than the protection of the adult population who took part in the working units of society, it also helped to secure their reproductive capacities. The social body could be described as the result of the reproductive tactics. The problems occurring in the social body should be managed and governed to strengthen the manpower of society.

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<sup>143</sup> 355,635 immigrants came from Greece between 1923-1926 and 47,000 immigrants in the following years, 127,000 immigrants from Bulgaria 1923-1935, 50,000 immigrants from Romania between 1924-1934, 100,000 immigrants from Yugoslavia between 1923-1933.

<sup>144</sup> “*Sosyal ıztırıp ve ihtiyaçlarda da sosyal yardım; ıztırıp çekenin kendi kendine rahata kavuşabilme savaşında kullanacağı bir alet, bir çare olmalıdır; yani sosyal yardım bir gaye değil, bir vasıta olarak sayılmalı ve saydırılmalıdır.*” M. C. Duru (only the initials of his name was given), “Halkevlerimizde Sosyal Yardım Faaliyetleri” (Social Assistance Activities in Our Public Houses), *Ülkü*, no. 79 (August, 1939), p. 561.

<sup>145</sup> “*Hastalar, maluller ve ihtiyaçlar gibi çalışma kadrosundan dışarıda kalmış olanların doldurduğu birinci gruptakilere yapılacak asistans saf ve halis manasıyla bir “muavenet”tir. Fakat yoksullar, kimsesizler, yersizler, zayıflar, sakatlar, dullar gibi daha büyük bir yekun tutan ikinci gruptakilere yapılacak asistansın mahiyeti bir “müzaheret”tir.*” M. C. Duru (only the initials of his name was given), “Halkevlerimizde Sosyal Yardım Faaliyetleri” (Social Assistance Activities in Our Public Houses), *Ülkü*, no. 79 (August, 1939), p. 561.

The state was positioned in the center of the control mechanism to ensure the well-being of society. Welfare and fertility were two interconnected targets. Particularly, defining population as national stock helped to transform reproduction from a natural phenomenon to a social subject. The population and the reproductive practices of the individuals turned into the areas of the knowledge and administration for the well being of the social body.<sup>146</sup> Reproduction was stated as the collective responsibility for welfare. Reproductive success, which affected the entire society, at its most reductionist perception, was based on passing one's genes on to the next generation.<sup>147</sup> Therefore people with healthy reproductive potentials were considered as the guarantees of a healthy generation. Reproduction was turned into a diagnosed problem that had to be considered as part of scientific knowledge and technological intervention.<sup>148</sup> Science became a tool of progressive knowledge, an alternative authority and a form of cultural power.<sup>149</sup>

The solution to the problem lay in science, particularly medicine. The reproductive capacities of individuals had to be regulated with scientific tools under the state's control for the sake of the community, turning the lives of individuals into scientific subjects. To increase the size, quality and the strength of the population managing the bodies of individuals became an important matter. Medicine and the body were linked fundamentally to each other.<sup>150</sup> Foucault argues that dealing with

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<sup>146</sup> Horn, p. 49.

<sup>147</sup> Adrienne L. Zihlman, "Reductionism in Evolutionary Theory", in *Conceiving The World Order*, eds. Faye D. Ginsburg and Rayna Rapp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) p. 430.

<sup>148</sup> Horn, p. 5.

<sup>149</sup> Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics* (Ithaca and London: The Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 41.

<sup>150</sup> Nikolas Rose, "Medicine, History and the Present", in *Reassessing Foucault*, eds. Colin Jones and Roy Porter (New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 57.



population and also increasing the population meant attending to the “birth and death rates, life expectancy, fertility, state of health, frequency of illnesses, patterns of diet and habitation.”<sup>151</sup> The rationalization and the authority of science helped to intervene into the private spaces and bodies for the sake of society.<sup>152</sup> Inescapably, the bodies of the subjects became a crucial part of the population policies.

The first and second solutions of Nabi are clearly linked to each other. Decreasing the rate of mortality and increasing that of reproduction had a positive correlation in the population policies in the 1930s, particularly interested in increasing the population, which included not only promoting “healthy” births, but also preventing deaths. To increase the population, the health of individuals and of the public in general became a concern for the state. Protecting the health of the population directly affected the welfare and manpower of the society. With scientific tools it helped prevent the loss of productive parts of the population with scientific tools. Therefore medicine as a tool to monitor the health of individuals became part of the political concerns of Republican Turkey that would ultimately provide for the health and welfare of the social body.

### The Development of Public Health Policies

The Ministry of Health and Social Assistance was presented as a product of the Republic.<sup>153</sup> The first Ministry of Health in the history of the Ottoman Empire

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<sup>151</sup> Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, p. 25.

<sup>152</sup> Horn, p. 97.

<sup>153</sup> As exemplary institutions, Van and Kars Birth Clinics, Erzurum and Diyarbakır exemplary hospitals, Elazız mental hospital, Yusufeli Borçka Kağızman examination and treatment houses were given. “Cumhuriyetin Sağlık İşleri” (Health Works of Republic), *Ülkü*, no. 9 (October, 1933), p. 253.

and the Turkish Republic was established with a law enacted on 20 May 1920,<sup>154</sup> one of the first set of laws promulgated in Ankara after the formation of parliament.<sup>155</sup> In the Ottoman Empire, the ministry had been a directorate under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In the Republic, the first minister, Adnan Adıvar, was in charge of the construction of the organization. Under Dr. Refik Saydam, from March 1925 to October 1937, the first working program for the Ministry of Health was prepared, which covered topics such as the enlargement of the state health organization, generating more medical personnel, opening “*numune hastaneleri*” (exemplary hospitals) and mother-child medical institutions and also fighting epidemics such as malaria, syphilis, tuberculosis, and trachoma.<sup>156</sup> In preventative medicine, Dr. Refik Saydam assumed one of the leading roles in early Republican Turkey. In addition to being the minister of health and social services for fifteen years, he was also known as the “father and the creator of preventative medicine”<sup>157</sup> in Turkey. The program of

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<sup>154</sup> Ekrem Kadri Unat, *Türkiye’de Atatürk Döneminde Bulaşıcı Hastalıklarla Savaş İçin Kuruluşlar ve Çalışmalar* (Institutions and Studies for the War of Epidemics during Atatürk’s Period), in *Türkiye’de Atatürk Döneminde Bulaşıcı Hastalıklarla Savaş Toplantısı* (Meeting of War against Epidemics during Atatürk’s Period), eds. Ekrem Kadri Unat, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi Yayınları, 1982), p. 5. Gencay Gürsoy, *Sağlık* (Health), in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (Republican Period Turkey Encyclopedia) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), p. 1719.

<sup>155</sup> “*Sıhhiye ve Muaveneti İçtimaiye Vekaleti*” is the Turkish name of the ministry. I think it is necessary to display the footprints of structuring an institution like Ministry of Health and Social Services. One of the initial institutions of the ministry was opened in 1912 under the Ministry of Internal Affairs and called as “*Sıhhiye Müdüriye-i Umumiyesi*” (Public Health Directorate). The center would work as a general directorate with various sub-sections such as *Meclis-i Ali-i Sıhhi* (High Health Council), *Hıfzısıhha-i Umumiye Şubesi* (Public Hygiene Section), *Tebabet-i Adliye Şubesi* (Section of Health Administration), *İspençiyar Şubesi* (Section of ). Parallel to the institutionalization of the center, there were also health centers in the provinces and cities. In 1914 *Dahiliye Nezareti* (Ministry of Interior Affairs), was altered to *Dahiliye ve Sıhhiye Nezareti* (Ministry of Interior and Health) and health institution was positioned under a ministry. *Dahiliye ve Sıhhiye Nezareti* has three main sub-organizations: *Sıhhiye Umum Müdürlüğü* (Public Health Directorate), *Karantina İdaresi* (Quarantine Administration), and *Hicaz Sıhhiye İdaresi* (Hicaz Sanitary Administration). Besides the institutions under ministry, there were two main health organizations: *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti* (Red Crescent) and *Veremle Mücadele Osmanlı Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Society of War against Tuberculosis).

<sup>156</sup> Gencay Gürsoy, *Sağlık* (Health), in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (Republican Period Turkey Encyclopedia) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), p. 1720.

<sup>157</sup> *Sıhhiye Mecmuası*, (Ankara: Ankara Ulusal Matbaa, July 1942), p. 6.

the ministry shaped by him was based on preventive public health policies. Medical discourse in the 1930s focused mainly on public health, which was, primarily, taken as a crucial feature to improve the health conditions of and to increase the population.

Muhittin Celal, a physician who wrote for *Sihhi Sahifalar*, reported that only eight out of ten women with reproductive potential gave live births. Two of those eight died before the age twenty and two of them became disabled and thus could not undertake military service. Only four of the eight reached the age twenty. One died and one got sick before forty. So only two were productive for society. Celal wrote that it therefore was essential that the country has to develop “preventive health” policies. Those policies needed to be implemented to help these women in the service of the welfare of society.<sup>158</sup> Medicine had to become a concern of the social body. The health of the population was thus turned into a subject of the state’s policies, since it, directly, impacted the well being of society. The focus of the health policies shifted from the individual body to the social body, which brought a crucial change in the subject of the medicine: from curative policies to preventive policies.<sup>159</sup>

The Republic’s health and social assistance policy focused on increasing births, reducing mortality, protecting the country from epidemics from foreign countries, fighting against epidemics inside the country, and preventing diseases that damaged children such as malaria, syphilis and tuberculosis. Additionally, in order to increase the public’s health standards, the state aimed to increase the number of

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<sup>158</sup> Muhittin Celal, “Esirgeme Hekimliği” (Protective Health Physicians), *Sihhi Sahifalar*, no. 1 (January 1930), p. 23.

<sup>159</sup> Horn, p. 101. “This shift from the medical to the sociological, from the individual body to the social body, also corresponded to a shift from repression to prevention.”

health personnel, to equip them with modern knowledge, to provide additional financial support for local administrations, and to provide health services to those who suffered, were disabled or mentally ill.<sup>160</sup> According to the preventive health policies, the Republic tried to increase number of health personnel and to organize them to serve the public.<sup>161</sup> To protect the public and future of the nation, doctors became the professionals and authorities of the public work. The profesionalization of the experts who worked in the social body turned into a requirement for the protection and preservation of the national stock.<sup>162</sup>

Law No. 1219, which was accepted in 1924 and called the “*Tababet ve Şuabatı Sanatlarının Tarzı İcrasına Dair Kanun*” (Law about the Practice of the Medical Profession) organized the duties and responsibilities of health personnel.<sup>163</sup> The practice fields of physicians as professionals and physicians under the compulsory state service were aimed to fulfill the need of institutionalized health services in the cities and provinces. Experts, foremost among them doctors, nurses, social workers, teachers, *mukhtars* (head of the neighborhood) and volunteers of the Public Houses became part of the nationalist and modernist project. Particularly physicians became critical elements in the program, representing scientific knowledge. as a tool to reach “*asrileşmek*” (modernization). They became authoritative figures of the progressing society, using used medicine to intervene into the daily practices of individuals. Modern medicine focused on the object-centered subject. Individuals became objects who needed to be diagnosed as to whether they

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<sup>160</sup> “Cumhuriyetin Sağlık İşleri” (Health Works of Republic), *Ülkü*, no. 9 (October, 1933), p. 253.

<sup>161</sup> Cezmi Türk, “Sihhi Devletçilik I” (Sanitary Statism), *Yeni Türk*, no. 38 (February, 1936), pp. 75-77. Cezmi Türk, “Sihhi Devletçilik I” (Sanitary Statism), *Yeni Türk*, no. 39 (April, 1936), pp. 181-188.

<sup>162</sup> Horn, p. 114.

<sup>163</sup> Gürsoy, p. 1721.

were normal or pathological.<sup>164</sup> Yet the Republican regime was not concerned with one single individual's life or the danger towards one single individual. It looked at society as a whole unit. Therefore medical discourse classified illnesses according to their assessed threat to society. The health of the social body became more important than the health of individual. Medical discourse started to focus more on epidemics.

Mainly the Ministry aimed to decrease the mortality rate, increase births and regulate health services. Therefore it collected "knowledge of the enemy" and prepared a medical map of the existent epidemics. The primary activity of the Health Ministry was to prepare "*Sihhat ve İctimai Coğrafya*" (Health and Social Geography) of cities, among them Sinop, Niğde, Kayseri, Kırklareli, Zonguldak, Muğla, Konya, Isparta, Urfa, Çatalca, Kastamonu, Ankara, Çankırı, Gaziantep, and Sivas.<sup>165</sup> Related to the new aim, rather than focusing on the effects of the illnesses, the new system focused on the causes of the problem, which helped the state to intervene into the various levels of the society.<sup>166</sup> Even in the *Sihhat Almanağı* (Health Almanac) Dr. Albukrek Bey criticized the mentality of matching physicians only with pathological subjects and stated two duties for the physicians: preventative health and curing sick people. He complained that people did not realize the meaning of preventive medicine, that only the state gave the necessary importance to the subject through its practices.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Thomas Osborne, "On Anti-Medicine and Clinical Reason", in *Reassessing Foucault*, eds. Colin Jones and Roy Porter (New York: Routledge, 1998).

<sup>165</sup> Ekrem Kadri Unat, "Türkiye'de Atatürk Döneminde Bulaşıcı Hatalıklarla Savaş için Kuruluşlar ve Çalışmalar" (Institutions and Studies for the War of Epidemics during Atatürk's Period), in *Türkiye'de Atatürk Döneminde Bulaşıcı Hastalıklarla Savaş Toplantısı* (Meeting of War against Epidemics during Atatürk's Period), eds. Ekrem Kadri Unat (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi Yayınları, 1982), p. 8.

<sup>166</sup> Horn, p. 44.

<sup>167</sup> Albukrek Bey, "Hekimin Hakiki Vazifesi" (The Real Duty of a Physician), in *Sihhat Almanağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 221.

The *Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu* (Public Hygiene Law) articles related to illnesses and public discourse underlined the importance of preventative medicine. Since one of the biggest concerns of the new regime was population, focusing on the masses instead of individuals helped to protect the whole population. Curative medicine helped to heal individuals, yet preventive medicine helped to protect the masses. Medicine shifted its focus from cure to prevention.

Medicine and the law worked together to function in the domain of the social.<sup>168</sup> Law became a part of the control mechanisms and used medicine as a tool. Particularly the Public Hygiene Law could be considered as part of the preventive health campaign. The law, enacted in 1930 and formed of 15 chapters and 309 articles, tried to regulate every area related to public health. The first four articles of the law drew the limits of state services, which mainly focused on the protection of public health through the prevention of epidemics. Chapter Two addressed “*Sari ve Salgın Hastalıklar*” (Infectious and Epidemic Illnesses) in articles 29-128. Sections of the second chapter covered the protection of shores and frontiers, the fight against infectious and epidemic illnesses inside the country, the fight against malaria, trachoma, venereal diseases, and tuberculosis, as well as articles common to the aforementioned subjects. Diseases included in the second chapter mainly reflected the critical and potential epidemics in the 1930s Turkey. Due to the high percentage of migration in and out of the country during the 1920s and 1930s, the country’s population was moving constantly. Therefore epidemics could spread easily and had the potential to affect the whole population. Legal preventive practices required that individuals who were diagnosed as having illnesses be registered with the state and be considered dangerous. As Public Health Policy was based on the well being of the

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<sup>168</sup> Foucault, *İktidarın Gözü* (Dits et Ecrits), trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2003), p. 78.

community, sick people were to be viewed as pathological and handled by the public authorities, not only by physicians or medical institutions, but also by the police.<sup>169</sup>

Figures produced by the power or state, such as doctors, social engineers, architects, teachers, and mukhtars, who were close to the people's households were equipped with the authority to classify and diagnose people. According to the Law, illnesses were divided into categories that had to be reported to the public authorities. In the Public Hygiene Law, for example, some diseases were declared as threats to the public health. Therefore "figures close to the household" were held responsible for calling the state if they saw particular diseases. Outbreaks of diseases such as cholera, pestilence, every kind of pyrexia, variola, diphtheria, ruam, scarlet fever, charbon, rubella, leprosy, and rabies were to be reported to public authorities by doctors in the Health Administration, government or municipal doctors, police or jandarma within 24 hours.<sup>170</sup> The Penal Code was also organized accordingly. The prevention of epidemics followed several ways.

Another solution in early Republican Turkey was the "*Merkez Hifzıssıhha Müessesesi*" (Central Institute of Hygiene), opened in 1936 to produce preventive methods for epidemics. The practices for handling epidemic illnesses also aimed to control the environment of the patient. Duru gives tuberculosis as an example. A social epidemic like tuberculosis had fatal effects on the population, even in civilized countries. One out of ten, even one out of the eight of the social deaths in civilized countries was caused by tuberculosis. Therefore care of such epidemics could not end with the treatment of the patient. He added that the social assistor had to treat the

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<sup>169</sup> *Kanunen İhbarı Mecburi Hastalıklar ve İhbar ile Mükellef Olanlar* (Diseases that should be Denounced Compulsory and Responsible Persons with Denunciation), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 109.

<sup>170</sup> *Kanunen İhbarı Mecburi Hastalıklar ve İhbar ile Mükellef Olanlar* (Diseases That Should Be Denounced Compulsory and Responsible Persons with Denunciation), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 109.

environment and children of the patient, provide hygienic and economic conditions, and educate them. With such a system “social help” could turn from affection into a national and scientific assistance.<sup>171</sup> Holding the assistor responsible for the well-being of the household and training individuals was a consequence of the Republican policies focusing on the causes of epidemics instead of cures. For a healthy population, it was necessary to educate families about epidemics. Preventive health services were supported by informative books published by the Public Houses. One of the books published by Ankara Public House’s Social Assistance Section, *Tuberculosis*, written by Dr. Hamit Osman (in 1933 Ankara), was distributed to the public in order to protect the race from tuberculosis and was used as a manual on the means of transmission and preventive activities.<sup>172</sup>

The state’s preventive health policies were aimed to reach people in their own villages and homes. Yet the quantity of health personnel was not adequate to service the public. Therefore civil organizations were asked to support the state’s preventive health and social assistance activities. Public Houses were asked to build mobile teams within their social assistance and *köycülük* sections that would travel throughout the outlying areas. In the reports published in *Ülkü* in the section on News from the Public Houses, the Siverek Public House was praised for its efforts to cure thirty-three sick citizens and for providing their medicine free of charge. In the same part, the Aydın Public House’s examination trips were described in detail. In two trips, ten villages have been checked by various medical experts. Among them twelve patients’ prescriptions have been written and eleven patients have been

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<sup>171</sup> M. C. Duru (only the initials of his name was given), “Halkevlerimizde Sosyal Yardım Faaliyetleri” (Social Assistance Activities in Public Houses), *Ülkü*, no. 79 (August, 1939), p. 562.

<sup>172</sup> Selim Nüzhet, “Ankara Halkevi Neşriyatı” (Publication of the Ankara Public House), *Ülkü*, no. 16 (May, 1934), p. 223.



transferred to the hospital. The midwife on the team examined three women in childbed in the home.<sup>173</sup>

The comments of the reports published in the News from the Public Houses section obviously encouraged and promoted the services given to people in need of medical assistance or economic support (particularly families). Because the state was unable to provide fully equipped service (with health personnel and medicine) to the public, the Public Houses were aimed to be organized as support institutions. For preventive health, the Republican government expanded its budget and facilitated activities such as the opening health museums, showing fifteen health movies to the public, to teachers and students, to mothers, and to the army. Those films covered epidemics, such as tuberculosis, malaria, and syphilis, and hygiene issues such as childcare, dental health, potable water and the importance of health. Additionally, informative leaflets and banners were prepared for the public.<sup>174</sup>

The link between population and the economy was also stressed by the physicians involve in preventive medicine. Şerif Korkut proposed that the necessary capital for the country's economic growth lay in the human labor that could be equated with country's population. "If we would evaluate this source with the necessary value it deserves, we could develop. Therefore we should give our

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<sup>173</sup> "İki gezide on köy dolaşmıştır. Bu gezilerde doktor (109) hasta muayene edilmiş, on iki hastanın reçetesi yapılmış on bir hasta hastaneye gönderilmek üzere muhtarlara tenbih edilmiş, 80 hastaya ilaç ve kinin dağıtılmıştır. Ebe üç lohasayı evinde muayene ederek tedavilerini yapmış ve sıhhi tedbirler almıştır." Behçet Kemal Çağlar, "Halkevlerinde Göze Çarpan Çalışmalar ve Beliren Değerler" (Obvious Studies and Emergent Values in Public Houses), *Ülkü*, no. 70 (November, 1938), p. 272. Similar examples took part in the "News from Public Houses" part of *Ülkü* in various towns and villages.

<sup>174</sup> "Cumhuriyetin Sağlık İşleri" (Health Works of Republic), *Ülkü*, no. 9 (October, 1933), pp. 258-259.

attention to the human resources of the country both for their physical and mental well-being.”<sup>175</sup>

Besides promoting births, the loss of children could be prevented by medicine. Infant mortality, in addition to affecting the quantity of population, became a sign of development and westernization. Articles in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* gave case studies from the western world that underlined the importance of the preventive studies for children and mothers. The infant’s body became a parameter with which to measure the development of the country. Armstrong writes that the “infant’s life and death were analysed and thereby given meaning and existence.”<sup>176</sup> Infant deaths were turned into statistical data. Saving children’s lives became a crucial target for the state to prove its development with statistical tools. The fight against malaria, as an example, resulted in an increase in population and the reduction of child mortality brought the community welfare and happiness.<sup>177</sup>

To decrease the high rate of infant mortality, the Republic fought epidemics and the government opened *Doğum ve Çocuk Bakım Evleri* (Birth and Child Care Clinics) in various cities. In the Houses, under the meticulous care of experts, “the

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<sup>175</sup> M. Şerif Korkut, *Isıtma ve Çeltik* (Malaria and Çeltik), (Ankara: Yeni Matbaa, 1950), p. XI-XII “Türkiye’nin iktisadi kalkınması için lüzumlu sermayenin ne iç kaynaklarla ve ne de hariçten, istenilen genişlik ve bollukta sağlanmasında imkan da yoktur. O halde geriye insane emeği kalır ki, bu da memleketimizin nüfus varlığıdır. Zaten bu emek varlığı gereği gibi değerlendirilebilirse kalkınmamızın dayanağı olan sermayenin yaratılması mümkündür. Bu itibarla Türkiye’nin en büyük sermaye kaynağı olan insane unsuru üzerinde durmamız gerekir. Bu itibarla herşeyden önce gayretlerimizi her türlü kalkınmamızın temel taşı olan bu kaynağı ruh ve beden itibari ile sağlamlaştırmaya yöneltmek gerekir. Bizi bu hedefe ulaştıracak ilk adım, önce var olan nüfusu her türlü hastalıklardan korumak ve hasta etmemek; sonra nüfusu arttırmak ve kalitesini yükseltmek, bundan sonra ise bu sağlam insanlarımızı, yapıcı, artıcı bir hale koyan imkan ve tedbirlerini almaktır.”

<sup>176</sup> David Armstrong, “Bodies of Knowledge/Knowledge of Bodies”, in *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine and the Body*, eds. Colin Jones and Roy Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 24.

<sup>177</sup> “Cumhuriyetin Sağlık İşleri” (Health Works of Republic), *Ülkü*, no. 9 (October, 1933), p. 255. “There is a positive correlation between malaria and decrease in child mortality.” by Zeki Nasır, “Nüfus Meselesinin Tetkiki” (Study of Population Problem), *Ülkü*, no. 5 (June, 1933), p. 414-416.

children of hopeless mothers were recovered and ill and weak infants were cured.”<sup>178</sup>

Midwife hospitals were seen as a solution to reduce the high percentage of mother and infant deaths. Instead of leaving mother and child to the dirty hands of “midwife copies and nostrum,” graduates of midwife boarding schools, trained in the techniques of modern science, attended birthing mothers.<sup>179</sup>

According to Shorter’s projection, the Republican policies worked very well between 1923-1935. Three million people in twelve years were added to the population. The pronatal policies of the Republic increased the number of childbirths. But another factor affected the conditions: the decrease in child mortality. Child mortality was twenty-seven percent of births.<sup>180</sup> Preventive medicine protected new borns and infants from epidemics, and focused on children’s health. In addition, the nation-wide implementations of these measures sought to control parents’ bodies, which in turn decreased the rate of child mortality.

The social assistance of the state was supported by organizations such as *Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu* (Children’s Protection Society). “The CPS was widely known as an organization that provided direct services to children and mother(s),” writes Libal. One Dr. Fuat (Umay) listed the CPS’ activities as the distribution of baby food and Nestle milk powder, financial support to caregivers for children, clothing for children, as well as education programs for mothers and day-care workers, and the publication of Society journals, leaflets and educational material.<sup>181</sup> Even though the Republic was clearly concerned with the whole population, improving the living standards of children and mothers became a crucial concern of

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<sup>178</sup> “Cumhuriyetin Sağlık İşleri” (Health Works of Republic), *Ülkü*, no. 9 (October, 1933), p. 257.

<sup>179</sup> “Cumhuriyetin Sağlık İşleri” (Health Works of Republic), *Ülkü*, no. 9 (October, 1933), p. 255.

<sup>180</sup> Shorter, p. 116.

<sup>181</sup> Libal, p. 64.

the state. Not only social assistance but also the methods to intervene in illnesses was changed with consideration of the well-being of society. The aim of curing sick people was transformed into the mentality of protecting the healthy members of society to ensure the healthy reproduction of the next generation. Social welfare, reproduction and health remained linked to one another.

Reproduction was problematized with new concern in Turkey in the 1930s. Children were considered to be the future manpower of society and represented as “future of the nation.” Preventive medicine became a tool to protect the next generation of the nation, which had to be strong and healthy to civilize the country. In one article, unhealthy children were described as weak in struggles, poor in thinking and harmful for society if they were not treated.<sup>182</sup> The concept of population, clearly, intersected with political, scientific and medical discourses. When reproduction in both the biological and social interpretation is placed at the center of social life, it can be seen that in addition to literal procreation, reproduction entails the legacies, rights and values of the society in which children are born. Ginsburg and Rapp conclude “in this sense, reproduction, in its biological and social senses, is inextricably bound up with the production of culture.”<sup>183</sup>

### Eugenics and Population

Modernist discourses that stress the importance of scientific knowledge mostly put forward the “unquestionable” certainty of the natural sciences. A few

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<sup>182</sup> Ali Haydar, “Bademcik Tegayülleri: Ana, Baba ve Muallimlerin Vazifeleri” (Tonsil Diseases: Mother’s, Father’s and Teacher’s Duties), in *Sihhat Almanağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 245.

<sup>183</sup> Faye D. Ginsburg and Rayna Rapp, “Introduction”, in *Conceiving New World Order*, eds. Faye D. Ginsburg and Rayna Rapp (California: University of California Press, 1995), p. 2.

intersection points of the social and natural sciences such as social Darwinism or eugenics are turned into effective areas to create new agendas for society. They are both rationalized by scientific knowledge and also easy to propagate through common narratives.

Social Darwinism proposed that in society, as in nature, only the physically and morally well-built could survive. Therefore well-built individuals of society needed to be promoted in order to provide the development of society. The community was defined as a “social body” that needed to function properly. Like the human body, the community’s malfunction was called a disease and efforts were made to define, diagnose and cure it. Particularly social sciences such as sociology, demography, urbanism, social hygiene and medicine became tools to set up treatments for the community.<sup>184</sup> Society as a symbolic body is objectified by modern/rational sciences. The analogy between the human body and the societal body not only humanized community referred some personal specialties to the community, but also opened society like a body to similar threats such as diseases and moral problems. Since the social body is a construct formed by individuals, the “health and welfare” of the social body depended on the well-being of its elements.

Eugenics, as a science, was clearly linked to Social Darwinism. The meaning of eugenics, this scientific and social movement, comes from the Greek word *eugenes*, meaning “wellborn” or “coming from hereditary nobles.” Eugenics is defined as better breeding and also as a movement to improve the human race, or indeed, to preserve the purity of particular groups.<sup>185</sup> British scientist Francis Galton, the father of eugenics, invented the “discourse” in 1883, focusing on the evolution of

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<sup>184</sup> Horn, p. 6.

<sup>185</sup> Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics* (Ithaca and London: The Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 1-2.

the human race parallel to the developments in medicine, biology and sociology.<sup>186</sup> He defined “eugenics [as] the study of the agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations either physically or mentally.”<sup>187</sup>

The authority of positive science, especially medicine, was a crucial reference point for eugenics. Whereas eugenics as a scientific movement was based on the hereditary betterment of the race, as a social movement it produced a discourse which emphatically encouraged the reproduction of “fit” well-adjusted parents, who are able to have healthy children, and would help the advance of world civilization and also prevented the reproduction of the “unfit,” who were unable to produce healthy children.<sup>188</sup> The eugenicist scientist created artificial boundaries and differences, presupposed fixed and scientific/natural and create a fundamental type for each individual member.<sup>189</sup> The measurement standards were set both according to hereditary and also to the moral values of society. Yet the question of “who is considered to be in that national body, who is out of it?”<sup>190</sup> became the decision of physicians. Though it looked like an attempt to improve the health of the population, naturally it divided society between the healthy and the pathological, the rich and the poor, the normal and the abnormal. Through this polarization process, the experts, who were mostly doctors in the Turkish case, shaped these definitive features. The proper citizen was a “healthy individual.” Being healthy was equated with being

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<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Perihan Çambel, *Ögenik (Eugenic)* (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1946), p. ix.

<sup>188</sup> For the definition and the discourses about the eugenics, see Wendy Kline, *Building a Better Race* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); and Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics* (Ithaca and London: The Cornell University Press, 1991).

<sup>189</sup> Stepan, p. 11.

<sup>190</sup> Ginsburg and Rapp, p. 3.

normal and being proper.<sup>191</sup> Healthy and normal members of society would become the desired elements of the social body.

Every kind of categorization brings with it an inclusion and exclusion. Demanding fit citizens could be interpreted as the division of society into two parts. Since “needed” human power helps to keep the system constant, then individuals who are not useful automatically became outsiders. People who do not fit the average norms, according to various disciplines, sciences and/or discourses, are excluded from the social sphere. The unfit were diagnosed as elements that “disturbed the discipline and the peace of the community.”<sup>192</sup> Dr. İsmail Ziya B. stated that disadvantaged children in the home, stupid students at school and vagabond kids in the streets were the results of heredity, the offspring of alcoholics, drug users, and mentally handicapped people such as the psychologically weak, lunatic, stupid, and sloppy. Such children were dirty, fussy and bad tempered in the cradle, and lazy, indifferent, mean to their friends and rebellious against their teachers in school. They prevented people who want to develop and civilize.<sup>193</sup>

In order to develop society and protect the nation, there was a need to have mentally and physically well-built children born of well-adjusted parents.<sup>194</sup> Medicine was matched with the ideology of progress in eugenic discourse. The well-being of society was based on the well-being of the next generation. The offspring’s welfare was related to the biological features of the individuals. Those features were fed and described by environmental and cultural factors. Stepan comments that,

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<sup>191</sup> Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, p. 30.

<sup>192</sup> Fahreddin Kerim, “Milli Nüfus Siyasetinde Eugénique Meselesinin Mahiyeti” (Character of Eugenic Question in National Population Policies), *Ülkü*, no. 16 (May, 1934), p. 207.

<sup>193</sup> İsmail Ziya Bey, “Yarım Deliler ve Himayeleri” (Morons and their Guardianship), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1933) pp. 517-518.

<sup>194</sup> Kline, p. 140.

“races are not preexisting natural entities, but social groups produced out of unequal power relations and discriminatory practices. Science has been one of the most powerful languages for representing races because it is a language of nature and because scientists’ claim to objective knowledge conceals the political processes of boundary setting which construct races as ‘natural’ groups.”<sup>195</sup> Since the central theme of the eugenic ideology was heredity’s determining power over the human’s physical and mental conditions,<sup>196</sup> the historical background and the aim of proving the “purity” or “superiority” of the race gained importance. Racial progress would bring superiority among the races. Those who qualified as normal and healthy could improve the racial features. Healthy reproduction was turned thus into a duty to strengthen race.<sup>197</sup> The goal was stated as forming physically and morally strong and healthy generations.<sup>198</sup> Race improvement meant merely the genetic improvement of the human race. However, Stepan added that “eugenicists were concerned with particular portions of the human population, which they perceived as being divided into distinct and unequal races.”<sup>199</sup>

Accordingly, first of all it was held that mixing races could result in unintended consequences. Fahrettin Kerim proposed that the anthropological conditions and psychological features of the race be studied. If two different races convened, psychological disorders would arise due to the unification of two identities in one heart and would cause deficiencies such as immorality, distrust, faithlessness

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<sup>195</sup> Stepan, p. 139.

<sup>196</sup> Ayça Alemdaroğlu, *Öjeni Düşüncesi* (Thought of Eugenics), in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Nationalism), eds. Tanıl Bora (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p. 417.

<sup>197</sup> Kline, p. 27.

<sup>198</sup> Horn, p. 93.

<sup>199</sup> Stepan, p. 11.



and impotence.<sup>200</sup> His ideas about the disharmony were based on the ranking among races, which, according to the eugenic perception, had a hierarchical order.

Therefore, for the young Republic bringing up a race physically perfect and mentally enlightened was not satisfactory due to its aim to prove the legitimacy as a civilized nation. Race, for the 1930s Turk, became a tool of unifying the nation. On the other hand, it became a legitimate sign to display its civilized face, which was supported by scientific methods such as archaeology and anthropology.

Race as a structured category was embodied, most visibly, in the *Türk Tarih Tezi* (Turkish History Thesis). With the help of “scientific knowledge”, the civilized and eternal existence in Anatolia of the Turkish race was proven. At the beginning, it was a part of the attempts to create a “history of the Turkish people.” The aim of the re-writing of Turkish history started officially in 1930, when a history commission was convened under the organization of the *Türk Ocakları* (Turkish Hearths). The Tenets of Turkish History was produced the same year. After the closure of the *Türk Ocakları*, the *Türk Tarih Tetkik Cemiyeti* (Society for the Study of Turkish History), which was later renamed the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Turkish Historical Society), was established for further historical research and writing. The book was written in 1931 and following its distribution in 1932, the first History Conference was held, during which the race of the Turks was discussed and efforts were made to represent it as pure and civilized.<sup>201</sup> In the introduction part of the *Türk Tarihinin Anahatları* (Tenets of Turkish History), it was stated that the aim of the book was to display the

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<sup>200</sup> Fahreddin Kerim, “Milli Nüfus Siyasetinde Eugénique Meselesinin Mahiyeti” (Character of Eugenic Question in National Population Policies), *Ülkü*, no. 16 (May 1934), p. 210.

<sup>201</sup> Büşra Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih* (Power and History) (Istanbul: Afa Yayıncılık, 1992), pp. 126 – 161.

mental superiority and heredity of the Turks and their relation to this higher  
“race.”<sup>202</sup>

Not only history, but also linguistics supported the racial discourse. The theory produced by the *Türk Dil Kurumu* (Turkish Linguistic Society), the *Güneş Dil Teorisi* (Sun-Language Theory), assisted the thesis by proposing that the Turkish language was the source of every language in the world, which was cited as proof of the civilization of the Turkish race. Both these societies formed by Atatürk were “the central bodies of the intellectual production of the Turkish nation and nationalism in the 1930s.”<sup>203</sup> The *Türk Dil Kurumu* and *Türk Tarih Kurumu*, became the center points of intellectual life that re-produced the “Turkish Nation”’s history and culture.

The thesis produced by the two institutions particularly referred to race. The measurement of skulls and scientific articles about the research were fed by the propositions of two theses. Şevket Aziz Kansu’s research began in 1930. He measured the dimensions of the fingers, skulls, foreheads, noses, ears and faces of 2,486 children. He gave detailed graphs of his results and stated his article that all of the children had bracheycephale features. He added that it was not a surprising discovery, since Turks belonged to the bracheycephale Alpine race.<sup>204</sup> The aim of proving that Turks were members of the Caucasian family continued in order to display that Turks had made a contribution to and played even a leading role (as the source of world language and culture) in world civilization.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid. p. 104.

<sup>203</sup> Ayşe Gül Altınay, “Making Citizens, Making Soldiers: Military Service, Gender and National Identity in Turkey” (Ph.d diss., Duke University, 2001), p. 35.

<sup>204</sup> Şevket Aziz Kansu, “Kız ve Erkek Türk Çocukları Üzerine Antropometrik Araştırmalar” (Antropometric Studies on Male and Female Turk Children), *Ülkü*, no. 72 (January 1939), pp. 398-408.

<sup>205</sup> Ersanlı, pp. 137-142.

The beauty of the race had crucial importance in eugenics, which was an aesthetic-biological movement concerned with “beauty and ugliness, purity and contamination as represented in the race.”<sup>206</sup> In the same year as that of the emergence of the *Türk Tarih Tezi*, Keriman Halis became the world beauty queen. Mustafa Kemal’s speech to *Cumhuriyet* (Republic) newspaper about Keriman Halis after the contest represented his ideas of eugenics. He emphasized the beauty of the Turkish race instead of Keriman Halis’ achievement in the contest. It was a presentation of the Turkish race’s “*noble beautiness*” to the world by a Turkish girl.<sup>207</sup> According to him, Keriman Halis was one of the “New Republic’s Girls,” carrying the characteristic features of the most beautiful race in the world.<sup>208</sup> History, culture, language, and physical appearance became an equation used to prove the higher civilization of the Turks and the importance of the continuity of its pureness. On one side, the place of the Turkish race in the hierarchy of races was an important issue. On the other, in the speeches of Mustafa Kemal, or in the speeches assumed to belong to him, he stressed the importance of “healthy and sturdy” generations and race for the future and progress of the society.<sup>209</sup> At the 10th anniversary of the Republic, he supported his beliefs about the progress of the generation which was based on the “energetic population both physically and mentally” and with his strong emphasis on the dangers of the degeneration of the race.<sup>210</sup> The Turkish identity, on

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<sup>206</sup> Stepan, p. 135.

<sup>207</sup> *Atatürk’ün Söylev ve Demeçleri* (Speeches and Statements of Atatürk) (Ankara: Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Basımevi, 1981), p.132. “ ...., bu meselede Türk ırkının diğer dünya milletleri içinde mümtaz olan asil güzelliğini göstermek teşebbüsünü takip etmiş...”

<sup>208</sup> *Atatürk’ün Söylev ve Demeçleri* (Speeches and Statements of Atatürk) (Ankara: Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Basımevi, 1981), p. 133.

<sup>209</sup> “Sağlam ve gürbüz nesil Türkiye’nin mayasıdır.”

<sup>210</sup> *Atatürk’ün Söylev ve Demeçleri* (Speeches and Statements of Atatürk) (Ankara: Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Basımevi, 1981). “...milleti soysuzlaştırıcı tehlikelerden korumayı ve ruhen ve bedenen zinde nüfus yaratmayı...”

the one hand, was defined through language, history, culture, appearance and tradition. On the other hand, it was linked to the race by the scientific concepts of anthropology, biology, racial hygiene and eugenics. The ideology did not follow one absolute way to populate and Turkify the country. Rather it used both approaches to develop pronatal policies.

### Positive and Negative Eugenics

For the permanence and healthiness of the race, both quantitative and qualitative reproduction was promoted through governmental agencies. The discourse of eugenics developed in support of the ideology of “progress”, which can be seen as a program which aimed the betterment of society’s health and reproductive issues in order to have a “fit” population for the development of the nation. In order to create “pure and healthy” generations the eugenic movement drew for itself two paths of encouraging the fit to bear more children while limiting the reproductive capacity of the unfit. While preventing the reproduction of the inferior race, eugenists promoted the reproduction of the superior race. Discouraging births is known as negative eugenics. People who are unhealthy, mentally handicapped, poor and morally backward should not have children, since they can not bring perfect offspring into the world or they can not raise them properly because of their deficient physical and moral qualities.

The eugenists saw it as appropriate to produce the necessary offspring for the “pure and perfect” race. Fahrettin Kerim suggested “the unfit could not accomplish

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their professional duties properly. They contracted tuberculosis, syphilis, alcoholism and other bad habits, and practiced prostitution due to their disorder and indiscipline, which also damaged the national wealth.”<sup>211</sup> The deficiencies of the offspring could cause hereditary degeneration that would ultimately harm the race and society. The solution to this problem was stated as the sterilization of the “unfit.”<sup>212</sup> Since the human mind could control contagious illness, science would also control, at least partly, the sterilization of the race and the progressive evaluation of humanity.<sup>213</sup> Sterilization, a scientific method for genetic hygiene, prevented the fertility of unfit through medical operations.<sup>214</sup>

The first eugenic sterilization laws in Europe were passed in 1928 in Switzerland and in 1929 in Denmark. According to the records, more than 8,500 Danes were sterilized between 1930-1947.<sup>215</sup> Nazi Germany passed the first law about sterilization in 1933, called the “Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring.”<sup>216</sup> In addition to sterilization, another brutal practice in Nazi Germany was cleansing the fatherland of the “unfit.” “Operation T-4” was one of the projects applied between 1940-1945, in National Socialist Germany, Berlin, which aimed at the “processing of patients in psychiatric institutions for wartime economic purposes.” In Tiergartenstrasse No. 4, more than two hundred thousand psychiatric patients, camp inmates who had fallen ill, people suffering from major depression,

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<sup>211</sup> Fahreddin Kerim, “Milli Nüfus Siyasetinde Eugénique Meselesinin Mahiyeti” (Character of Eugenic Question in National Population Policies), *Ülkü*, no. 16 (May 1934), p. 207.

<sup>212</sup> Stepan, p. 29. She added two more solutions for sterilization: the lethal chamber and segregation.

<sup>213</sup> Perihan Çambel, *Ögenik (Eugenic)* (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1946), p. xiv.

<sup>214</sup> Mazhar Osman, “1941 Senesinde Arnavutköy Kız Kolejinde” (In the Year of 1941 in Arnavutköy Girl College), in *Konferanslarım (My Conferences)*, (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1941), p. 175.

<sup>215</sup> Stepan, p. 30.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31. Aly Götz, Chroust Peter and Pross Christian, *Cleansing the Fatherland* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1994), pp. 157-237.

and nonconformists were killed by “experts,” physicians, under the control of the Reich’s Defense Commissar in the name of the state.<sup>217</sup>

Eugenics was one of the dimensions of the 1930s Turkish Republic’s modernization and civilization policy on human body and population.<sup>218</sup> Fahreddin Kerim proposed that to develop Turkey in the path of civilization, it would be necessary to consider eugenics and racial hygiene “for tomorrow.”<sup>219</sup> Building a better race became a pivotal discourse for the Young Republic’s elites. The discourse of the early Republican educated elite was based on national improvement, which could be provided with the betterment of future generations for the sake of the nation and its development. Therefore in the literature and magazines, a discourse was developed about the necessity of state control and intervention into reproduction, supported by the scientific power. Reproduction was the physical part of the better generations’ project. In *Sihhi Sahifalar*, Mazhar Osman, owner of the magazine and a popular physician, on the one hand legitimized the new state’s sovereignty with the support of the medical progress and services provided for the nation; and on the other hand, he praised the works of the young Republic for increasing the population, particularly, in its efforts in the field of medicine. The references to medicine, for example, in *Kadro* written by Şevket Süreyya even offers medical censuses all around Turkey in order to record healthy women and men of the Republic.<sup>220</sup> Yet being fit was not only defined through physical features but also moral conditions were taken into account. To have a “both physically and mentally energetic

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<sup>217</sup> Götz et al., p. 22. Unfits of the system were terminated to provide hygiene of the society.

<sup>218</sup> Alemdaroğlu, p. 415.

<sup>219</sup> Fahreddin Kerim, “Milli Nüfus Siyasetinde Eugénique Meselesinin Mahiyeti” (Character of Eugenic Question in National Population Policies), *Ülkü*, no. 16 (May 1934), p. 206.

<sup>220</sup> Süreyya Şevket, “Çok Nüfuslu Anadolu” (Anatolia with High Population), *Kadro*, no.5 (1932), p. 33.

population” it became necessary to encourage the fit to give birth. In the 1930s, Turkish eugenists were mainly focused on promoting the procreation of the fit, which is called positive eugenics.<sup>221</sup>

To increase its population Turkish, the leaders of the Republic took several necessary measures. First of all, the concept of reproduction was “blessed” during the 1930s. Through a “country-wide crusade,” the state aimed to strengthen the family and civilization by regulating fertility. Eugenics developed into a powerful and popular ideal.<sup>222</sup> To persuade individuals and lead them to reconsider their reproductive capacities,<sup>223</sup> discourses<sup>224</sup> were produced to affect the attitude of the people about reproduction. The government encouraged individuals to get married and build families.

Family was a cultural construct that functioned as the fundamental nucleus of the national society<sup>225</sup> and promoted reproduction. The “nuclear family” was defined as the smallest unit of the society by the elites. Since family was the “most natural and biological” institution for procreation and the raising of children, then it was, again, natural to assume that family was the “core unit of society.” Marriage, the basis of the family, could be described as a legal institution that granted permission to the partners to mate. Marriage was interpreted as complete if children became a part of the unit. Article 151 of the Turkish Civil Code, enacted in 1926, defined the

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<sup>221</sup> For the definition of “positive eugenic,” see Kline, p. 3.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>224</sup> To prove the usefulness of having children by good-natured, powerful, and moral families, Fahreddin Kerim gave as examples Bach who was the 8th child and Kant who was the 13<sup>th</sup> child of the family. Fahreddin Kerim, “Milli Nüfus Siyasetinde Eugenique Meselesinin Mahiyeti” (Character of Eugenic Question in National Population Policies), *Ülkü*, no. 16 (May 1934), p. 211.

<sup>225</sup> Horn, p. 73.

essence of marriage as a unit in which husband and wife became responsible to each other to continue the marriage and to raise and educate children.<sup>226</sup> With this definition, the law envisioned that a marriage was completed only if it produced children. Marriage was named family if children became a part of the unit. Family was situated as “the core unit of society” with the RPP’s 1927 regulation.<sup>227</sup> Family, children and women were evaluated according to health and population policies (under the cover of “*İçtimai ve Sıhhi Siyaset*” Social and Health Politics). Because of the children, family life was turned into a social subject. Protecting children and raising them as productive and efficient individuals would remain a continuous search for the government.<sup>228</sup>

Again in 1931 the RPP program, family, population and the survival of children became the most crucial issues under the coverage of “*İçtimai Hayat ve Umumi Sihat*” (Social Life and Public Health).<sup>229</sup> “Family was a social institution that functioned in the national interest.”<sup>230</sup> The national interest had two aspects. The

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<sup>226</sup> “151. madde: Evlenme merasiminin icrası ile evlilik birliği vücut bulur. Karı koca yekdiğerine karşı bu birliğin saadetini müttehiden temin ve çocukların iâşe ve terbiyesine beraberce ihtimam etmek hususlarını iltizam etmiş olur. Karı koca bir birbirine sadakat ve müzaheretle mükellefir.” Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap* (Reform without Woman) (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2003), p. 182.

<sup>227</sup> *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası Nizannamesi* (Republican People Party Regulation) (Ankara: Hakimiyeti Milliye Matbaası, 1931), p. 38-39. Mete Tunçay, *T.C. 'nde Tek Parti Yönetimi'nin Kurulması (1923-1931)* (Establishment of Single Party Administration in Turkish Republic) (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1992), 3. Basım, p. 396. Quoted by Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap* (Reform without Woman) (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2003), p. 221.

<sup>228</sup> *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası Nizannamesi* (Republican People Party Regulation) (Ankara: Hakimiyeti Milliye Matbaası, 1931), p. 38-39. Mete Tunçay, *T.C. 'nde Tek Parti Yönetimi'nin Kurulması (1923-1931)* (Establishment of Single Party Administration in the Turkish Republic) (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1992), 3. Basım, p. 396. Quoted by Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, p. 221. “*İctimai hayatımızda ailenin mahfuziyet ve resaneti istinat ettiğimiz esastır. Hürriyet ve halkçılık prensiplerinin menettiği her türlü müdahalattan azade olan sağlam aile hayatı ictimai sahada başlıca dikkat edeceğimiz mevzudur. Çocuk hayatı ile suret-i mahsusada alakadınız. Çocukların muhafazası ile müstahsil ve aileye faideli olabilmesini mütemediyen taharri ve takip etmek kararındayız. Bu suretle teveddülâtı memleketin başlıca servet ve mesnedi addediyoruz.*”

<sup>229</sup> Tunçay, pp. 452-453. Zihnioğlu, p. 221.

<sup>230</sup> Hıfzı Veldet, “Evlenme ve Boşanma” (Marriage and Divorce), in *CHP Konferansları Serisi 1* (Series of Republican People Party Conferances : 1) (Ankara: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Yayını, 1938),



Turkish nation needed manpower to survive, both for the protection of the country and for production. Also the nation needed loyal and patriotic members for society. Family was designed as a social formation to provide both the quantitative and qualitative needs of the nation. Family, as a social construct, entailed daily activities such as birth, death, illness, which regulated the social organization of sexuality, intimacy, reproduction, motherhood, fatherhood, childhood, sexual division of labor and the division of gender.<sup>231</sup> Therefore it became necessary for the state to support the family in every way. The state needed to guarantee the quantity and quality of newcomers, in this case: children. Therefore, first of all, preventive medicine should be taken into the state's control (to protect infants). But also in-family relations needed to be regulated by the state to provide for the protection of children. With this discourse, the state gained the opportunity to regulate relations within the family.

Positive eugenics is also called euthenics.<sup>232</sup> Euthenics tries to improve the environmental factors around the individual that affect the individual's general health, such as illnesses, hygiene, and diet with the goal of the betterment in the race. One of the decade's physicians, Cevat N. Zekai, stated that all of the physical and psychological disorders of children belonged to the mother and father. To raise healthy children, first, parents needed to be disciplined and to start with protecting

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pp. 15-16. "..... zira herkesce malum olduđu üzere, bugünkü sosyal nizamın esası, özü, çekirdeđi ailedir. Çünkü bizatihi aile dahi küçük bir cemiyettir." "cemiyetin umumi sađlık ve sađlamlıđı memleketin milli müdafaası, memleketin kültür terbiyesi, hatta memleketin iktisad ve maliyesi aile ile çok sıkı surette alakadardır."

<sup>231</sup> Barrie Thorne, "Feminism and the Family: Two Decades of Thought", in *Rethinking the Family: Some Feminist Questions*, eds. Barrie Thorne with Marilyn Yalom (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), p. 11. Households, which are "residential units sharing resources, consumption and housework" could be used in stead of family.

<sup>232</sup> Horn, p. 62. David Horn referred to Cesare Aetom and his citing from the botanist de Vries in *Oenothera lamarckiana*. Euthenics aimed to improve the environmental factor without regard to the hereditary patrimony.

their health before marriage.<sup>233</sup> The first step of controlling environmental factors for the betterment of future generations was linked to the physical well being of the parents. Therefore, pre-nuptual health checks of the bride and groom – the future mother and father were introduced. The Marriage Regulation, enacted 24 April 1930 with the Public Hygiene Law and re-ordered on 21 September 1931, could be interpreted as a positive intervention of a pronatalist social policy.<sup>234</sup> Medical examination became compulsory for both parties by law.

The law prevented the marriage of individuals found to be infirm.<sup>235</sup> The marriage of mentally retarded people was prohibited.<sup>236</sup> Reproduction by improper elements of society was prevented by the Marriage Regulation.

Although complaints of some elites and the proposal of the prevention techniques existed against the marriage and production of the unfit, sterilization was not practiced in Turkey. In one article, Fahreddin Kerim stated that even in Turkey 800,000 liras for prisons had been spent in one year and 400,000 liras for asylum staff salaries of the officers. He complained that the increase in the number of disabled and sick people apparently made the survival of the fit harder.<sup>237</sup> Yet the closest proposition to sterilization offered by Mazhar Osman was segregation.<sup>238</sup> Compulsory sterilization was prohibited by the Penal Code in 1936. According to the law no information could be disseminated concerning birth control methods. Mazhar

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<sup>233</sup> Cevat N. Zekai Bey, “Mütereddi Çocuklar” (Degenerated Children), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 245.

<sup>234</sup> Horn, p. 60.

<sup>235</sup> Fahreddin Kerim, “Milli Nüfus Siyasetinde Eugenique Meselesinin Mahiyeti” (Character of Eugenic Question in National Population Policies), *Ülkü*, no. 16 (May 1934), p. 208.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>238</sup> Mazhar Osman, “İdiş ve Kısır Etme” (Sterilization and Cauterization), in *Konferanslarım* (My Conferances) (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1941), p. 194.

Osman, in the same article, stated that two things kept young women from prostitution: virginity, which lost its value, and fear of getting pregnant. Since sterilization did not effect the moral values and passion that remained after a sterilization operation, more young women (without any fear of getting pregnant) would enter into prostitution, which would cause an increase in venereal diseases.<sup>239</sup>

Another interpretation of the Republic's anti-sterilization policies is that the notion of pure race was ignored for the sake of the strength and beauty of population, which resulted in a mixed solution. Horn interpreted the anti-sterilization policies of the state as a "distinguishing the demographic problem from a racial problem."<sup>240</sup> The question of quantity surpassed the question of quality of the "pure" race.<sup>241</sup>

Penal codes were affected by pronatal policies. Abortion, a threat to the national identity, was prohibited by Article 468 of the Penal code enacted on 1 March 1926. According to the law, a woman who miscarried by intentionally using drugs or a tool or allowed miscarriage by someone intentionally applying drugs or a tool would be imprisoned for three months to three years. Not only the woman, but also the helper of the miscarriage would be punished with imprisonment starting from one year to three years.<sup>242</sup> Also the Law of Public Hygiene of 1930 prohibited the import, production or sale of contraceptives (only condoms were excluded, because they were used against venereal disease) and family planning education was forbidden.<sup>243</sup> Both the Penal Code, and the Labor Law were prepared according to

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<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 195-196. Another article talking about the shortcomings of sterilization see: Osman Şerafettin, "Bir Irkın Islahı," *Yeni Türk*, (June-July, 1934), pp. 1556-1559.

<sup>240</sup> Horn, p. 60.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>242</sup> Article 468 and Article 469 in Penal Code.

<sup>243</sup> Shorter, p. 114.

the pronatal policies. In addition to marital conditions, women's working conditions were also fixed according to their role as mothers. It was forbidden to have women workers in factories three weeks before and after birth. Since a significant amount of infant mortality happened in the last month of pregnancy or the first month after birth, the aim of decreasing infant mortality had a crucial place in shaping this decision.<sup>244</sup>

In addition to the preventive and prohibitive regulations, the Turkish Republic promoted reproduction through rewards. Higher fertility was encouraged. In line with the popular discourse that blessed motherhood and children, the state, through the enacting of the Public Hygiene Law, began to reward mothers who had more than six children with "Republic Gold." Another idea that could promote childbirths was stated by Yaşar Nabi. He argued that salaries of families could be arranged according to the number of children they had. He gave an example of three state employees doing exactly the same jobs, but differentiated according to their family status and number of children. One was single, one married and one married with a couple of children, could be paid accordingly. Since such a positive discrimination would be for the good of society, inequality should not be turned into a problem legally.<sup>245</sup>

Prohibiting abortion on the one side and promoting birth on the other became the state's policy to increase population. Such practices opened up the so-called "private sphere" to state intervention. Individual morality (the individual's rights to decide about his or her body) became a part of the social subject. Whether banning a

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<sup>244</sup> *Türk Kanunu Medenisi ve Borçlar Kanunu* (Turkish Civil Code and Law of Loans) (İstanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1946), pp. 480-484.

<sup>245</sup> Yaşar Nabi, "Nüfus Meselesi Karşısında Türkiye" (Turkey against Population Problem), *Ülkü*, no. 80 (September, 1939), p. 36.

practice or rewarding an act, the “promotion of fertility was articulated gender specific politics.”<sup>246</sup>

The population problem of the Republic became a concern of the management. The concern of increasing population created pronatal policies with a eugenic framework. The positive eugenics that was adopted by the state also serviced to the unification process of the nation. On the hand, the pronatal policies with the reference to the positive eugenics promoted births. On the other hand, they produced a racial discourse that described the Turkishness as the essence of the nation. However more importantly these policies turned into the legal and moral tools to intervene into the daily lives of the individuals. The promotion of the births was positioned in the center of daily relations through an institution: the family. The roles of the individuals were determined in this setting with the support of the particular legal, social and moral regulations.

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<sup>246</sup> Horn, p. 79.

## CHAPTER 4

### REPRODUCTION AS A CITIZENSHIP DUTY

In the previous chapter I looked at the relation between the population and the pronatal policies. This chapter will be an exploration of the reproduction as a part of the citizenship duty. In this chapter, it is suggested that positive eugenics as a part of the pronatal policies had an impact on the subjects related to reproduction, such as bachelorhood, the sexuality of woman and the venereal diseases. The first part of this chapter analyzes the discourse that equated reproduction with woman. In line with this discourse, examination the relationship between the female body and medicine is made. In the second part of the chapter I focus on the perception of the “social” factors by the decade’s elites that affected reproduction such as bachelorhood, sexuality and the venereal diseases related to the female body.

The modern state and its mechanisms created twin concerns for the notions of needs and rights of the members of the state.<sup>247</sup> Needs are related to the improvement of the individuals’ and also society’s well-being, whereas rights are considered as the legitimate space of the individual. The needs of society sometimes develop in parallel with the rights of individuals, yet sometimes they also turn into subjects that

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<sup>247</sup> Martin Hewitt, “Bio-politics and Social Policy: Foucault’s Account of Welfare”, in *The Body*, eds. Mike Featherstone, Mike Hepworth, Bryan S. Turner (California: SAGE Publications, 1991), p. 229.

limit the liberties of citizens<sup>248</sup> due to the obligations they entail. Marshall, one of the most influential theorists of citizenship in Britain, stated that citizenship was “a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status were equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed.”<sup>249</sup> According this definition, individuals had to respond to the needs of the society that turn into duties in exchange for rights.

Nezihe Muhittin suggested that rights of the citizens carry also some responsibilities along with them, which would be demanded and should be respected according to their effectiveness to the well being of the country.<sup>250</sup> She resembled society to a social organism. In her analogy, citizens were interpreted as the cells of the social body.<sup>251</sup> Cells were required to function properly in order to prevent the malfunction of the organism. According to this analogy, individuals were assessed with their functional specialties through their divided roles in the society.

The 1931, 1935 and 1939 Republican People Party programs all stated that the Turkish Republic was not made up of different classes. Accepting the existence of the classes in the state could disturb the “harmony” of the social body. Instead of the classes, the Republic is represented as a society which had divisions of labor for the well-being of the individuals and society.<sup>252</sup> This stress on the division of labor

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<sup>248</sup> I used citizenship (and citizen as a related concept) as a concept that represented the overall relationship between the individual and the state.

<sup>249</sup> T.H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), p. 14. Quoted by Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London, California and New Delhi: Sage, 1997), p. 69.

<sup>250</sup> Nezihe Muhittin, “Türk Kadını” (Turk Woman), in *Nezihe Muhittin ve Türk Kadını 1931* (Nezihe Muhittin and Turk Woman 1931), eds. Ayşegül Baykan and Belma Ötüş-Baskett (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999), p. 131.

<sup>251</sup> Analogy of cell and social body in *ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>252</sup> CHF programı (Republican People Party Program), 1931, İkinci Kısım (Second Part)/md. 2. CHF programı (Republican People Party Second Program), 1935, İkinci Kısım (Second Part)/md. 5/C. CHF programı (Republican People Party Program), 1939, İkinci Kısım (Second Part)/md. 5/C. Quoted by

can be found in the same words in every program.<sup>253</sup> The division of labor determined the roles and duties of individuals. The duties of the citizens were described and distributed according to the goals of projects that focused on the welfare of society for being a modern state and were supported through national needs. Modernization,<sup>254</sup> on the one hand, and nationalism, on the other, became the two dominant discourses shaping the definition of the citizenship duties. In order to improve the society and protect the unity of the nation “cells of the social body” needed to accomplish their missions.

The Republican discourse of the 1930s they tried to shape the mentality of the people referred to “the division of labor in the social body” discourse. It could be described as a training process that created models for citizenship. The roles of female and male citizens were defined by the state through the discourse of “service to the nation.” While the Republic was defining the roles of the citizens, it was also producing the gender identities of man and woman. Duties were distributed according to gender specific roles. Nezihe Muhittin stated that the absolute and perfect power of a life battery depended on the proper functioning of electrodes. Similarity man and woman must differ in order to ensure social balance and power.<sup>255</sup>

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Cemil Koçak, “1940’ların İkinci Yarısında Sosyal Politikalar” (Social Policies in the second part of 1940s), in *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Problemler, Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar* (Problems, Researchs, Discussions from Ottoman Empire to Republic) (İstanbul: Yurt Yayınları, 1998), pp. 225-226.

<sup>253</sup> The translation of the article in Turkish is : “*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti halkını, ayrı ayrı sınıflardan mürekkep değil, fakat, ferdi ve içtimai hayat için, işbölümü itibarı ile, muhtelif iş ve hizmet sahiplerinden teşekkül etmiş bir camia telakki etmek, esas prensiplerimizdendir.*”

<sup>254</sup> With the concept of modernization, I particularly mean here “*asrileşmek.*” A Turkish word has the meaning on the one hand modernization, but also means “being a part of the present world.”

<sup>255</sup> Muhittin, pp. 70-71.



Particularly the nationalist concerns derived from the era's militarist conjecture positioned defending one's own country as an ultimate citizen's duty.<sup>256</sup> The conscription law in Turkish Republic was enacted in 1927. The first article of the law is "every man who is a citizen of the Turkish Republic is, hereby, given the obligation to perform military service."<sup>257</sup> Although there were discussions about the participation of female citizens in the compulsory military service, leading with the questions of a member of Grand National Assembly, Hakkı Tarık Bey,<sup>258</sup> compulsory military service law only included men.<sup>259</sup> Male citizens were constructed as the military power of the country.

Compulsory military service was not only a citizenship duty to the nation. It was also stated as a part of the Turkish culture. Writing a national history based on Central Asian origins through the *Türk Tarih Tezi* (Turkish History Thesis) and the turn to a racial understanding of Turkishness in the 1930s helped to represent soldiering as a tradition of the culture.<sup>260</sup> In the history thesis, women in Central Asian societies were located in an elevated position, which had been lost with the

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<sup>256</sup> For further discussions about the relation between the military service and citizenship duty, see Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London, California and New Delhi: Sage, 1997), p. 89. Also In the fifth chapter of her book it is discussed the relationships between the concepts of gender, military, citizenship and nationalism.

<sup>257</sup> Ayşe Gül Altınay, "Making Citizens, Making Soldiers: Military Service, Gender and National Identity in Turkey" (Ph.d diss., Duke University, 2001), p. 96.

<sup>258</sup> Hakkı Tarık (Us), T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi, 21.6.1927, Devre II (Period II), İctima Senesi (year) :IV, XXXIII:384-6. Hakkı Tarık Bey proposed that women should also complete compulsory military service since they asked for the vote. He stated that voting was a national issue, like defending the nation. If women were asking their rights, they had to fulfill their duties.

<sup>259</sup> For further discussions about the relationship between the compulsory military service and the construction of the gender identities in Turkish Republic, see Ayşe Gül Altınay, "Making Citizens, Making Soldiers: Military Service, Gender and National Identity in Turkey" (Ph.d diss., Duke University, 2001).

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

former system (Ottoman Empire).<sup>261</sup> Since the young Republic saved Turkish women from “her slavery” and gave her the chance to regain her proper position in social and political life as she had had in Central Asian societies, then she had to accomplish her duties to the nation.<sup>262</sup>

Parallel to the “cell” analogy of Nezihe Muhittin, male members of society became the “antibody” of the body, which would defend society against enemies.<sup>263</sup> Due to the military service duty, male citizens appeared with their physical bodies as soldiers to defend the country and the nation.<sup>264</sup> Whereas compulsory military service was described as a male duty to the state, maternity, becoming mothers of the new race/generation became a citizenship duty for women. Women were constructed as the cells of the social body that helped to renew the young Republic. They were described as the source for creating new citizens to defend the motherland. They would bear next generation to accomplish their duty to the nation.

Republican Turkey’s emergent problem was population. Therefore promoting particularly reproductive performances of the citizens was of vital importance in the survival strategy of society. Reproduction became a duty rather than right as a part of the division of labor. Especially eugenist writers such as Perihan Çambel or Fahreddin Kerim produced a discourse that popularized reproductive morality as a

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<sup>261</sup> Deniz Kandiyoti, “End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey”, in *Feminist Postcolonial Theory*, eds. Reina Lewis and Sara Mills (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 278-279.

<sup>262</sup> Meliha Avni Sözen, “Kadın ve Vazifesi” (Woman and Her Duty), *Yeni Türk*, 25 (January 1935): 1828.

<sup>263</sup> The same analogy about the “cells of the body” could be found in the Italian case. Further discussions about “cell” analogy in Horn, p. 14.

<sup>264</sup> For further discussions about the significance of the physical body in the definition of citizenship, see Kathleen Jones, “Citizenship in a Woman-Friendly Polity”, *Signs*, 15:4, 1990.

part of social responsibility.<sup>265</sup> Having children became a part of the citizen's duty to contribute to the well-being of society. The reproductive freedom of citizens became a subject of social welfare. The familial rights and duties were organized to protect the well being of the social body instead of defending individual rights.<sup>266</sup> Marriage and procreation were turned into matters of politics instead of a private issue. Books and journals such as *Sıhhi Sahifalar* (Healthy Pages) and *Sıhhat Almanacı* (Health Almanac) offered a set of values about reproduction with the intention of persuading readers to internalize those values that formed state's reproduction strategy.<sup>267</sup>

To understand how reproduction is structured within cultures, it is necessary to look at who is given the lead role in the procreation. In the 1930s in the Turkish Republic, the leading role was given to women. Both their bodies and identities became targets for the creation of the ideal producers of offspring. The female body was regarded as a natural form of organization that functioned not only for the good of each organ, but primarily for the good of the whole.<sup>268</sup> Sex as "an obligatory injunction of the body" became an identity that carried responsibilities in society.<sup>269</sup> Motherhood was constructed as a citizenship duty, a social responsibility of women and as a contribution to the nation. Women were assigned to motherhood and naturally seen as the carriers of the nation, culture and society. It was argued that

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<sup>265</sup> For similar discourse in the United States of Amerika in the 1920s and 1930s, see Kline, p. 98.

<sup>266</sup> Horn, p. 68.

<sup>267</sup> For a discussion about the relationship between the pronatal policies and the elites in eighteenth century Europe see: Jordanova, "Reproduction in the Eighteenth Century," in Ginsburg and Rapp, p. 381.

<sup>268</sup> Elizabeth Grosz, "Bodies-Cities", in *Feminist Theory and the Body*, eds. Janet Price and Margrit Shildrick (New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 384.

<sup>269</sup> Judith Butler, "Bodily Inscriptions", in *Feminist Theory and the Body*, eds. Janet Price and Margrit Shildrick (New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 420. For further reading about the social construction of sex and gender: Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

women destroyed civilization by turning away from their natural duties in the home and family.<sup>270</sup>

The citizenship identity was drawn with the limitation of the biological capabilities of the sexes. The productive capacity of women was based mainly on their biological ability to give birth. Woman's citizenship was bound up with her biological features in reproduction to service the nation.<sup>271</sup> She was asked to give birth as a part of the "social responsibility" for the sake of the nation. The link between woman and reproduction was confirmed through the prizes that were given to large families. The Public Hygiene Law rewarded mothers who had more than six children. The relation between child and mother was approved by the state through the chosen reward-taker as mother. Maternity was naturalized (and normalized) for female citizens. Restrictions on abortion mainly focused on the female identity as well. Abortion, prohibited by law, displayed the limits of the state about the "rights of women." Democratic rights, which were the most basic promises of the new state, were damaged through the pronatal policies prohibiting abortion. It hindered the decision right of women on their bodies. Yet, oddly, the era's feminists never questioned or criticized the regime on this issue.

In line with the duty discourse, giving birth was constructed as an aim for women. Nezihe Muhittin, surprisingly in contrast to her emancipation-seeking image for women, wrote a story of a young, beautiful woman who sought happiness. When she met with this young woman in a hotel, she was alone, mysterious and sad. When they met on other occasions she was still depressed. Then one day Muhittin saw her

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<sup>270</sup> Kline, p. 97.

<sup>271</sup> Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Social Constructions of Mothering: A Thematic Overview", in *Mothering: Ideology, Experience, Agency*, eds. Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Grace Chang and Linda Rennie Forcey (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 1.

with a baby in her arms, smiling and happy. Muhittin ended the story by saying, “then I thought that the greatest and most sacred goal of woman in life is having children.”<sup>272</sup> Even Muhittin, a suffrage fighter and a revolutionist figure among Republican woman, matched woman with the motherhood identity. Becoming a mother was turned into the aim of woman as well as a duty. Mothering was defined as a hereditary factor entailed in every woman’s self-identity.<sup>273</sup>

Fahredden Kerim proposed that housewifery and motherhood were the two hereditary arts of woman.<sup>274</sup> The roles of female citizens assigned by the state were supported by science and its reference to the natural. Mother and child were associated based on nature. The common discourse fed by social sciences proposed “maternity was part of woman’s nature.”<sup>275</sup> The existing beliefs about mother and child’s compulsory relation conformed to and were complemented by scientific discourse. Man’s function in reproduction was underemphasized, except for the potential dangers that could be brought by male partners. Reproduction was naturally drawn as a picture that only contained two figures: mother and child.

In line with eugenic policies, on the one hand, woman was equated with her mothering identity. On the other hand, even though reproduction was linked to nature of woman, reproduction was turned into an issue of social management. It became a debated area of the developing new regime’s projects based on human capital.

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<sup>272</sup> Nezihe Muhittin, “Meçhul Kadın” (Unknown Woman), *Muhit*, No: 12 (October 1929), pp. 922-923.

<sup>273</sup> Nezihe Muhittin, “Türk Kadını” (Turk Woman), in *Nezihe Muhittin ve Türk Kadını 1931* (Nezihe Muhittin and Turk Woman 1931), eds. Ayşegül Baykan and Belma Ötüş-Baskett (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999), p. 108.

<sup>274</sup> Fahreddin Kerim, “Milli Nüfus Siyasetinde Eugénique Meselesinin Mahiyeti” (Character of Eugenic Question in National Population Policies), *Ülkü*, no. 16 (May 1934), p. 211.

<sup>275</sup> Ahmet Cevat, “Türk Gelinine Temennilerim” (My Wishes to the Turkish Bride), *Muhit*, no. 23 (September, 1932), p. no number. For a similar discussion in Italian case, see Horn, p. 10.

Women were mobilized by propaganda campaigns declaring the importance of motherhood to the nation. The campaigns were matched with health discourse. Since woman was the fundamental unit of reproduction, it was assumed that healthy women would lead to healthy reproduction.

The “healthy mother” discourse transformed the politics of reproduction from a private matter of personal liberty into a public issue of racial health. The emphasis given to motherhood was justified through a discourse based on the belief that the future of the race lay in the hands of women. Since mother and child were associated with each other naturally due to their physical bond, it was assumed that racial progress could be only achieved through the “perfect” bodies of mothers.

The focusing on progress can be seen in eugenic the discourse of the era. Yet the gendered representation of progress that targeted the female body was innovative.<sup>276</sup> To have “healthy” mothers was stated as a part of the state’s progress.<sup>277</sup> Since the female body was identified with reproduction, then woman had to be in good health to be a proper mother. Women became the subjects of attempts to control their behavior before and during pregnancy, on the grounds that their bodies “housed” babies, in which the state claimed an interest.<sup>278</sup> Dr. Ali Rifat argued that one of the preventive activities against the decrease of the population was the medical examination of “future mothers.”<sup>279</sup> Çambel proposed to have a healthy and strong population, the starting point became first the mother’s body and then the

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<sup>276</sup> Kline, p. 7.

<sup>277</sup> “Cumhuriyetin Sıhhat Siyaseti” (Health Policies of the Republic), in *Sıhhat Almanığı*, eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 41.

<sup>278</sup> Evelyn Nakano Glenn, “Social Constructions of Mothering: A Thematic Overview”, in *Mothering: Ideology, Experience, Agency*, eds. Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Grace Chang and Linda Rennie Forcey (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 12.

<sup>279</sup> Ali Rifat, “Nüfus Tenakusu”, *Sıhhi Sahifalar*, 9 (September, 1930), p. 243.

children.<sup>280</sup> She argued, in the same text, that mother's health had to be under the control of the state, since "she and her child are the eugenic basis of the tomorrow's society."<sup>281</sup>

Before controlling the children in order to protect them from any kind of malfunction, checking the parents, especially the mothers, was thought to be more beneficial and protective since they were the carriers of the new generation so that state could intervene to correct dysfunctional producers and their offspring.

The first target became the bodies of women that would be in the service of the state. The female body became a concern for society, the welfare of which depended on the well-being of the female body due to her reproductive potential. If, as the social scientists argued, a mother shaped her child's development, then it was all the more important to ensure that only "fit" women became mothers to have healthy offspring.<sup>282</sup> In Turkey, the project related to the eugenics ideals of the elites was mainly based on the reconstruction of women in order to attain "fit" mothers for society. Different from the other states of the era,<sup>283</sup> the Republic did not try to separate the "fit" from the "unfit," although the population policy of the state did look towards creating "fit" women for the sake of the nation.<sup>284</sup>

Health and medicine were connected with each other. The healthy mothers discourse positioned medicine at the center of the discussions. The medical discourse

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<sup>280</sup> Perihan Çambel, *Ögenik* (Eugenics) (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1946), p. xiv.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>282</sup> Kline, p. 4.

<sup>283</sup> Unlike Germany or United States, which aimed to prevent reproduction of unfit mothers through several techniques such as sterilization, the Turkish Republic does not use any sterilization techniques on women or men.

<sup>284</sup> Hasene Nalan, "Sihhat Güzelliktir" (Health is Beauty), *Sihhi Sahifalar*, no. 7 (July 1930), p. 219.

gained a critical effect on female bodies. Medicine was considered a respectful science able to describe the female body according to its utility and advise betterment techniques. The health of the female body was related to several factors, such as prevention from diseases, diet and physical training.

Physical education courses were introduced to girls' schools. The 1932-1933 curriculum of Girls' Institutions included physical education courses that aimed to raise healthy, strong, nimble, well-disciplined, ordinary, brave girls who had good characters and were loyal to the country.<sup>285</sup> These courses and campaigns can be interpreted as a part of the disciplining and regulating activity that focused on the health discourse. The Ministry of Education issued instructions for organizing *Talebe Spor Üniteleri* (Student Sport Units) in high schools and universities to promote and support sport activities.<sup>286</sup> The articles of prominent figures underlined the discourse of the aim of raising "robust millions without epidemics"<sup>287</sup> rather than a "couple of hundreds champions."<sup>288</sup> Particularly for women physical education was considered a necessity for the development and well-being of their reproductive capacity. Soland writes that "public concern over women's health led to the creation of new exercise programs designed to strengthen the female body through fitness."<sup>289</sup> However, women were required not to take part in competitions. Fahri Celal proposed that a woman who was used to being a champion could not adapt to family life, submit to her husband or take good care of her children. He argued that competitive sports

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<sup>285</sup> Fatma Gök, "Kız Enstitüleri": Ev Kadını Yetiştiren Asri Bir Müessesese" ("Girls' Institutions": A Modern Institution for Raising Housewives), in *75 Yılda Eğitim* (Education in 75 years), eds. Fatma Gök (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), p. 245.

<sup>286</sup> "Ayn Haberleri" (News of Month), *Ülkü*, no. 73 (February 1939), p. 544.

<sup>287</sup> Behçet Kemal Çağlar, "Halkevleri Postası" (Public Houses' Post), *Ülkü*, no. 78 (July 1939), p. 468.

<sup>288</sup> S. (n.p.) Sayar, "Halkevleri Postası" (Public Houses' Post), *Ülkü*, no. 80 (September 1939), p. 78.

<sup>289</sup> Birgitte Soland, *Becoming Modern* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 49.



caused a deformation of the female body.<sup>290</sup> Therefore sport should only be thought as a part of the health and physical-well being of woman. Nezihe Muhittin, in *Turkish Woman* (Türk Kadını), stated that a female body wrapped up with *pehlivan* (oil wrestler) muscles had no use for the well-being of the country. The *pehlivan* woman hated raising children. The physical conditions of women should be healthy, with muscles strong enough to raise children. Old women raised “*çarpık bacaklı, yumru kafalı*” (bow-legged, lump headed) children due to their lack of sun. New woman should fulfill this need.<sup>291</sup>

Diet and preventive health were compulsory factors affecting woman’s health. In the 1930s, as shown, physician’s linked preventive regulations with eugenics. They believed preventive medicine had the pivotal role in “state sanitation.”<sup>292</sup> Preventive medicine became one of the tools in the “building of strong race” and “progressive evaluation.” The reasons for the low rate of reproduction, and child abnormality or mortality were based on the mother’s illnesses. The illnesses were divided into two categories, the first was termed “*umumi hastalıklar*” (public illnesses), which entailed illnesses during pregnancy such as syphilis and tuberculosis, anti-hygienic conditions, blood abnormalities, illnesses with high fever and mental disorders. Medical surveillance helped to develop/adapt new technologies

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<sup>290</sup> Fahri Celal, “Şampiyonluk Meselesi” (Championship Issue), *Sıhhi Sahifalar*, no. 3 (March 1930), p. 89.

<sup>291</sup> Muhittin, p. 73. “*Kadın vücudunun bir pehlivan kaslarıyla sarılması, ülke namına hiçbir yarar temin etmez. Pehlivan kadın çocuk yetiştirmekten nefret eder. Kadın bünyesinin ancak çelik bazulu çocuklar yetiştirecek kadar sağlam ve sıhhatli olması yeterlidir. Eski kadın güneş ve havadan yoksun ola ola çarpık bacaklı, yumru kafalı bir kuşak yetiştirmeye başlamıştı. Yeni kadın bize bu eksikliği tamamlamalıdır.*”

<sup>292</sup> “*devlet sıhhiyeciliği.*” Cezmi Türk, “Sıhhi Devletçilik I” (Sanitary Statism), *Yeni Türk*, no. 38 (February, 1936), pp. 75-77. Cezmi Türk, “Sıhhi Devletçilik I” (Sanitary Statism), *Yeni Türk*, no. 39 (April, 1936), pp. 181-188.

to defend the female body against “the disease” of infertility,<sup>293</sup> which also assisted to manage reproduction. Preventive techniques were used to avoid possible threats like epidemics. The second category was directly related to disorders of the female reproductive organs. The physical well-being of the infant was clearly related to the female body. The male’s role was not taken into account.<sup>294</sup>

The medical and social domains intersected on the female body. Women and medicine were unavoidably interrelated for the sake of the community. Constructing maternity as a national duty lead to undermine the autonomy of the female body. Doctors intervened in family life, particularly, in the female body for the betterment of reproductive quality. Particularly after medicine gained an authoratitive position, the female body was turned into a surface open to medical intervention for the well-being of the next generation. Since women were the basic elements of the reproduction and reproduction was the primary citizenship duty, then medical intervention was justified for the sake of the nation. The discourses on reproduction, nationalism and motherhood completed and fed each other.

The reproduction narrative was based on the female body, leading it to an area of medical knowledge. Related to the progress discourse, promoted particularly during the twentieth century, female body turned an area of medical investigation since a close relation was assumed between necessity, medicine and technology.<sup>295</sup> In addition, due to its practices for the good of the collectivity, medicine’s power increased influence as a result of its legitimacy based on positive science, gaining

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<sup>293</sup> Articles about the “disease” of infertility see: Ahmet Asım, “Kısırlık II” (Infertility), *Sıhhi Sahifalar*, no. 8 (August, 1930), pp. 221-226. Ahmet Asım, “Kısırlık III” (Infertility), *Sıhhi Sahifalar*, no. 9 (September, 1930), pp. 245-249.

<sup>294</sup> Hami Apti Bey, “Kusurlu Doğan Çocuklar” (Defective Born Children), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (Istanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 407-408.

<sup>295</sup> Margaret Lock and Patricia A. Kaufert, “Introduction”, in *Pragmatic Women and Body Politics*, eds. Margaret Lock and Patricia A. Kaufert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 1.

authority over the female body. Protecting the female body from any kind of danger was defined as a duty of rational knowledge. Particularly the expansion and improvement of medicine symbolized a crucial step in the rationalization of knowledge. The scientification of society, with reference to the rational knowledge, turned the main elements of society into objects of knowledge. The bodies of individuals became the objects of medicine. Above all, female bodies were taken under examination related to their significance for the population. Medical specialist focused on the reproductive functions of women. Practices about the women's reproductive capacities were rationalized through scientific knowledge.

Besides medical services, education through journals, magazines and conferences also played a crucial role in spreading information. Medical discourses about the reproductive capacities of individuals mainly focused on the female body. Articles on women's reproductive capacities took a great part of the space in the medical journals and popular magazines. Subjects in the journals included midwifery, birth, lactation, ovulation, female fluids, breast diseases and protective and curative ways for those diseases, and pregnancy.<sup>296</sup> In the popular medical texts

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<sup>296</sup> Exemplary articles are: Besim Ömer Paşa, "Ebelik ve Doğum" (Widwifery and Birth), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 289-296; Ali Rifat Bey, "Hanımlar Çocuklarınızı Kendiniz Emziriniz" (Ladies, Nurture Your Babies Yourself), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 282-287; Aziz Fikret Bey, "Adet Güçlüğü ve Sancılar" (Difficulty in Menstrual Period and Twinges), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 279-281; Eyup Sadri Bey, "Kadın Akıntıları" (Female Flux), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 343-348; Fuat Fehim Bey, "Çocuk Düşürme Meselesi ve Ne Zaman Çocuk Düşürülür" (Miscarriage Issue and When Should Be Miscarried), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 378-382; Hüseyin Naşit Bey, "Gebelik Hıfzısıhhası" (Pregnancy Hygiene), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 453-457; Hami Apti Bey, "Kusurlu Doğan Çocuklar" (Defective Born Children), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 406-409; İffet Naim Hanım, "Meme Rahatsızlıkları ve Bunlardan Korunma ve Kurtulma Yolları" (Breast Diseases and Protection and Cure for Them), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 481-485; İhsan Hilmi Bey, "Asri Anne" (Modern Mother), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 520-522; Kenan Tevfik Bey, "Gebeler Neler Yapmalı, Neler Yapmamalı" (What Should Pregnant Women Do, and Not Do), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 604-608.

written by Mazhar Osman and his colleagues, medical specialization on reproduction was concerned with the reproductive functions of woman, but not man. Diseases affecting female body were considered more harmful to the reproductive capacity of society and were discussed in detail. The physicians produced rich and profound articles about the reproductive functions of the female body.

In the brilliant argument about the constructed “medical” relationship between the female body and reproduction, Rose writes that “medical discourse in general and, gynecology in particular argued that women’s spontaneous ovulation meant that they were dominated by their reproductive system.”<sup>297</sup> Gynecology became a well-accepted sub-area of medicine, whereas andrology, the medical speciality concerned with the reproductive functions of men, was not even mentioned in the journals. The female body became an object to talk about in the discursive and institutional practices of medicine.<sup>298</sup>

Reproduction is a two-sided process, involving both male and female. Yet, except infertility, which was mostly explained through venereal illnesses such as syphilis or gonorrhoea, only one article talked about the male reproductive capacity and organs, and it covered circumcision. In religious practices, both for Muslims and Jews, circumcision has a prominent symbolic meaning. It was discussed during a conference by the decade’s Jewish and Muslim physicians. The physicians were divided into two groups, of supporters and rejecters. The supporters argued that circumcision was a hygienic operation that protected males from venereal disease.

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<sup>297</sup> Gillian Rose, “Women and Everyday Spaces”, in *Feminist Theory and the Body*, eds. Janet Price and Margrit Shildrick (New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 360.

<sup>298</sup> For further discussions about the “otherizing” female body, see Nelly Oudshoorn, “The Decline of the One-Size-Fits-All Paradigm, or How Reproductive Scientists Try To Cope With Postmodernity”, in *Between Monsters, Goddesses and Cyborgs*, eds. Nina Lykke and Rosi Braidotti (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1996).

They also stated that the operation had to be undertaken in hygienic conditions, otherwise it could impair the subjects fertility. On the opposing side, it was argued that circumcision was a religious act and therefore could not be explained through rational knowledge. Its utility had no base. They added that if circumcision were a hygienic and healthy act, then Europeans would have adopted the operation. Circumcision did not prevent venereal diseases or support fertility and thus should not be supported by physicians.<sup>299</sup> It is important to note here that the arguments were reasoned on the basis of the reproductive capacities of males.

Medical discourse mainly focused on the protection of fertility. The fertile female body was defined as normal. The norm for the female body was based mainly on women's reproductive capacities. Women who did not fit normalized categories such as being fertile became the targets of the medical gaze. They were open up for systematic and legitimized medical intervention.<sup>300</sup> Infertility was considered a disease that should be avoided. It could be caused by medical or social reasons, and needed to be cured for the sake of the society. Infertility was mostly blamed on venereal illnesses, particularly syphilis and gonorrhea, which were defined as the chief enemies of the offspring of the nation. Here a "social" disease was considered more dangerous than a physical one since medicine could not solve this social problem. Degeneration was the virus that caused infertility. Due to the degeneration

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<sup>299</sup> Kazım İsmail, "Sünnet Faciaları" (Circumcision Tragedies), *Sihhi Sahifalar*, no. 2 (February 1930), pp. 46-51.

<sup>300</sup> Lock and Kaufert, "Introduction", in Lock and Kaufert, p. 7.

of woman or transmission from their husbands, women who contracted gonorrhoea would be deprived of motherhood for the rest of their lives.<sup>301</sup>

Infertility was not accepted as a problem among all levels of the society. The declining birthrate among wealthier woman was noted. The more dependent women of society produced the greatest number of children, whereas the rich and educated woman was not even close fulfilling her motherhood identity. Dr. Besim Akalın attacked the educated members of society for their disinterest in having children. The high fertility of rural women was praised and stories related of rural women's sacrifices. Upper class urban women were criticized for not bearing enough children and for not raising their children with nationalistic values. The degeneration of city women effected the Turk race both quantitatively and qualitatively. He argued that "children-ness" of potential "good" mothers is a critical lost for the country.<sup>302</sup>

The eugenic discourses that promoted reproduction by the elite assumed that children would be like their parents. The meaning of reproduction [in those discourses] stressed the making of an entity that would be like something already in existence. Sadi Irmak argued that intelligence and ability/talent of individuals were hereditary factors and proven by the researches of hereditary biology. He gave Bach and Straus as examples of hereditarily talented individuals.<sup>303</sup> According to Irmak's

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<sup>301</sup> Ali Eşref Bey, "İçtimai Dertlerimizden Biri" (One of Our Social Problems), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 231.

<sup>302</sup> Besim Akalın, *Türk Çocuğunu Nasıl Yaşatmalı* (How should the Turkish Child Be Made to Live?) (İstanbul: np., 1938). Quoted by Alemdaroğlu, p. 419.

<sup>303</sup> Sadi Irmak, "Verasetin Biyolojisi" (Biology of the Heredity), in *CHP Konferansları Serisi 1* (Series of Republican People Party Conferances : 1) (Ankara: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Yayını, 1938), s. 18. "Veraset biyolojisinin araştırmaları deha ve kabiliyetlerin de irsen intikal eden vasıflardan bulduklarına şüphe bırakmamıştır.... Örneğin:

1. Bach ailesinden 5 nesil zarfında 5 büyük kompozitör gelmiştir.
2. Stravvss ailesi 2 batın içinde üç büyük operet sanatçısı vermiştir.
3. Bir dahinin diğer bir dahi ile akraba olması ihtimali her hangi bir fertle akraba olması ihtimalinden bin kere fazladır. (Gottard)

suggestion, children would be repetitions or the copies of their parents. The physical characteristics were the primary property of an individual.<sup>304</sup> It was assumed that proper members of the society would transfer their characteristics to their offspring, so that the “material continuity” of the population would exist. Inheritance was described as the strongest link to transmit the values of society.

Kilisli Rıfat stated that the decrease in the birth rate of the elites was a serious problem for society. He supported his argument with statistics taken from the United States and from research done in other western countries. He proposed that there was a correlation between a child’s intelligence and abilities, and its parent’s social status. Intelligence and abilities were hereditary factors, transmitted from parent to offspring. If a well-educated family had two children and a lower class family had five children, in two hundred years there would be only fifty individuals out of 1,000 well-educated persons and 100,000, again, out of 1,000 lower class families.<sup>305</sup> Unless fertility was regulated to compensate for the difference in birth rates, intelligence, social, scientific and moral decay would bring the downfall of civilization.<sup>306</sup> The elites, by not giving birth and limiting their offspring, were committing suicide. With this suicide they also harmed world civilization. Therefore the elite’s most important duty was to increase the number of offspring.<sup>307</sup> Rıfat’s

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4. *Würtsburgta 1162 lise mezunu şhadetnameleri araştırılınca şu netice elde edilmiştir.*  
a. *en iyi not alan talebelerin babaları ve dedeleri de ekseriyetle mektepten en iyi derecede çıkmışlardır.*  
b. *En fena not alan çocukların babaları ve dedeleri de ekseriyetle mektepten en fena not almışlardır.”*

<sup>304</sup> For a discussion about the relationship between the inheritance and the political order, see Jordanova, p. 374.

<sup>305</sup> Kilisli Rıfat, “Seçmenlerin Soy” (Progeny of Elites), *Sıhhi Sahifalar*, no. 3 (March 1930), pp. 89-93. He took the example/research from United States.

<sup>306</sup> Kline referred similar articles those were taken from the American newspapers and entailed similar assumptions. Kline, p. 2.

<sup>307</sup> Rıfat, pp. 89-93.

article created several complications. First of all the “reproduction as a duty” motto changed its direction from the well-being of the nation and country to the well-being of the world. The elite’s reproduction would not only serve the Turkish Republic, but will also serve the civilization of humanity. Kline writes that, “reproductive decisions would then be based not on individual desire but on racial duty. Tomorrow’s children needed sound minds and healthy bodies in order to strengthen civilization.”<sup>308</sup>

Another discourse Rıfat created challenged the Republic’s solidarist discourse, which rejected classes or groups that classified or divided society. Yet promoting the elite’s reproduction and reasoning due to their higher intelligence and ability that would be transmitted to the next generation, unavoidably, created discrimination in society. The conflict produced by the elitist discourse was justified through the idea of the “division of labor.” Like reproduction as a primary duty for female citizens, it also became a crucial responsibility for the elites to improve the Turk race and civilization.

### Fighting against the *Bachelorhood*

The reproduction campaigns organized to promote higher rates among women and especially elite women had a common target: bachelorhood (unmarried people). Marriage was structured as a duty towards the nation, which it was assumed, would and should result in children. People who remained unmarried were stated as a problem to be solved. Focusing on bachelorhood would help to increase the population. Marriage was stated as an antidote for bachelorhood. To discourage bachelorhood (people from remaining unmarried), several solutions were offered by

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<sup>308</sup> Kline, p. 5.



the elites. It was proposed to penalize bachelors since they failed to contribute to the strength of the nation. Yaşar Nabi recommended penalizing bachelors for not sharing the aims of society. He declared that they should be taxed additionally as in other civilized states.<sup>309</sup> However, there was no legal penalty for such a status.

The public discourse, on the one hand, underlined the value of marriage for the community and, on the other hand, excluded unmarried people (particularly women). Normalizing marriage turned the institution into a “given” process of daily life. If marriage was the norm (must), then remaining a bachelor was marked as extraordinary. Bachelors, if they missed the so-called right time, were represented as incomplete individuals who were somehow not fit to get married because of their physical inefficiency – health wise or visibly- or their moral values. Neriman wrote one of her high school friends, Nalan and expressed her sadness derived from her “bachelorhood at the age of twenty-five.”<sup>310</sup> Not being married was symbolized as an obstacle to reproduction.

Marriage as a duty turned into a subject that should be completed with full attention. Marriage counseling became an area for matching proper mates or providing information for mates before and during the marriage. The first example of marriage counseling were seen in Germany during the 1920s. In the United States, marriage counseling as a profession emerged with the rise of the eugenic movement. The goal of the profession was to advise prospective mates and parents about their eugenic fitness for marriage and procreation.<sup>311</sup> In Turkey marriage counseling was not mentioned as a profession, yet through literature and articles in journals,

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<sup>309</sup> Yaşar Nabi, “Nüfus Meselesi Karşısında Türkiye” (Turkey against Population Problem), *Ülkü*, no. 80 (September 1939), p. 36.

<sup>310</sup> Mebrure Hurşit, “Sevginin Yakutu”, *Muhit*, 26 (December, 1930), pp. 14-15-77.

<sup>311</sup> Kline, p. 142.

individuals were encouraged to find their proper mate. Marriages based only on love or financial profits were regarded as not legitimate. The most important issue about the chosen mate was her/his physical and mental health, and it was even better to find out if the mate's family's medical background was suitable for producing "fit" children.<sup>312</sup>

At the end of the novel *Sözde Kızlar*, Mebrure chooses the right partner, Fahir, to marry. The first candidate, Behiç, had two shortcomings that led Mebrure to another man. First of all, his physical condition was not good enough to have children because of his illness, syphilis. Second, because of his degenerated moral understanding, he would not be a proper father for her future children.<sup>313</sup> Both the medical discourse and moral values are mixed in this case and create sufficient reason for Mebrure to change her mind. Whether Fahir or Behiç, Mebrure's ultimate goal is to get married and "build" a family.

Marital fitness was described as essential for passing on a healthy mind and body to the next generation. The physicians of the 1930s focused on the parents. Most claimed that the offspring of diseased parents would be weak. Therefore the health of children depended on the health of parents. Health and disease were treated as the features of the hereditary.<sup>314</sup>

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<sup>312</sup> Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, "İrk Hıfzısıhhasında İrsiyetin Rolü ve Nesli Tereddiden Korumak Çareleri" (Heredity's Role in Racial Hygiene and Ways of Protection of New Generation from Degeneration), in *CHP Konferansları Serisi* (Series of Republican People Party Conferances) (Ankara: n.p., 1940), pp. 16-17.

<sup>313</sup> Peyami Safa, *Sözde Kızlar* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2001).

<sup>314</sup> Jordanova, p. 380. "as if they were a species of property; both could be inherited and so both constituted legacies."

Marriages depending on love or physical beauty or money did last.<sup>315</sup>

Rational thinking rather than feeling should be given priority in the marriages. Love or materialist marriages entailed various dreams and “*ruhi tezelzüller*” (psychological instability). Kerim thus advised future mates to examine each other thoroughly, giving great importance to physical and mental health. The family’s health also was essential to creating a hygienic race.<sup>316</sup> The state aimed to fix not only physical anomalies but also moral anomalies, such as degeneration, which damaged the social body. Two related consequences of marriages with improper mates were stated as the poor health of children and divorce.

Divorce, like marriage, was organized by law. The relevant law on divorce was enacted in the Civil Code in 1926, between Articles 129 and 150. Divorce occurred not because of liberalistic ideas, but rather the value of the marriage for society. Divorce turned into a concern of the social body.<sup>317</sup> Divorce was based on reasons that prevented the reproduction of the next generation, both physically and environmentally. If the judge decided that an “irretrievable breakdown” for a marriage has occurred, which had turned the marriage into a worthless unit for the

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<sup>315</sup> Fahreddin Kerim, “Milli Nüfus Siyasetinde Eugenic Meselesinin Mahiyeti” (Character of Eugenic Question in National Population Policies), *Ülkü*, no. 16 (May, 1934), pp. 211-212.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>317</sup> Hıfzı Veldet, “Evlenme ve Boşanma” (Marriage and Divorce), in *CHP Konferansları Serisi 1* (Series of Republican People Party Conferances : 1) (Ankara: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Yayını, 1938), s. 15. “.... hukukan makbul ve muteber bir evlilik rabitasına hakim h k m  ile nihayet vermek demek olan boşanma dahi, evlenme gibi, yalnız hukuki değil aynı zamanda içtimai bir hadisedir. Bu itibarla ilk başta ferdleri alakadar eder gibi gör nen bu hadise, her şeyden önce hukuk nizamını ve böylece sosyal nizamı ilgilendirir.” For similar discussions in Germany, see Gabriele Czarnowski, “Women and Marriage Under National Socialism”, in *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany: Comparisons and Contrasts*, eds. Richard Bessel (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 105.

national community, the marriage resulted in divorce.<sup>318</sup> Article 138 stated that the only person legally able to decide on the essence of the marriage was a judge.<sup>319</sup>

Another reason for divorce was stated as the hygiene of race. Perihan Çambel argued that Article 133 of Civil Code, which gave permission for the dissolution of a marriage if one of the sides became mentally unstable, was a eugenic act for the well-being of the offspring. She proposed that this article allowed for the prevention of the reproduction of mentally retarded people.<sup>320</sup> During the 1930s there was also criticisms of the ease of getting a divorce.<sup>321</sup> Divorce was justified on the ground that “supporting a fake happiness could not bring solidarity and order to the society.”<sup>322</sup>

To prevent the births of unfit children or divorce, it was necessary to choose the proper mate. The advice to the mates entailed complete physical and psychological medical examination before marriage. It was necessary to gain information about the families’ histories.<sup>323</sup> In old times mates had been chosen according to their heredity, social environment and physical health. Such a selection method had resulted in a generation with good health and morals. Yet in this age of materiality, young people no longer considered the physical and moral health of their

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<sup>318</sup> Hıfzı Veldet, “Evlenme ve Boşanma” (Marriage and Divorce), in *CHP Konferansları Serisi 1* (Series of Republican People Party Conferances : 1) (Ankara: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Yayını, 1938), pp. 16-21.

<sup>319</sup> Article 138: When one of the reasons of divorce will be determined, the judge will be in control whether to separate the couple or to divorce them or keep them together.

<sup>320</sup> Çambel, p. 30.

<sup>321</sup> Hıfzı Veldet, “Evlenme ve Boşanma” (Marriage and Divorce), in *CHP Konferansları Serisi 1* (Series of Republican People Party Conferances : 1) (Ankara: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Yayını, 1938), s. 23.

<sup>322</sup> Hayri Münip Ürgüblü, “Boşanma Müessesesi” (Divorce Institution), *Ülkü*, no. 47 (December 1936), p. 283. “*Kanunları boşanmayı kolaylaştırdığından bahsederek şikayet edilmiş ve parlamentolara zaman zaman muhtelif cemiyetler tarafından istidalar verilmiştir. Fakat bunlara rağmen hakiki mücrimler ne kanunlardır ve ne de vazii kanunlar! Fena kurulmuş yuvalar ve gevşemiş ahlak telakkileri karşısında kanun ve vazii kanunların masum olduğunu kabul etmek lazımdır....Boşanmayı güçleştirmek zaruri midir?...Boşanmayı kabul etmeyeceğim diye yalancı bir saadeti sıkboğaz ederek kurmak isteyen bir cemiyette hakiki manasında bir düzen ve dirlik olmaz.*”

<sup>323</sup> Kerim, pp. 211-212.

mates, which led to unhealthy children or infertility in young couples.<sup>324</sup> Young people were advised to choose their partners not according to their physical appearance or wealth, but according to their health. Proper mates both for woman and man became an issue to be considered seriously. *Muhit* published a letter from a father to his son. The father had learned of his son's decision to marry an improper girl. The father scolded his son for this choice, describing the woman as materialistic and degenerated. Then, he reminded his son that while he had not been able to choose his own mother, but he was able to choose his future son's mother. Therefore he should marry a girl who was nice, healthy and moral.<sup>325</sup>

The life-styles of parents became a social issue, since they affected children. The reproductive responsibilities of parents-citizens required that some of their daily practices be changed. Hygienic lives were demanded of parents, since health and illness depended on their habits. To provide racial hygiene, to prevent the increase of the number of "unfit" and the economic and social disadvantages they brought, eugenic training became necessary for mates. Eugenic training entailed the teaching of healthy pregnancy, childbirth, and child-rearing in a hygienic environment. Ultimately, mates should be directed to physicians to complete their physical and mental examinations and take their licenses before marriage.<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> Çambel, p. 24.

<sup>325</sup> Hürşit Nazım, "Kendi Kendine Tacir Olmuş Bir Zatın Oğluna Mektupları" (A Self-Made Merchant's Letters To His Son), *Muhit*, no. 6 (April, 1929), p. 416. Detailed quotation of the letter: "... Mektubunun içinden sipariş mucibince Selma Hüsrev Hanım adresine gönderilen çiçek hesabı diye otuz liralık pusula çıkınca beynimden vurulmuşa döndüm. Bu Selma Hüsrev Hanım gibi bir kızla ....son gördüğüm zaman üzerinde, sokağa atsan yedi bin liralık mal vardı...Selma Hanım gibi bir kızla evlenmek de belasını fenerle aramaktır... gönlü kambiyo borsası kadar hassas hanımlar vardı, Selma Hanım da o nevidendir...yüz yirmi beş lira aylığı olup da çiçekçiye otuz lira borceden bir katibe karı değil, güllabi lazımdır...insan kendi annesini intihab edemez ama, oğlunun annesini seçebilir...madem ki bu işe bir defa girişmiş bulunuyorsun, bari iyi karakterli bir kız bulmadan evlenme... sırası gelmişken şunu da bilmiş ol ki, benim paramın hatırı için sana varacak olan kız, avucunu yalasın..."

<sup>326</sup> Mazhar Osman, "İdiş ve Kısır Etme" p. 204.

The most crucial regulation of the state on choosing proper mates was the Marriage Regulation, in the Civil Code of 4 October 1926,<sup>327</sup> which placed marriage under the jurisdiction of the state. Marriage began to be regulated by civil law instead of by religious customs.<sup>328</sup> Regulation consisted of four chapters: engagement, marriage procedures, divorce, and activities completed before marriage.

It could be interpreted as an attempt of the state to govern social relations. This regulation defined the persons who were fit to get married.<sup>329</sup> Marriage as a process was covered under the regulation, from engagement to divorce. With this shift, not only was marriage turned into be a legal institution, but also “the process of marriage” came under state regulation.<sup>330</sup> The process of marriage started to be defined from the engagement (Article 1). A woman and a man who were committed to marry are engaged.<sup>331</sup> From the breaking of an engagement to the gifts, every step was taken into the consideration in the law. The legal regulations and the accompanying public discourse gave great importance to the engagement period. Engagement was described as a meeting period for couples and as a learning period for brides. Brides would be informed about their duties in the marriage, such as the

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<sup>327</sup> *Türk Kanunu Medenisi ve Borçlar Kanunu* (Turkish Civil Code and Law of Loans) (İstanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1946), p. 473.

<sup>328</sup> Further information for similar shift in Italy case, see Horn, p. 70.

<sup>329</sup> *Türk Kanunu Medenisi ve Borçlar Kanunu* (Turkish Civil Code and Law of Loans) (İstanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1946), pp. 473-479.

<sup>330</sup> However the changes enacted with Civil Law at first affected a portion of population. In 5 July 1934 “*Gizli Nüfusların Yazımı Hakkında Kanun*” (Law about the Registration of Secret Births) was enacted for registering “not legally married couples” children. Although the new laws did not radically transform marriage practices, they did confirm marriage and the family as within the purview of the state.

<sup>331</sup> *Türk Kanunu Medenisi ve Borçlar Kanunu* (Turkish Civil Code and Law of Loans) (İstanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1946), pp. 473-479.

wedding night, domesticity and the proper submissive behavior to be shown their husbands.<sup>332</sup>

From the legal process of marriage (Articles 3, 4, 5, 6) to the venue for the marriage, and even the attire of the marrying parties, witnesses and state's officer were detailed in the regulation.<sup>333</sup> The new law regulated all steps of marriage because it is assumed that marriage would end with procreation.<sup>334</sup> According to the law, individuals who had reached the age of eighteen could get married without any permission from their parents (Article 7) if they were not already married at the time or mentally unfit (Article 9).<sup>335</sup> David Horn refers to Gini, who proposed the advantages of early marriage in 1912 at the First International Eugenics Conference. Physicians and eugenisists argued that later marriages affected both the quantity and quality of the offspring. Gini therefore argued, "lowering women's age at marriage was the most practicable eugenic technology."<sup>336</sup> In 1926 the Civil Law stated that if a woman was seventeen years old, she could get married, but only with her parent's permission. In 1938 the Marriage Regulation was modified such that the age of women to marry with permission was decreased to fifteen.<sup>337</sup> The legal regulation was organized according to the pronatal population policies of the country.

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<sup>332</sup> İhsan Hadi, "Nişanlılık Nedir? Ve Uzun Sürmeli Midir?" (What is Engagement? And Should It Be Long?), *Muhit*, no. 8 (June 1929), pp. 616-617.

<sup>333</sup> *Türk Kanunu Medenisi ve Borçlar Kanunu* (Turkish Civil Code and Law of Loans) (İstanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1946), pp. 473-479.

<sup>334</sup> Horn, p. 70.

<sup>335</sup> *Türk Kanunu Medenisi ve Borçlar Kanunu* (Turkish Civil Code and Law of Loans) (İstanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1946), pp. 473-479.

<sup>336</sup> Horn, p. 77.

<sup>337</sup> *Türk Kanunu Medenisi ve Borçlar Kanunu* (Turkish Civil Code and Law of Loans) (İstanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1946), p. 38.

Marriage was viewed as a job. The parties in a marriage were conceived as workers who were producing for the factory. Therefore production needed to be protected. In order to reduce the risks they had to be controlled by the authorities to ensure the quantity and quality of the reproduction. Workers' bodies were of primary importance since they were both the raw material and the producers. Different from a "real" factory, their reproduction would be directly linked to the physical conditions. New job applicants had to be examined by the "factory doctor." In the Public Hygiene Law enacted in 1930, the marriage regulation took each parties' physical condition into consideration. In section 122, the law obliged a medical examination before marriage. Accordingly, bars to marriage provided by law entailed the presence of communicable diseases, particularly venereal diseases and tuberculosis, and mentally incapable individuals.<sup>338</sup> The 21 September 1931 enacted the *Evlilik Kanunnamesi* (Regulation about Marriage Examination) organized the process of the physical control of mates by prohibiting the marriage of individuals with tuberculosis, syphilis, gonorrhoea, leprosy and mental illnesses (with reference to the Public Hygiene Law).<sup>339</sup>

The examination procedures were described in detail. The procedures differed for men and women. According to Article 4, the mouths (insides of cheeks and lips, tongues and palates), skin, armpits, groins and the elbows and behind the knees of men were examined. For women, examination was limited to mouths and

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<sup>338</sup> Gabriele Czarnowski, "Women and Marriage Under National Socialism", in *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany: Comparisons and Contrasts*, eds. Richard Bessel (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 102. Further discussions about the bars in Germany could be found in aforementioned article. Articles prohibited pathologic individuals marriages were the article 123 and the article 124 in Public Health Law.

<sup>339</sup> Rüknettin Ögütman, "Türkiye'de Zührevi Hastalıklarla Savaş" (War against Venereal Diseases in Turkey), in *Türkiye'de Atatürk Döneminde Bulaşıcı Hastalıklarla Savaş Toplantısı* (Meeting of War against Epidemics during Atatürk's Period), eds. Ekrem Kadri Unat (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi Yayınları, 1982), p. 42.



elbows.<sup>340</sup> Individuals who passed the medical examination received an official medical certificate of marriage.

### Sexuality in the Service of the Reproduction

Woman's physical examinations were limited and less detailed than those administered to men's. The law shaped the sexuality of woman with certain assumptions: its description of examination methods was based on the virginity of the female partner. Therefore the physical examination, which aimed to diagnose diseases, mainly venereal illnesses that could harm reproduction differed for men and women. Blood tests to determine diseases, particularly syphilis, for marrying couples were demanded by physicians. However families of brides-to-be would take such an offer as an insult. Doctors argued that syphilis could be transmitted through blood by birth—it was hereditary. Therefore the Wassermania test, a blood test for syphilis, should be considered normal.<sup>341</sup> Syphilis was perceived as a disease transmitted through sexual intercourse. However pre-marital sex, neither agreed upon by the state nor accepted by the family (mainly the father or brother), was not allowed to be experienced by women.

In one article, Kilisli Rifat strongly argued that the negative effects of tuberculosis had infected a man's marriage. Besides the bias effects, he underlined the dangers of epidemics. He claimed that if a tuberculosis-infected man got married, he could also infect his wife. He assumed that women did not get involved in

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<sup>340</sup> *Türk Kanunu Medenisi ve Borçlar Kanunu* (Turkish Civil Code and Law of Loans) (İstanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1946), pp. 480-482.

<sup>341</sup> Naciye Emin Hanım, "Sütinelerin, Ahçıların, Hizmetçilerinizin Kanlarını Mutlak Muayene Ettiriniz" (Examine Blood of Your Wet Nurses, Cooks, Servants By All Means), in *Sihhat Almanâğı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 698.

premarital sex.<sup>342</sup> The premarital sexuality of women was regulated mainly according to the moral values of society. The virginity of women was a common rule, even in the laws virginity for women was taken for granted.

Female sexuality of woman was considered as a device for reproduction, bound up only with childbirth. Sexual pleasure for women was ignored and not accepted since sex was only legitimate for producing children. The sexuality of woman was subsumed by her motherhood identity. Eugenic ideology provided the rationale for linking the sexual and reproductive behavior of women with the Turkish race. Sexuality (particularly female sexuality) was a social construct limited mutually according to its effects and results for the population.<sup>343</sup> Sexuality affected the birth rate of the country, the age of marriage, the legitimacy of births, contraception, sexually transmitted illnesses, and also the shape of the community's values, such as honor and virginity. Decisions based on the individual's free will were turned into social subjects that should be made with the help of authoritative knowledge, which in this case was medicine.

Particularly preventive medicine became a tool for regulating sexuality. Since sexuality directly affects the health and quantity of population, it was drawn out of the households to become the public's concern. Foucault argues that sexuality was turned into "a thing not simply condemned or tolerated but managed, inserted into systems of utility, regulated for the greater good of all, made to function according to an optimum...it is a thing one administered."<sup>344</sup> Female body's utility was increased through the deployment of regulatory technologies, which also helped to construct

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<sup>342</sup> Kilisli Rifat, "Vereme Karşı" (Against the Tuberculosis), *Sıhhi Sahifalar*, no 6 (June, 1930), pp. 161-164

<sup>343</sup> Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, p. 154.

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

the state's manipulability.<sup>345</sup> Sexual intercourse as a tool for the next generation was to be protected by the state from any illnesses, which could harm the process of reproduction. Besides emphasis on bearing children, sexuality, was brought to the discussion through illnesses, helped the authority to gain access through the regulatory technologies.

In order to administer the population there was a need to regulate sexual activity and its meanings and to control its consequences. Therefore the state elites enacted regulative laws and unwritten rules (through discourses) for sex. Values that set the limits of sexuality were linked to the needs of population. Those values established the control areas and mechanisms generally considered to be the regulations of sexuality. To regulate sexuality, the most effective tool became science, particularly medicine. Sexuality belonged both rationality and morality. Female sexuality was limited on the one hand to the household with moral values and, on the other hand, promoted for the sake of reproduction. Female sexual desire was bound up not only with "reproduction as a duty to the nation" discourse, but also with the values of the society such as honor. Premarital sex became a value by which to judge women as honorable or not. As a regulative mechanism, honor the concept was employed to classify licit and illicit sexuality. Particularly "women's pleasure in sex" was not a subject to talk about, since it was strictly disgraceful.<sup>346</sup>

In contrast to women, male sexuality was an accepted activity. The premarital physical examination of men therefore needed to be more thorough. Efforts were made to prevent sexually transmitted diseases, a crucial concern for the period,

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<sup>345</sup> Hewitt, p. 250.

<sup>346</sup> Although there were plentiful article about the increasing population, birth giving, the dangers of venereal dieses on the male population, there was even not a single about the sexuality of "*namuslu*" women in any magazines.

through legislations and laws or through public discourse such as articles in journals and magazines. Public education became a central aim in the war against venereal illnesses. Public should be informed about venereal diseases.<sup>347</sup> As venereal diseases were connected directly to the population. However, while population was a subject for *Ülkü*, sexuality was never mentioned in the journal. On the other hand, Mazhar Osman, an intellectual close to the government, in his writing and speeches constantly gave examples related to the sexuality of individuals. In *Ülkü*, population and epidemics were explained through a political discourse, whereas on the other side sexuality was turned into a medical subject that affected the population. Ali Eşref Bey stated that talking about gonorrhoea should no longer be taboo. On the contrary, young people who took part in life would experience it. Therefore their needs should be appreciated and recognized. Instead of being reproached, young people needed to be taught about how to protect themselves.<sup>348</sup> The involvement of man in the premarital sex was accepted by society.

Articles written by physicians mainly addressed men, based on the assumption that control of male sexuality would establish the control of venereal diseases. Particularly sexually transmitted diseases threatened society, since they [syphilis] not only affected the person who had sexual intercourse, but also could be transmitted to the future child.<sup>349</sup>

Discourse about venereal diseases changed in the 1930s and shifted from risk management to population increase. In other words, preventive health was explained

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<sup>347</sup> Hulusi Behçet Bey, “Zührevi Hastalıklar Hakkında Halka Mahsus Sıhhi Terbiye” (Population Training on Venereal Diseases), *Sıhhi Sahifalar*, no. 1 (January 1930), p. 26.

<sup>348</sup> Ali Eşref Bey, “İçtimai Dertlerimizden Biri” (One of Our Social Problems), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 232.

<sup>349</sup> Naciye Emin Hanım, “Sütninelerin, Ahçılarınızın, Hizmetçilerinizin Kanlarını Mutlak Muayene Ettiriniz” (Examine Blood of Your Wet Nurses, Cooks, Servants By All Means), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 699.

not through preventing deaths but increasing healthy births.<sup>350</sup> Dr. Ali Rıza in an article described a case of syphilis in which a couple was both infected with syphilis and had ten children. Three of the children were still-born. One of them was born healthy, but died when nine months old. Three of them were born healthy, but died after twenty-five days, fifteen days and two days respectively. The remaining three were alive, but one was physically disabled and the other two were carrying syphilis. He argued that syphilis was the most harmful among epidemics to the generation.<sup>351</sup> Venereal diseases harmed not only the patient, but also the race, and society.<sup>352</sup> Syphilis was labeled the greatest threat to healthy procreation. To decrease the mortality of children and increase the number of healthy births, the war against venereal diseases became unavoidable.<sup>353</sup>

The health of the population originated in the individual's well-being, starting from birth. Health was described as a characteristic of the Turkish citizen. The new race has to be born and raised under healthy conditions. The pathological elements of society and venereal diseases had to be controlled. Particularly, venereal diseases were dangers to the new generation. In addition to the moral side of sexuality, sex turned into a technology of health and pathology and was turned into a medical object for the sake of the nation.<sup>354</sup>

A law enacted in 1921 called the *Frengi Savaş Kanunu* (Law of the War against Syphilis), brought medical examination as a compulsory activity before

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<sup>350</sup> Horn, p. 110.

<sup>351</sup> Ali Rıza Bey, "Veladi Frengi" (Child Syphilis), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman, (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 252-253.

<sup>352</sup> Ahmet Şükrü Bey, "Frengi" (Syphilis), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman, (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 206.

<sup>353</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>354</sup> Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, pp. 44-45.

marriage and also prohibited the marriage of couples infected with disease. This law could be interpreted as the initial steps towards the Marriage Regulation in the Public Hygiene Law.<sup>355</sup> The public was examined and their blood was screened for syphilis. Treatment became a social service provided by state that caused consequently to an increase in the population.<sup>356</sup> In 1925 the *Frengi ve Zührevi Hastalıkla Savaş Talimatnamesi* (Regulation of War against Syphilis and Venereal Diseases) was enacted due to the inefficiency of the 1921 law. Improved legislation aimed at the unification of medicine used in treatment. The regulation stated that syphilis treatment would be conducted by the state. Syphilis research teams, venereal illness hospitals and skin and (reproductive) illness dispensaries would be established. The Public Hygiene Law of 1930, mandated the application, treatment and reporting of individuals with syphilis. Between the years 1926-1947, 2,247,561 individuals were examined in Tokat, Giresun, Çorum, Samsun and Uşak, and 86,231 (almost 3.8 %) were diagnosed with syphilis.<sup>357</sup> As the most harmful disease among all, syphilis could be seen the biggest enemy of humanity. It was estimated that there were no cases of syphilis in Istanbul, percentage of the mentally retarded males in the population would decrease around by sixty percent in the urban areas. Syphilis affected not only the physical health of the man, but also that of his offspring. More than twenty-five percent of children who contracted syphilis became idiots, epileptic and disadvantaged. Moreover, it is worth pointing out that the number of hereditary syphilis cases was not less than that of the directly (through sexual intercourse)

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<sup>355</sup> Rıdvan Ege, *Türkiye'nin Sağlık Hizmetleri ve İsmet Paşa* (Health Services of Turkey and İsmet Paşa) (Ankara: İnönü Vakfı Yayınları, 1992), p. 10.

<sup>356</sup> "Cumhuriyetin Sağlık İşleri" (Health Works of Republic), *Ülkü*, no. 9 (October 1933), p. 256.

<sup>357</sup> Rıdvan Ege, *Türkiye'nin Sağlık Hizmetleri ve İsmet Paşa* (Health Services of Turkey and İsmet Paşa) (Ankara: İnönü Vakfı Yayınları, 1992), pp. 10-12.

transmitted ones.<sup>358</sup> Although powerful anti-birth control policies during the 1930s existed, the careful use of condoms was recommended to protect the young men from venereal diseases.<sup>359</sup> Ideally, non-reproductive sexuality had to be avoided, particularly, in the threats of venereal illnesses.<sup>360</sup>

The cause of the epidemics of the venereal diseases was blamed on the men of society. Husbands transmitted diseases to wives. The innocent wives were infected by their neglectful and wrongful husbands.<sup>361</sup> The spread of venereal diseases was displayed as male members with active sexual life of the society.

Public education through articles published in journals and magazines contained information on diseases. In *Sihhat Almanacağı* twelve articles were written by several physicians about syphilis and/or gonorrhea. Articles covered the causes of moral and prostitution [venereal] illnesses,<sup>362</sup> neurological illnesses caused by syphilis,<sup>363</sup> prevention methods of syphilis and/or gonorrhea,<sup>364</sup> the description and

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<sup>358</sup> D.G. Zilanaki Bey, "Firenginin Tevhit Ettiği Sinir Hastalıkları" (Psychological Disorders caused by Syphillis), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 962-964.

<sup>359</sup> Naci Bey, "Belsoğukluğu ve Frengiden Korunma Çareleri" (Protection Ways of Gonorrhea and Syphillis), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman, (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 696.

<sup>360</sup> Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families*, trans. Robert Hurley (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1979), p. 186.

<sup>361</sup> Ali Eşref Bey, "İçtimai Dertlerimizden Biri" (One of Our Social Problems), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 231.

<sup>362</sup> Nurettin Ramih Bey, "Ahlak ve Fuhuş Hastalıklarının Sebepleri" (Reasons of Moral and Venereal Diseases), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 753-757.

<sup>363</sup> D. G. Zilanaki Bey, "Firenginin Tevhit Ettiği Sinir Hastalıkları" (Psychological Disorders caused by Syphillis), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 962-964.

<sup>364</sup> Naci Bey, "Belsoğukluğu ve Frengiden Korunma Çareleri" (Protection Ways of Gonorrhea and Syphillis), in *Sihhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 694-697.

treatment of syphilis and gonorrhea,<sup>365</sup> infants with syphilis,<sup>366</sup> the history of syphilis and gonorrhea,<sup>367</sup> and even advice about the control of household members such as wet nurses, cooks and maids.<sup>368</sup> In all these articles, the mentioned subjects were “visible” or “made visible.” The audience was considered to be men, who were represented as “infected members of the social body.” However “centers of the venereal diseases,”<sup>369</sup> the prostitutes, were either ignored or made invisible.

Sexuality without reproductive potential was to be removed from the public eye. Particularly prostitution as a profession could not be accepted or recognized due to its damage to public health. It caused the spread of venereal diseases, which caused infertility. Prostitutes thus threatened fertility and reproduction (and therefore the nation’s strength) through venereal diseases. They were ignored in the body of society in spite of their potential of carrying venereal disease. Additionally their reproductive capacities could not be integrated into the society. As a result, they were

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<sup>365</sup> İhsan Sami Bey, “Belsoğukluğunda Ne Vakit ve Nasıl Aşı Yapılmalıdır?” (When Should Be Inoculated During Gonorrhea?), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 495-497; Hayri Ömer Bey, “Belsoğukluğu ve Tedavisi” (Gonorrhea and its Cure), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 433-435; Asum Kermenli Bey, “Frengi Nasıl Bir Hastalıktır?” (What Kind of Disease is Syphillitis?), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 271-275; Ali Eşref Bey, “İçtimai Dertlerimizden Biri” (One of Our Social Problems), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 227-232; Ahmet Şükrü, “Frengi” (Syphillitis), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 206-209; Abimelek Bey, “Zührevi Hastalıklardan Tahaffuza Dair” (Protection from Venereal Diseases), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 170-172.

<sup>366</sup> Ali Rıza Bey, “Veladi Frengi” (Child Syphillitis), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 252-258.

<sup>367</sup> Hüseyin Zade Ali Bey, “Sifilomani ve Frengiye Dair Bilgilerimizin Tarihinden Bir Nebze” (A Particle of Our History of Knowledge about Syphillitis), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 233-241.

<sup>368</sup> Naciye Emin Hanım, “Sütninelerin, Ahçıların, Hizmetçilerinizin Kanlarını Mutlak Muayene Ettiriniz” (Examine Blood of Your Wet Nurses, Cooks, Servants By All Means), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 698-700.

<sup>369</sup> In *Sıhhat Almanacağı* only one article talked about the relation between prostitution and venereal diseases. See Ali Eşref Bey, “İçtimai Dertlerimizden Biri” (One of Our Social Problems), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933) p. 229.



ignored and not even mentioned as part of society. Even worse, prevention techniques against the threats such as epidemics caused by prostitutes did not aim to protect or cure this “group.” Venereal diseases were represented as a man’s problem. The invisible of society were not considered or taken into account, even for the prevention of diseases. State policies that aimed to provide for the betterment of the public did not consider people who could not reproduce or reproduce properly. Invisibles of the society were described individuals whose offspring would be physically and morally degenerated.

Healthy, proper physical conditions were described as best for the individual due to the production need of the society. Yet “good health” could not be enough without the desired moral conditions. The good health of individuals was not limited to physical conditions: moral values of individual were turned into complementary elements. Like proper physical conditions, the moral conditions of the individual were also determined by the dominant discourse. Sexually transmitted diseases affected the next generation physically and also morally. The degeneration of the race would be a consequence of the downfall of the moral values of society.

Eugenics was a product of social reformist thought, which stressed the importance of using science in every social area for the development of the nation.<sup>370</sup> On the one hand, eugenics criticized the modern values of the era, which led children to bad habits and women, the mothers to be, into degenerated daily practices. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoglu, in *Kiralık Konak* (Rented Konak), describes how the desire of a girl for western life leads her to degeneration. At the end of the novel, she becomes a woman without any moral values and uses her sexuality to serve rich men instead of getting married and having children. He writes that “a poor and unfortunate

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<sup>370</sup> Alemdaroğlu, p. 418.

destiny” appeared for her because she lost her inner values and domesticity.<sup>371</sup>

Because she confused westernization/ modernization with degeneration, she should not give birth to the future generation. In a similar case, in *Sözde Kızlar*, the character Belma is so in love with rich people’s lives and money that she sleeps with Behiç and loses her purity. Besides, Behiç has syphilis and she gives birth a sick baby boy, who is murdered by his father. At the end of the novel, since she can no longer carry the guilt of her actions and since she has become a shame to her family, society and the nation, she decides to commit suicide.

The consequences of sexually transmitted diseases were not limited to physical disorders. The social aspects of diseases created moral norms for society. Norms were used to prevent women from degeneration and unlimited sex. Since sex was associated with reproduction, the sexuality of females without the aim of giving birth was tried to be avoided. Even some experts stated that although, fortunately, women with syphilis were very rare, the disease would be stronger among female population due to the downfall of moral training.<sup>372</sup>

The most disastrous social diseases that damaged the society were moral and prostitution illnesses. “*ahlak*” (Moral manners) should flow from individuals to society to empower the community. Moral and prostitution illnesses caused backwardness in progress and welfare. A syphilis carrier interacted and caused an alcoholic, an alcoholic caused an epileptic and an epileptic prepared the cradle for a mentally retarded person.<sup>373</sup> A cycle was assumed: Degeneration caused venereal

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<sup>371</sup> Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak*.

<sup>372</sup> D.G. Zilanaki Bey, “Firenginin Tevhit Ettiği Sinir Hastalıkları” (Psychological Disorders caused by Syphilis), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 963.

<sup>373</sup> Nurettin Ramih, “Ahlak ve Fuhuş Hastalıkları Sebepleri” (Reasons of Moral and Venereal Diseases), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 753-757.

diseases and venereal diseases caused the degeneration of the race. To break the cycle, first, sexuality should be limited to the sphere of reproduction.

Another aspect that effected the next generation and caused degeneration was alcoholism. Various experiments on animals and humans displayed that alcohol affected directly reproductive organs.<sup>374</sup> It caused mentally retarded children. One third of epileptic, and mentally handicapped children were the offspring of alcoholic mothers and fathers. The first generation of alcoholic parents became immoral. The second and third generations became *mecnun* (crazy).<sup>375</sup> Also alcohol was considered to have a harmful effect on the social body since it caused families to fall apart, and damaged the offspring, physically and mentally.<sup>376</sup> Therefore, as İbrahim Zati Bey wrote, the “alcohol issue is not an economic problem for a country, but a social and health problem.”<sup>377</sup> Since people who drank alcohol lost their control and ability to think, alcohol made easier the transmission of venereal diseases.<sup>378</sup> All the factors that could harm the next generation should be avoided.

The moral values of the people were also covered under the health condition. Nurturing as a process became a part of individual’s moral and physical health. Parenting as nurturing rested completely on the biological mother. The nurturing process began with lactation undertaken by the biological mother. The discourse that promoted breastfeeding, particularly, was common in daily magazines. Physicians

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<sup>374</sup> Çambel, p. 29.

<sup>375</sup> Kerim, “Milli Nüfus Siyasetinde Eugeniye Meselesinin Mahiyeti” p. 208.

<sup>376</sup> İbrahim Zati Bey, “Cürüm ve İçki” (Crime and Alcohol), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 477-480.

<sup>377</sup> İbid., p. 480. “Alkol meselesi bir memleket için bir meselei iktisat ve maliye olmaktan ziyade bir meselei içtimaiye ve sıhhiyedir.”

<sup>378</sup> Naci, “Belsoğukluğu ve Frengiden Korunma Çareleri” (Protection Ways of Gonorrhoea and Syphilis), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 695.

argued about the benefits of breastfeeding babies. Critical propaganda campaigns in women's magazines and medical journals emphasized its importance. They encouraged women to feed their own children, listing several reasons such as the health of child and mother that would be empowered by breastfeeding.

Naturally wet nurses became a subject of the discussions. Placing a barrier between mother and child caused awful results. In various countries, breastfeeding was carried on by wet nurses or babies were given animal's milk. Mothers were not nursing their children for several reasons, such as the rich mother's interest in own entertainment or beauty. The experts declared that breastfeeding was necessary for women's own health and also as a national and social duty.<sup>379</sup> The positive effects were discussed, and the negative effects of wet nurses were stressed by physicians. Medical examination was required of wet nurses against venereal diseases.<sup>380</sup> Both physical diseases and moral values were stated in discourses as potential dangers carried by wet nurses.

Eugenists combined both nature and nurture in their new formula, which was centered on the importance of motherhood and the family. In order to maintain scientific legitimacy, they emphasized the importance of the home environment for child development. This new strategy, which shifted the emphasis from heredity to maternal care, worked to strengthen the movement.<sup>381</sup> To raise a good race and loyal citizens mothers were positioned in the center of the project. Female bodies could not simply be evaluated with their biological and physiological features. Woman's

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<sup>379</sup> Ali Rıfat Bey, "Hanımlar Çocuklarınızı Kendiniz Emziriniz" (Ladies, Nurture Your Babies Yourselves), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 282-287.

<sup>380</sup> Naciye Emin Hanım, "Sütninelerin, Ahçıların, Hizmetçilerinizin Kanlarını Mutlak Muayene Ettiriniz" (Examine Blood of Your Wet Nurses, Cooks, Servants By All Means), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), p. 700.

<sup>381</sup> Kline, p. 100.

identity was constructed by social values and expectancies. The female body's capacities and potentials were connected to her motherhood identity and nurturing function.



## CHAPTER 5

### MOTHERING AS A MODEL IDENTITY

“Motherhood has been glorified as women’s chief vocation and central definition.”<sup>382</sup>

In the 1930s discourses there was a strong tendency towards associating children “naturally” with their mothers. The strong association between child and mother did not end with birth, but continued to develop in the nurturing process. In the previous chapter I examined the reproduction as a part of womanhood. In this chapter, I will analyze the female identity as the “mothers of the nation” in the nation building process. This chapter is divided into two parts. First the “desired woman identity” of society and the importance of her role in the nationalist ideology are discussed, followed by the features of the “proper mother.”

Mothering was constructed as a set of activities and relationships involved nurturing and caring.<sup>383</sup> The mothering identity had a two-way relation in constructing the national identity and even the nation itself. Mothering became the

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<sup>382</sup> Barrie Thorne, “Feminism and the Family: Two Decades of Thought”, in *Rethinking the Family: Some Feminist Questions*, eds. Barrie Thorne with Marilyn Yalom (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), p. 14.

<sup>383</sup> Evelyn Nakano Glenn, “Preface”, in *Mothering: Ideology, Experience, Agency*, eds. Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Grace Chang and Linda Rennie Forcey (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. ix.

most important feature of Turkish woman and separated her with a “divine” role from the mothers of other nations.

This role also became an apparatus to re-produce the Turkish identity in both qualitative and quantitative ways. Therefore the elites focused on the training of mothers and the good management of families. The stages of mothering from pregnancy to child rearing were taken into the account for the development of quality of mothering.<sup>384</sup> Eugenicists promoted two opposing models of womanhood that suggested the importance of gender to eugenic ideology: the “mother of tomorrow” and the “degenerated.” The mother of tomorrow represented the procreative potential of middle class womanhood, while the degenerated symbolized the danger of female sexuality. As mentioned in the previous chapter, woman was held responsible not only for racial progress but also for its destruction. Woman could affect the physical and moral degeneration of the next generation. The *mother of tomorrow* was described as a role model who was “progressive, forward-looking, socially responsible, moral, civilized and capable of raising tomorrow’s children.”<sup>385</sup> Since the mother became the core character who shaped the child’s development, then ensuring that only fit women became mothers, gained a central place in population policies.

In Turkey, the project related to the eugenics ideals of the elites were mainly based on the re-construction of woman in order to obtain “fit” mothers for society. Different from the other states of the era, the Republic did not try to separate “fit” woman from the “unfit” through preventive techniques such as sterilization, but the population policy of the state did look to create “fit” women for the sake of the

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<sup>384</sup> Jordanova, p. 377.

<sup>385</sup> Şukufe Nihal, “Kara Günler, Işıklı Yıllar ve Ant”, *Yeni Türk*, no.10 (October, 1933), p. 959. The definition was taken from Kline, p. 29.

nation. Fit mothers, with their mentally and physically proper conditions, created an image of the mother of tomorrow, who had a duty to bear and raise a healthy generation. Eugenic discourses mainly defined the features of the mother of tomorrow. A perfect race/generation could only be achieved as if “good” mothers were present, therefore physical, mental and moral values were taken in the consideration.

Motherhood and citizenship identities converged on reproduction and nurturing. The duty of giving birth was turned into the duty of raising responsible citizens. Like giving birth, raising children was associated directly with mothers. Parenting was reduced to just the mother, who also was assigned to take care of the moral education of the child, since she was the one with the child in the household. Woman’s responsibilities and duties were re-defined due to concerns such as the future of the Turkish race and advancement of civilization. The women of the nation were transformed into cultural identity carriers through their “mother” identity.

Besides women’s reproductive functions, they were also obliged to raise children who were “beneficial to the country and nation.” Mothers became central characters in the public discussion of civilization and the progress of race.<sup>386</sup> The project of creating citizens was mainly based on the success of the mothers of the generation. The most important feature of the new citizen’s identity was patriotism and nationalistic values. Like the Turkish proverb proposed, “*ağaç yaşken eğilir*,”<sup>387</sup> mothers became responsible for constructing patriotic and nationalistic values in the household.

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<sup>386</sup> Kline, p. 18.

<sup>387</sup> It means that training or educating people could only be possible when they are young.



The salvation of the race lay in the training of the youth.<sup>388</sup> The Turkish race need good mothers in order to take a superior place in the world and civilization.<sup>389</sup> Women as mothers were turned into the pivotal figures of race as the maker of man. The physical and moral conditions of race were created and protected by mothers. Nurturing as a process left in their hands. Children would learn about becoming members of the “new” society, first, in the home. Children’s mentalities would be shaped in the household. Therefore mothers would train the young generation to be loyal citizens and patriotic members of society, which should start at an early age. The way women raised their children would affect the child’s loyalty towards the nation. The main duties of the citizen, which differed according to gender, should be taught first at home. Girls were to be raised as future mothers. Boys were to be raised as the “sons/soldiers” of the nation. Female bodies were crucial for their reproductive functions. Male bodies were blessed since they would defend the nation.

Thus the bodies of the nation were categorized according to their “social” significance. Socially constructed gender identities and nationalism were processes, which were produced and re-constructed each other mutually.<sup>390</sup> The *nation* produced the identities of manhood and womanhood. Simultaneously, nation became a construct produced by its male and female identities/citizens.<sup>391</sup> Institutions that helped to create male and female citizens also had the mission to produce nationalist and reproductive citizens according to their *gender* divided roles. This gender-based

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<sup>388</sup> A.C. (only initials given), “Çocuk Asrı” (Century of Child), *Muhit*, no. 6 (April 1929), p. 407.

<sup>389</sup> Meliha Avni Sözen, “Kadın ve Vazifesi” (Woman and Her Duty), *Yeni Türk*, 25 (January 1935), p. 1827.

<sup>390</sup> Nükhet Sirman, “Kadınların Milleti” (Nation of Women), in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik* (Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Nationalism), eds. Tanıl Bora (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p. 226.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

nationalistic discourse also helped to justify being mother or soldier as a division of labor.

Nationalism classified individuals according to their ethnic roots. The promotion of fertility of Turks, raising healthy and “loyal” children, patriotic and perfect mothering intersected medicine and nationalism. The analogies transitive to both discourses and supported by rationality and modernity discourse created a perception that equated young and healthy with Turk. Nationalism converged with the emergent “health discourse” to construct new rationalities for the defense of the social body.<sup>392</sup> All the un-healthy and non-Turk subjects were identified as outsiders or, even worse, as enemies of society. The new regime as a project focused on creating a “young Republic.” Therefore forming its members became a necessity. Different roles and features carried by the members also determined the proper citizenship identity. The profile of the “desired” individuals was defined according to healthiness and supported by racial features that would determine the limits of the social body. The body of the nation into which the next generation was recruited was shaped by the values created by these discourses.<sup>393</sup> “Family as the core unit” worked for the normalization, and reproduction of offspring. But it also assisted the Turkification process of the next generation. The nationalist values of society were mainly reproduced in the household.

The new regime sought to modernize the nation. Yet copying every aspect of western culture would cause the loss of the nation’s essence. In order to protect the essence of the national culture, the elites proposed only transferring scientific and

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<sup>392</sup> Horn, p. 19.

<sup>393</sup> Ginsburg and Rapp, p. 3.

material techniques from the west.<sup>394</sup> The spiritual feature of the national culture that was embodied in woman in the household should be protected from harmful effects. Woman had to protect her virtues. In other words, the essence of woman should not be westernized.<sup>395</sup> Women who lost their nationalistic and cultural values were not the proper bearers and nurturers of the next generation.

Definitely preserving cultural values with modern techniques mostly affected woman and her everyday practices. The “Woman Question” in Turkish nationalism was stated at the center of the project. The female body as a utilitarian actor with its reproductive capacity and mothering identity, and as a symbol with its modern outlook became a tool for new regime’s modernist politics. In early Republican Turkey, nationalism was constructed around modernization. The nationalistic discourses of the Republic frequently employed the motto “emancipation of women.”

Chatterjee divides life and society in two main domains, the “inner domain” and the “outer domain.” The outer domain was surrounded by the modernist values and techniques coming from Western world. They were coded as the mundane needs of the social body. The outer domain could be matched with public space, in which modernization’s visual appearance took place. However, the inner domain meaning “*ghar*”-home, could be matched with the private sphere.<sup>396</sup> Family was stated in *ghar*. Family, particularly woman, was essential for the construction and well-being of the social body. Woman needed to be protected against the degenerated effects of

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<sup>394</sup> Partha Chatterjee, *Ulus ve Parçaları* (The Nation and its Fragments), trans. İsmail Çekem (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p. 201. I think there is a similarity between the Chatterjee’s argument on colonial India and the Turkish case. However this does not mean the Turkish Republic does not intervene into the private sphere. On the contrary, the state is effective in the Turkish case. However like the colonial Indian case the enemy of the inner values was describes as the degeneration of the west and the western world.

<sup>395</sup> Chatterjee, p. 211.

<sup>396</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202.

modern life and the old customs of the former system. Motherhood became a sacred role for woman in the nationalistic discourse.

The grand narrative of 1930s Republican Turkey tried to naturalize the mothering identity for every woman in society. The homogeneous and unified nation expectation could be damaged by the visibility of the “non-average” woman. With the help of eugenic ideas, it formed the “national/communal” expectations and duties for the Turkish woman. However, such a hegemonic nationalistic narrative, unavoidably, had exclusive limits. There were two visible, but not accepted, woman figures during the 1930s. The first one was related to the emancipated woman of the new regime. With her visibility, the new woman was positioned against the old empire’s woman model as a modern citizen. The old woman was described as uneducated, primitive and unenlightened. Since she was not capable of training the next generation, then she should not to give birth or raise children. In the elite-produced narratives in the journals, magazines and even literature, the image of the other woman was mainly based on the degenerated characters of the society.

The other actor, against whom the new woman was stated, was the degenerated bourgeois female. In Yakup Kadri’s *Kiralık Konak*, the story is based on women who were attracted to popular culture, which brought the harmful habits of Westernization.<sup>397</sup> Instead of using useful western imports such as science and knowledge, degenerated women lose their “inner values,” which led to the abandonment of domestic duties and their primary roles (as mothers). In *Kiralık Konak*, Yakup Kadri tells the story of an ostensible girl who leaves the traditional values behind in her quest for a western life style. Senihe, the “degenerated” girl of *Kiralık Konak*, is described as a greedy young woman who is running after money. It

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<sup>397</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak*.

is not just her passion for materiality that is unacceptable, but that her behavior is flighty and improper (like drinking alcohol and dancing with strangers), and disregarding the national values.<sup>398</sup> The boundary between the modern and degenerated woman was based on the respectable and disreputable behavior of woman. Respectable behaviors for women were drawn with the moral codes of society.<sup>399</sup>

### Honor As A National Value

In addition to poverty, low fertility and illnesses, violations of particular values were diagnosed as dangerous illnesses could affect the “social body.” *Namus* (honor) was strongly emphasized and efforts were made to protect it by patriarchal mechanisms. Honor gained legitimacy and meaning on the female body. An exemplary reflection of honor codes could be found in the conversation between Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the president of the country, and his adopted daughter Sabiha Gökçen, one of the most prominent female figures of the young Republic as well as the first woman military pilot in the world.<sup>400</sup> She played the role of a leading and modernized *new woman*. On the other hand, she was also influenced by the “inner values”<sup>401</sup> of the “nation,” such as protecting her *namus* (honor). In her memoirs, she told the story of getting permission from her father-Atatürk in order to

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<sup>398</sup> Ibid., p. 88. “.....otelde her türlü kıyudu diniye ve milliyeyi ayaklar altına alarak birtakım ecanip ile şampanya içtikleri ve badehu otelin salonunda dans ettikleri dahi vaki olmuştur.”

<sup>399</sup> Soland, p. 84.

<sup>400</sup> She flew combat plane during Dersim operation in 1937 and took part in the operation. Ayşe Gül Altınay, “Making Citizens, Making Soldiers: Military Service, Gender and National Identity in Turkey” (Ph.d diss., Duke University, 2001), p. 117.

<sup>401</sup> Partha Chatterjee, *Ulus ve Parçaları* (The Nation and its Fragments), trans İsmail Çekem (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002).

take part in the battle of Dersim.<sup>402</sup> Atatürk reminded her that since it was a dangerous operation and she was “a girl,” in the case of an emergency landing because of technical problems in the plane or an attack, she could face “a band of deceived men” and be seized by them.<sup>403</sup> Gökçen promised she would not surrender alive. Atatürk was very touched by her response and gave her his own pistol to use in a situation which could put her honor at risk, to kill others or herself. As Altınay comments, “in Atatürk’s view, the threat to her honor was the ultimate danger, not death.”<sup>404</sup>

The sexuality of woman was not only based on her reproductive capacity. It was linked also to nationalism. Gökçen’s honor was determined on her “purity.” While she was protecting her honor, as the “adopted daughter of Atatürk,” she was also protecting Atatürk’s honor. Therefore Atatürk offered her his pistol for the use in case of emergency. Another discourse in the story was related to the structure of the Dersim Operation, which was organized against the rebellious Kurds. Atatürk was afraid of any attacks of “enemy/men” on his daughter, who was a symbol of the new regime. The honor discourse was produced in two different ways. On the one hand, Sabiha Gökçen was described as the daughter of a father. Accordingly, she had to protect her father’s honor. On the other hand, she symbolized the new nation. She had to protect her “purity” from enemies. In both ways, rape or sexual attack were acts that had to be avoided. The honor of woman (and nation) was based on female sexuality. The sexuality of woman was narrated as a fact should be controlled by

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<sup>402</sup> For detailed discussion for the battle of Dersim, see Ayşe Gül Altınay, “Making Citizens, Making Soldiers: Military Service, Gender and National Identity in Turkey” (Ph.d diss., Duke University, 2001).

<sup>403</sup> Altınay, p. 121; Sabiha Gökçen, *Atatürk’le Bir Ömür* (A Life with Atatürk), prepared by Oktay Verel (İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar, 1996), 2nd edition, p. 117.

<sup>404</sup> Altınay, p. 121.

man, could be attacked by man, and defined by man. Like Sabiha Gökçen's relation with her father, *Kiralık Konak*'s hero, Seniha, is also described through the features of her father. Her father, Servet Bey, is a man who hated Turkishness and Islam.<sup>405</sup> She is a victim of her father. He did not raise her with patriotic or traditional values; therefore her honor was damaged.

In line with the public discourse, legal regulations were also considered according to the codes of honor that were taken as the values of the social body. The penal code was designed accordingly. Even crimes, including murder, were punished by considering woman's honor. If a man killed an individual for the sake of protecting his wife's, mother's, sister's or adopted daughter's honor, his punishment was not as severe as for other reasons and decreases.<sup>406</sup>

The old regime's female figure and modern degenerated woman were visible but not approved members of society. Yet another group existed as "non-in- visible members" of the social body considered to constitute a national threat. Though the "other" polarization among the visible members of the nation gives clues about the "desired" average woman, the non-in- visible members of society played a vital role. The non-in- visible others could never be qualified as the mothers of tomorrow. Motherhood became a sacred role for women in the nationalistic discourse. The fundamental narrative of the 1930s Turkey tried to naturalize the mothering identity for every woman in society. With the help of eugenic ideas, it shaped the national and communal duties for Turkish women. However, such a hegemonic nationalist narrative, unavoidably, had exclusive limits. Due to the moral and biological features, some women could not belong to the nation/family. Two identities appeared

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<sup>405</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak*, p. 25. The identity was described as a combination of Muslim and Turk.

<sup>406</sup> Article 447, Article 453, Article 475 in the Penal Code.

as candidates of non-in visible subjects of the project: prostitutes and non-Turk, or non-Muslim women. Even, sometimes, those identities were intersected in one agency.

Prostitutes were excluded for physical and moral reasons. They, foremost, were women who were never mentioned, except in discussion on sexually transmitted diseases. Since they were stated as the transmitters of the diseases, they could not bear healthy offspring. They also destroyed the moral values of society. They were sexually active not for pragmatic reasons (reproduction), and also they sold their bodies as “trade good”. The project that represented female bodies as “sacred elements of society” could not accept such an activity as a profession.

The project of the 1930s elites mainly focused on the “Turkish” nation, which excluded, *naturally*, the non-Muslim and non-Turk members of society. The racial features of the citizen were stated as Turkish and Muslim. Therefore “other”s were interpreted as out-of-nation subjects. Non-Turkish and non-Muslim subjects could not be Turkified. Since the Republic’s policies were based on reproducing Turks, these groups then existed outside of the target area. They did not belong to the Turkish nation. They could not be stated as “mothers of tomorrow.”

Since the physical and biological standards were set according to the communal expectation and moral standards depended on the sexuality of women, which was shaped around two dominant concepts “honor” and “fertility,” the non-average woman (non-in-visible women) could not respond to the new Turkish nation’s needs. The homogenous and unified nation’s expectations could be damaged by the appearance of “non-average” woman. In the journals, magazines and even literature the image of the “other” woman was mainly based on the degenerated characters of society. Besides their appropriateness for reproduction they were used



as a tool for the Turkification of the state. Non-Turk and non-Muslim characters were matched with unacceptable sexuality.

In the Yakup Kadri's *Hüküm Gecesi* (Night of the Judgement), Despina, a Greek woman, is characterized as a prostitute who has an affair with the male hero, Ahmet Kerim. In a conversation with Ahmet Kerim, she states that the good Turks will not be hurt when the Greeks take Istanbul, only the bad ones. The conversation ends with Ahmet Kerim's movement. He grabs Despina's naked arms, throws her on the floor and sleeps with her.<sup>407</sup> The novels written by Yakup Kadri between the years 1919-1930 feature immoral and evil female characters.<sup>408</sup> The superiority of the Turkish characters over female "other" characters are stated through sexuality. On the one hand, the homogeneity of the nation is provided by determining others and describing them as inferior subjects. On the other hand, the improper female identity is identified and visualized with non-Turkish characters. The codes for the proper woman are stated as Turkish, moral and healthy.

#### The Parameters of Being a "Good Mother – Good Wife"

A woman's existence was presented in two ways, as a father's daughter or a man's wife. In either ways women were described as the "future mothers" of the next generation. Eugenics promoted a womanhood model: the "*mother of tomorrow*." Such a model put woman in a legal institution, marriage, and encouraged her to have

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<sup>407</sup> Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi* (Night of Decision) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p. 97.

<sup>408</sup> Herkül Milas, *Türk Romanı ve "Öteki"* (Turk Novel and the "Other") (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2000), p. 55.

children in order to have a “real family.” The average woman’s<sup>409</sup> most significant duty was to get married and have a family. Since the *state* needed a populated nation, then women had to give birth and therefore first had to get married. The mother of tomorrow represented the procreative potential of<sup>410</sup> average new modern Turk womanhood.

Two dominant concepts, “honor” and “fertility,” became the core characteristics of the mother of tomorrow. Consequently, the features of the mothering identity became a parameter between the desired and undesired subjects. The proper female citizen was loaded with a couple of responsibilities. Mothering was described as the primary and un-abandonable “natural” duty of woman.

However mothering did not suffice for nationalist politics. As a supportive discourse, the “daughter of Atatürk” was turned into an interesting subject. Every Turk and Muslim member of the community was automatically considered as a “daughter of Atatürk.” Like the honor discourse, the female citizens of the Republic were described through the “father” figure. The zone drawn for the social body was fed through the limits of the Turkish nation.

The norms for the female identity did not end with assigning duties to individuals. The duties and ways of application were described in detail. Discourses that emphasized gender roles and nationalism could be mostly found in the practical solutions of everyday life. Therefore they were embodied essentially in the daily practices and habits. Related to the discourses that determined family as the “core

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<sup>409</sup> Here I used the term “average” instead of “middle class,” because I think in the 1930s, Republican Turkish elites made an effort to create “normal” citizens of society. However “to create normal” they also needed to create “the norms”, which is not quite equal to the “middle class norms.”

<sup>410</sup> Kline, p. 3.

unit of the society” woman, as the naturally productive defined body, became the base of the social regulation.

The traditional gender roles created rigid standards of masculinity and femininity. Parenting was reduced to “mothering.” The other people involved in childcare – fathers, foster and adoptive parents, nannies and day-care workers – were rendered invisible and mothers alone are held responsible for their children’s well-being.<sup>411</sup> After categorizing woman as appropriate for mothering or not, mothers were assigned to own several values. In addition to their physical capacities, their moral values were set by the eugenicists. It also helped to define the parameters of the “good wife” and “good mothering” features, since mothering and being a wife were parts of the woman’s good identity. Mothers were the trainers of the new generation/race. Therefore they had to be fit into the expectation of the nation.

The new Republic structured or re-structured institutions such as family, which shaped the society and also was shaped by the community itself. This building process also included gender roles. Norms for the good wife and the good mother regulated the female body, its gestures, appetite, shape, size, movement and appearance. “A monolithic idealized womanhood figured in speeches, propaganda and writings and visual representations.”<sup>412</sup> Mother was represented as a “devoted, pure, obedient, loyal, kind, patient and charitable”<sup>413</sup> figure. Proper female behaviors, values and related duties were determined by the writers in the journals and magazines. The woman of the new system was asked to behave in modern and westernized, was but not become degenerated. In *Ülkü*, a story called “*İki Kız Kardeş*

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<sup>411</sup> Ginsburg and Rapp, p. 13.

<sup>412</sup> Perry R. Willson, “Women in Fascist Italy”, in *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany*, eds. Richard Bessel (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 80.

<sup>413</sup> “Anne Olmak Bahtiyarlığı” (Happiness of Being Mother), *Muhit*, no. 6 (April 1929), p. 408.

*ve Bir Delikanlı*” (Two Sisters and a Young Man) described the necessary values and proper identity of a woman.<sup>414</sup> The older sister, Sacide, was engaged to a young but poor man, Celal. After she met an old rich man, she left Celal and married the old man, Halim. After Sacide’s marriage, younger sister, Macide, and Celal fell in love, got married and had a child. After Halim’s death, Sacide went to Celal and asked him to get together again. Yet Celal was a family father and in love with his wife. Sacide left him with disappointment and anger and never saw her sister again.<sup>415</sup> In the story two sisters were stated as counter figures. Sacide was greedy, disloyal and rude. She married an improper man and could not have a child. Macide was devoted to his husband and child. She accepted marriage with a poor officer, lived a modest life and was obedient to her husband. In the end Sacide remained alone and lost her love for money. Thus the desired female subject was presented through a fictive story.

The female citizens of the Republic were equipped with new and modern rights. The new role of woman as an “equal” participant in society was supported through new regulations such as Civil Code and suffrage. With those new rules, the daughters of Atatürk challenged the old Ottoman middle-class’ conception of womanhood. Yet the new rights brought new responsibilities, such as mothering. The new woman’s limits were drawn not only through rights, but also through her duties. “The power of men over women is still evident in the inequitable distribution of housework and child care, in patterns of communication between husbands and wives, in process of decision making and, in extreme from, in patterns of physical

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<sup>414</sup> The story was published during four months from April 1939 to July 1939, which is an uncommon publish for *Ülkü*. Such a long and fictive story is a rare act for the journal.

<sup>415</sup> Nahid Sırrı, “İki Kız Kardeş ve Bir Delikanlı” (Two Sisters and a Young Man), *Ülkü*, no. 75 (April 1939), pp. 132-138; Nahid Sırrı, “İki Kız Kardeş ve Bir Delikanlı” (Two Sisters and a Young Man), *Ülkü*, no. 76 (May 1939), pp. 225-234; Nahid Sırrı, “İki Kız Kardeş ve Bir Delikanlı” (Two Sisters and a Young Man), *Ülkü*, no. 77 (June 1939), pp. 338-345; Nahid Sırrı, “İki Kız Kardeş ve Bir Delikanlı” (Two Sisters and a Young Man), *Ülkü*, no. 78 (July 1939), pp. 411-418.

and sexual abuse.”<sup>416</sup> The 1930s narrative portrayed husbands/fathers as breadwinners. Therefore the care of the children was the mother’s duty. The father was assigned an economic function, held responsible in the Civil Code for providing for the financial needs of the household. “Men continue to exert power and authority within families.”<sup>417</sup>

Also the professional life of the wife was determined on the permission of her husband. The breadwinner husband and a full-time wife/mother came together, fulfilled the unit with children and created a legitimate form of family. The division of labor in the family was based on the gender roles of both parties. The supportive discourse on the monolithic/nuclear family had two related arguments. The first one proposed that women were genetically mothers and housewives and therefore were not meant to take part in public life. They have to take care of domestic work and childcare.<sup>418</sup> Though the popular discourse declared the “emancipation of Turkish women,” in practice the state tried to produce housewives, who were, as Thorne describes, “dependent on their husbands, their unpaid work at home is often burdensome and devalued, and they do the work of mothering in relative isolation, to the detriment of both mother and child.”<sup>419</sup>

One of the biggest wounds of the time was said to be working women. They did not give birth or take care of their children. Only if a woman was poor did she work to take care of her children.<sup>420</sup> Comments on the working woman differed according to the woman’s class. Economically, lower class woman’s working life

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<sup>416</sup> Barrie Thorne, “Feminism and the Family: Two Decades of Thought”, in Thorne and Yalom, p. 20.

<sup>417</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>418</sup> Kerim, p. 211.

<sup>419</sup> Thorne, p. 7.

<sup>420</sup> Ali Rıfat Bey, “Hanımlar Çocuklarınızı Kendiniz Emziriniz,” p. 287.

was approved by the elites. Yet for the average woman working was equated with the abandonment of family life. Since the life struggle affected women more, the well-being of their bodies suffered. Not giving birth would be a wiser decision for working woman. As if they would not give birth, then Fahreddin Kerim advised working woman to stay single, because otherwise she would prevent man's progeny.<sup>421</sup>

“This particular reading of their bodies meant that women were represented as natural creatures, beyond culture and society, compelled to remain in the private domestic sphere by their natural maternal instinct.”<sup>422</sup> Woman's mothering identity was not completed with her biological function. But the social representation of the female identity was fulfilled with “domestic” features that should be completed for the sake and survival of society. For woman, being in charge of domestic work became a duty that was considered conventionally and never discussed by man and/or woman. The reproductive division among individuals led to women's domesticity. Bearing children, nurturing them and taking care of them home turned into the responsibilities and duties of women. “Home and family were the cornerstones of the society, and if women abdicated their domestic duties, what was to become of moral order?”<sup>423</sup>

Woman was declared to be the guardian of the family. In the 1930s, in the Turkish Republic motherhood discourse urged women to devote themselves to their homes and promoted domesticity in order to be “perfect” child-raiser. The health and welfare of the children, the hygiene of the home, diet, child-rearing, cooking and

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<sup>421</sup> Kerim, p. 211.

<sup>422</sup> Rose, p. 360.

<sup>423</sup> Kline, p. 11.

cleaning were defined as tasks that had to be completed by woman as domestic responsibilities.<sup>424</sup> Women should be capable of domestic work no matter what her level of education. Nezihe Muhittin gave as an example Fatma Aliye, a female intellectual and prominent figure of the decade. Although she had servants, she first took care of the domestic work in the household and then started to read her books.<sup>425</sup> Even the upper-middle class figure or intellectual woman was responsible for housework. Domestic work was constructed as a female duty that was supported even through schooling such as home economics courses in the Girls Institutions. Housework was equated with “woman’s work.” Though the public discourse, on the surface, encouraged women to take part in the public space, with describing housework as a female duty, it positioned woman in the “private sphere – home.”

The ideal wife was not only defined according to her mothering or domestic abilities. The appropriateness of a wife depended on her relation with her husband. Obedience was stated as a characteristic that needed to be promoted and praised. In the woman’s magazine *Muhit*, letters between two friends, Hatçe and Güner, were published to display proper wife behavior. Güner was a newly married woman and not quite happy with her relationship with her husband. She shared with Hatçe her discomfort and complained of such things as not wanting to cook what her husband asked, and wanting to travel to Istanbul to see her parents or to Europe for a vacation. But her husband could not leave his job, and not would let her go alone. Therefore she had to stay in the country with her husband. In reply, Hatçe asked Güner to be patient and obedient. Güner had to devote herself to her husband, his happiness and peace. She had to position her husband in the center of her pleasure, her happiness, in short her life. If her husband did not permit her to see her family, then she had to

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<sup>424</sup> Soland, p. 71. Horn, p. 126.

<sup>425</sup> Muhiddin, pp. 77-78.

accept that and even if she felt sorrow, she had to present a smiling face to her husband. One month ago she had been the daughter of Basri, now she was the wife of İzzet.<sup>426</sup>

The third letter that was from Güner to Hatçe thanking her for the advice, because following it Güner had gained a kiss from her husband.<sup>427</sup> Two subjects were clearly stated in the letters. The first one was about the representation of woman. Woman was stated, again, as either the daughter or the wife of a man. The second thing was related to the relations between husband and wife. As Trentman states “women became sexual derivatives not entirely passionless but dependent means to the greater happiness of husband and future citizens.”<sup>428</sup> Obedient wives were desired in society, which in turn helped to stabilize the power of the system.<sup>429</sup> The new regime’s administrative mechanisms were strengthened in the household with the reproduction of proposed identity.

Glenn writes that, “mothers are romanticized as life-giving, self-sacrificing and forgiving. They are seen as all holding the fate of their children and ultimately the future of the society.”<sup>430</sup> Even the Civil Code discussion was framed through the self-sacrificing mothering identity of the Turkish woman. At the opening speech of the Parliament’s 57th meeting, Mahmut Esat (Bozkurt) stated that the most important parts of the Civil Code were family law and the section on institutions. He added that

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<sup>426</sup> Ercüment Ekrem, “Günerden Hatçeye” (From Güner To Hatçe), *Muhit*, no. 2 (January, 1929), pp. 90-91.

<sup>427</sup> Ercüment Ekrem, “Günerden Hatçeye” (From Güner To Hatçe), *Muhit*, no. 3 (February, 1929), pp. 166-167.

<sup>428</sup> Frank Trentman, “Introduction”, in *Paradoxes of Civil Society*, eds. Frank Trentman (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), p. 20.

<sup>429</sup> Michel Foucault, *İktidarın Gözü*, p. 103.

<sup>430</sup> Glenn, p. 11.



this law would bring Turkish mother to the respected place where she belonged.<sup>431</sup> The stress was on the identity of motherhood, of the mother who worked for her children. The successful mother was defined as the one who sacrifices herself. This idolized motherhood generated powerful verbal and visual images.

In the pictures and texts, the idolized mother was chosen from the average-middle class women. It was clearly linked to the “citizenship creating project” of the Republic. Yunus Nadi (Abalıoğlu), in his article “Çok Şükür Kurtulduk” (Thankfully We are Safe) reduced Turkish womanhood to motherhood. He defined Turkish women as devoted, serious, patriotic, and humane.<sup>432</sup> The model mother and wife were constructed as homogeneous characters in the society. The differences between mothers were erased and ignored. The state developed various subprojects for the women coming from different strata. Those who were picked up for modeling (to society) were prepared to act as professional carriers (in the public sphere). Yet a high percentage of the female population was imagined as average members of society. They were designed/desired to be the productive part. Those women wanted to be raised in the service of the nation.

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<sup>431</sup> “...yeni lahiyanın aile teşkilatı ve miras ahkamı, şimdiye kadar istenildiği zaman kolundan tutularak bir esir gibi yerden yere vurulan fakat ezelden hanım olan Türk Annesini layık olduğu mevki-i ihtiramına getirecektir.” Mahmut Esat (Bozkurt), T.B.M.M. Zabıt Ceridesi (Turkish Senate’s Official Report), 17.2.1926, Devre II (Session II), İctima Senesi (Year of Meeting):II, 57. İctima (Meeting), XXII: 230. Quoted by Zihnioğlu, p. 181.

<sup>432</sup> “Ankara’da mütemadi ve müteakıp dört senen zarfında Türk kadınılığını Himayei Etfal’e alakadar etmek istedik, ve muhterem kadınlarımız oldu ki bu maksad etrafında kendileriyle beraber çalıştık... Türk kadını kimdir, ve Türk kadınılığı nedir? Bu sual ortaya konulduğu zaman gözlerimizin önüne dünyanın emsalini görmemiş olduğu mu’azzam abideler dikilir: fedakarlığın, ciddiyetin, hamiyetin, ve insanîyyetin en mu’azzam misalleri ve en muhteşem nişanları! Hem başımız sıkıldıkça dillerimizden gayr-i ihtiyari dökülmez mi:

- Ah anam, ah anacığım!: anamız o aziz ve büyük Türk kadınıdır...

Asrın inkılabı bizi doğru yoldan şaşirtamaz. Türk kadınılığı daha nice zaman bu meziyet ve faziletleri ile Türklüğün hayat ve mevcudiyetine hakim ve nazım olacaktır.” Yunus Nadi (Abalıoğlu), “Çok Şükür Kurtulduk” (Thankfully We are Saved), *Cumhuriyet*, No. 1217, 28 September 1927, p. 1.

## Training Future Mothers

Reproduction is a process that affects all activities and habits. Therefore as Horn writes, “everyday practices were privileged as sites of surveillance and intervention”<sup>433</sup> to foster the healthy female body. Since woman became the center of reproduction, the female body was seen as an area that needed to be regulated and controlled in all phases. Not only female body’s health, but also domestic behaviors had to be controlled since they would affect the training process of the young members of society. As the first trainers of the next generation, educated mothers carried great importance. Medical journals/articles proposed solutions to the possible problems which could affect reproductive behavior, such as marriage, the birth rate and hygiene. To promote the reduction of infant mortality rates, one of the activities was publishing educational materials, programs and curricula for women on child health care, nutrition and hygiene. Girl Institutes, journals such as the CPS’ *Gürbüz Türk Çocuğu* (Robust Turkish Child), women magazines/journals (articles in the journals) supported the training of mothers or potential mothers. In *Muhit*, housework as a “natural” duty for women, was rationalized and explained through modern knowledge. Since the first unit that trained children would be the family and in the family the mothers, then the rational education of women was needed for the transformation of children’s mentalities and their physical health.

The woman model in early Republican Turkey differed according to the geographical location of the female population. The geography of the “women of the

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<sup>433</sup> Horn, p. 12.

Republic” established her representation. On the one hand, the countrywoman was defined as “self-sacrificing,” yet she was also represented as ignorant and primitive. Peasant woman needed to be educated in the ways of modernization. The modernity path of peasant woman was based on the efforts of “female country teachers,” who were described as agents of the state who would carry new notions into the country’s households.<sup>434</sup> Teachers were thought of as training officers in the country. Female teachers were asked to visit peasant woman in their households.<sup>435</sup> They were held responsible for the improvement of daily activities such as hygiene, health and diet in the rural areas, and were also asked to transform peasant woman into rational individuals and equip them with patriotic and national feelings towards their country and nation.<sup>436</sup>

### *Kız Enstitüleri* (Girls’ Institutes)

Beside the legal prohibitions and preventions to protect the new race/generation, the new regime suggested the education of girls for rational home management. The main agency for education of the “daughters of Atatürk and girls of the Republic” appeared as the *Kız Enstitüleri* (Girls’ Institutes). Girls’ Institutes carried the role of preparing young women for “family work.” They tried to teach young girls the art of domestic nursing.<sup>437</sup> Potential mothers were prepared by experts such as teachers and doctors with scientific knowledge. The practices of the

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<sup>434</sup> Mehmet Saffet, “Köycülük Nedir?” (What is Peasantism?), *Ülkü*, no. 6 (July 1933), p. 428.

<sup>435</sup> Nusret Kemal, “Köy Seferberliğine Doğru” (Towards Village Mobilization), *Ülkü*, no. 5 (June 1933), p. 360.

<sup>436</sup> Nusret Kemal, “Milli Bayram ve Halk Terbiyesi” (National Fest and Moral Training of Population), *Ülkü*, no. 9 (October 1933), p. 250.

<sup>437</sup> Donzelot, p. 18.

aforementioned knowledge were shown in the schools. Girls Institutes provided educative assistance and medical supervisions for “*müstakbel*” (future) mothers. The courses taught at the Institutes mainly focused on the practical, economic and social benefits that could be gained by housewives at home. They taught childcare to mothers. Poor and middle-class women would learn to take care of their children with scientific methods. On the other, hand rich women would quit hiring foreign nannies that caused the degeneration of the children. Although foreign nouns could raise the children in hygienic and healthy conditions, they brought their languages and culture, which shaped the child’s character and feelings and caused a mixing of values and degeneration.<sup>438</sup>

Vocational training and its applications at the Institutes prepared girls for their function in the family.<sup>439</sup> This created “a functional strengthening of and control over women’s efficiency as housewives and mothers.”<sup>440</sup> They promoted the life of the full-time housewife and mother, which turned them into a kind of job.<sup>441</sup> In the Republican regime, on the surface, the discourse promoted professional women. Unorthodox carriers of women were encouraged and supported such as lawyers, physicians and even pilots. Pictures of professional women were published in the journals, like *La Turquie Kemalist*.<sup>442</sup> Yet for the majority of the female population, suitable professions were limited to housewifery. The carrier of the housewife was

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<sup>438</sup> Muhittin, p. 129.

<sup>439</sup> Czarnowski, p. 109.

<sup>440</sup> Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>441</sup> Soland, p. 11.

<sup>442</sup> “Fotograflar” (Photographs), *La Turquie Kemalist*, (February 1939). (Artist and physician women pictures).

supported with the particular education, practices and knowledge.<sup>443</sup> Like in the other domains of life, the new system tried to bring modernity to the household. Housewifery and mothering approaches were modernized. The Girls' Institutes became centers from which housewives would be graduated. Their expertise included such issues as hygiene, childcare and cooking.

The Girls' Institutes appeared as special governmental tools for Republican women in the constructing process of the new regime. For sure, schools/formal educational institutions for girls were not established with the foundation of the Turkish Republic (1923). The earliest form of girls' schools was originated as a reformatory for girls, founded by Mithat Paşa in 1865 in Rusçuk, that aimed to provide shelter and teach "art" to "waifs and strays" (homeless children). The first one was followed by four reformatories in Istanbul; in 1869 in Yedikule, in 1878 in Üsküdar, in 1879 in Aksaray and in 1879 in Cağaloğlu; founded by Ahmet Vefik Paşa.<sup>444</sup> To follow the path of transform in girls' schools, Aksaray was a good example.<sup>445</sup> At the beginning the school was called as *Kız Sanayi Mektebi* (Girls' Industrial School). In 1913 the name of the school was changed to *İstanbul Kız Sanayi Mektebi* (Istanbul Girls' Industrial School). The Istanbul Girls' Industrial School had five elementary and four highschool classes. Its curriculum included tailoring, underwear, needlework, painting, fashion, home economics and cooking in addition to cultural courses.<sup>446</sup> The school moved in 1919 to Şehzadebaşı, to Selçuk

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<sup>443</sup> Soland, pp. 148-149.

<sup>444</sup> "Mesleki ve Teknik Öğretimin Gelişimi" (Development of Professional and Technique Education), *Mesleki ve Teknik Öğretim Dergisi*, no. np (May 1981), p. 339. Quoted by Fatma Gök, "Kız Enstitüleri": Ev Kadını Yetiştiren Asri Bir Müessesese" ("Girls' Institutions": A Modern Institution for Raising Housewives), in *75 Yılda Eğitim* (Education in 75 years), eds. Fatma Gök (İstanbul: Yurt Yayınları, 1999), p. 243 .

<sup>445</sup> In her article Fatma Gök focused on this particular institution.

<sup>446</sup> Cultural courses were also known as *terakki dersleri* (progress courses).

Hanım Sultaniyesi's campus and its name was changed to the *Selçuk Hatun Kız Sanayi Mektebi* (Selçuk Hatun Girls' Industrial School). After the foundation of the Republic, the curriculum of the schools changed according to the Belgian system with the invitation of Belgian experts like Kühne, and Omar Buyse. The school's name changed to *Selçuk Kız Sanat Mektebi* (Selçuk Girls' Art School) in 1928.

Parallel to the change of the school's name, beside theoretical courses new practical art courses were added to the school curriculum. But the crucial innovation happened in the state's policy in training teachers. The graduates of the schools were sent to Paris to receive four years' training to become "new-daily-modern" teachers of the Girls' Institutes. At the beginning of the 1931-1932 education year, the senior classes started to receive orders from customers.<sup>447</sup> Also the school's name was changed to *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* (Selçuk Girls' Institutes). In 1934 the school started to accept middle-school graduates<sup>448</sup> and the same year graduates of the school gained the right to take to *Ankara Yüksek Meslek Öğretmen Okulu* (Ankara Teacher's Training Technical School) exams.<sup>449</sup> In 1940, from Istanbul to Diyarbakır, there was a total of thirty-five Girls' Institutes in thirty-two cities. As complementary units, sixty-five *Akşam Kız Sanat Okulu* (Evening Girl's Art School) were opened in fifty-nine cities, which aimed to teach adult women modern ways of household and community life.<sup>450</sup> With the help of 150 Peasant Women's Mobile Courses that focused on the progressive household management, this project was carried to the

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<sup>447</sup> School's special ordering section opened in 1944.

<sup>448</sup> Until 1934 school was accepting elementary school grads.

<sup>449</sup> Gök, p. 243. "Mesleki ve Teknik Öğretimin Gelişimi," p. 339.

<sup>450</sup> *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sanat Okulları Sergisi* (Exhibition of Girls' Institutions and Art Schools), (Ankara: np., 1938), p. 8. Quoted by Yael Navaro-Yaşın, "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin İlk Yıllarında Evişinin Rasyonelleşmesi" (Homework Rationalization in the Early Years of Turkish Republic), *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 84 (Spring 2000), p. 57.

rural areas. The number of participants in those technical courses increased from 505 in the 1923-1924 school year to 16,500 in 1940-1941.<sup>451</sup>

On the one hand, the state/elites wanted to promote fertility and to encourage women to become mothers (to have children). On the other hand, they also wanted to prevent children lost through modern scientific knowledge, particularly medicine. The Girls' Institutes were charged with assisting and protecting mothers and infants on the basis of modern scientific knowledge. They turned to "extensive apparatus for training"<sup>452</sup> future housewives and mothers. The curriculum was equipped with courses that would offer a new way of living and running the household. In the 1932-1933 school year curriculum, courses were divided in two parts. The first one was general courses, including Turkish, *yurt bilgisi* (country knowledge), geography, history, zoology-botanic, mathematics, physic, chemistry, physiology, French (foreign language), physical education and music. The second part was *mesleki-pratik dersler* (professional-practice based courses) which entailed *biçki dikisi* (sewing), fashion, *terziyet* (tailoring), *beyaz işler* (white needlework), *renkli işleme* (colored needlework), hygiene, technology, *şapkacılık* (hat making), needlework, child care, home economics, cooking, and *ütü-kola* (ironing).<sup>453</sup> General courses mainly focused on giving of general knowledge and nationalist values. Turkish, geography, and history informed young girls about the national values of the society. Country knowledge, on the other hand, aimed to inform Turk woman that she was equal with man. In the course, young women were asked to pay attention their duties

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<sup>451</sup> Yaşın, p. 58.

<sup>452</sup> The term was borrowed from Czarnowski, p. 112.

<sup>453</sup> Gök, p. 245.

towards the family, the motherland, the nation and the state.<sup>454</sup> The rights and duties of women were explained in a program. Professional-practice based courses aimed to teach young woman the ways of being a “good wife and good mother.”

### Rationalization of Women at Home

According to Foucault in *Discipline and Punish*, the human body is opened to disciplinary practices in its gestures, movements, location and behaviors in order to evolve the reproductive capacity of the individual.<sup>455</sup> He states that disciplinary practices are located in institutions such as hospitals, schools, prisons and the army. In all these institutions, particular changes and “developments” in individual’s attitudes and behaviors are sought and tried to achieve through specific penalties and rewards. Deviant and/or improper/unacceptable behavior and attitudes are diagnosed and people are asked to act in the parallel with the authority. The discourses that aimed to control the human body are more visible than the discourses to regulate. Regulative practices, which are a complementary part of the control mechanisms, are subtle, yet, more effective. The covert practices in society aim to intervene into the everyday habits of the people. The bodies of the individuals that are positioned, whether in the public realm or in the private realm, are affected by the regulatory rules. Therefore not only public areas in which control mechanisms have the visible authority such as hospitals, schools, but also private space turned to an intervention area. Domestic practices such as how to cook, eat and clean, become targets to be transformed for the sake of efficiency. Since female body is positioned in the

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<sup>454</sup> Ibid., p. 245.

<sup>455</sup> Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.



domestic sphere, new regulations focus on the female practices in the household.

Ultimately these regulations tried to change female bodies and their way of acting.

In Turkish case, first step of transformery techniques was teaching the young Turkish woman to use her mind in domestic work. Nezihe Hanım proposed that in contrast to “yesterday’s idiot woman, today’s young and smart girls can gain efficiency at housework.”<sup>456</sup> “Yesterday’s idiot woman” was characterized as a figure who had been unable to use her mind and rationality, whereas “today’s young and smart girls” were represented as modern and educated parts of society. The reference to mind was justified by the need of efficiency at home.

Efficiency in the household, as a popular term of the era, was not defined properly in the articles. However, particular regulations in the household that could lead to the efficiency in the household were proposed in various areas. Since the kitchen was thought of as the primary space of women,<sup>457</sup> one of the common proposals was the regulation of the kitchens. İncila Yar, one of the İzmir Cumhuriyet Girls’ Institution Almanac writers, asked women to order their kitchens like factories.<sup>458</sup> Her analogy between the kitchen and the factory was based on the efficient and the rational production in the household. Efficiency was represented as a component of modernization and rationalization.<sup>459</sup> Order and efficiency in the household could only be achieved through the usage of scientific knowledge.

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<sup>456</sup> Nezihe, *Ev İdaresi ve Bugünkü Kadın* (Home Management and Contemporary Woman), in *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yıllığı* (Almanac of İzmir Cumhuriyet Girl Institution) (İzmir: np., 1936), p. 12. Quoted by Yael Navaro-Yaşın, “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin İlk Yıllarında Evişinin Rasyonelleşmesi” (Homework Rationalization in the Early Years of Turkish Republic), *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 84 (Spring 2000), p. 59.

<sup>457</sup> Emine Saffet, “Mütevazi Bütçelere Göre Ev Bakımı,” *Muhit*, no. 42 (February, 1932), pp.32-33.

<sup>458</sup> İncila Yar, *Modern Ev İdaresi: Evimizde Taylorizm* (Modern Home Management: Taylorism at Home), in *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yıllığı* (Almanac of İzmir Cumhuriyet Girl Institution) (İzmir: np., 1936), p. 52. Quoted by Yaşın, p. 61.

<sup>459</sup> Factory turned into a symbol of modernization and the rational production.

Scientific knowledge turned into a must and an absolute necessity for modernization and rationalization.

In the name of modernization and rationalization, the behavior of women that belonged to the private sphere became targets of correction. Similar to the nationalist ideology, the household became a part of rationalization and modernization. The domestic habits of women were to be changed for the sake of modernity. Susan Bordo, a powerful feminist social scientist, claims that everyday habits, who cleans, who cooks, what one eats, how one cleans have been taken out of the realm of the personal and brought into the domain of the political.<sup>460</sup> The habits related to the private realm became a part of the discussions focused on rationalization and modernization of society. Housewives were encouraged to modify their performances according to the westernized (which was equated to the “civilized”) norms in the household. To change the behaviors of women, courses in the technical schools and popular journals offered standardized activities in the household based on rational home management. The rationalization of the household involved a wide spectrum of responsibilities, from hygiene, diet, and pregnancy to childcare. Housewifery was transformed into a modern enterprise. In line with modernity, the attitudes, personality and body language of woman changed and “westernized/modernized.” The methods the women of the early Republic chose to handle the social behavior and social interactions can be observed through their conversations, body language and their expectations, which also shaped their role model identity of “modern” woman. Mothers were equipped with scientific skills and

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<sup>460</sup> Bordo, p. 249.

also with moral values that were determined by the state, which also helped to reconstruct the relations (mother-child, wife-husband) in the household.<sup>461</sup>

The Republican regime in the 1930s offered a new life-style of modernization and rationalization. The new life-style offered changes both in habits and also in appearance in all forms of everyday life. Individuals were expected to alter their old-fashioned and backward ways of living in the favor of the westernized style. The way they behaved at home became a target to be changed. The division of living spheres was based on gender specific features. According to this assumption, woman was imagined in the private sphere, at home. Therefore, following the recommendations to change in-home activities could help to understand the desired model female citizen of the Republic. New practices were targeted to change women's practices in the home. Ultimately they tried to change their ways of acting and their bodily habits. The new system penetrated everyday life through the physical habits of women. The regime offered different ways to handle housework and mothering.

New understandings of housework changed first, then the architecture of houses and their decoration. *Yedigün*, *Muhit* and *La Turquie Kemalist* displayed the new indoor designs. The new style of indoor usage also engendered a way of new social relations in the household.<sup>462</sup> In the journals, pictures of modern house were demonstrated. The architecture of kitchens was of the primary importance since they were the "living rooms of women."<sup>463</sup> Houses were filled with modern furniture. The design of the houses also proposed a modern way of living. Model kitchens were

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<sup>461</sup> Hewitt, p. 232.

<sup>462</sup> See *Muhit*'s decoration section. "Yeni Tarzda bir Bebek Odası" (A New Style Babyroom), *Muhit*, no. 33 (Mayıs 1931), p. 73; "Kendini Evini İnşa Eden Mimarlar" (Architects Who Construct Their Own Houses), *Muhit*, no. 36 (Ağustos 1931), pp. 62-62.

<sup>463</sup> "Ev ve Eşya" (House and Furniture), *Yedigün*, no. 7 (1933), p. 2.

planned to perform with full efficiency. Even the food to be cooked in the kitchen was determined by scientific knowledge.

Scientific knowledge intervened into every habit of daily practices. The diets of individuals were turned into a sub-subject of preventive health.<sup>464</sup> Recipes were described to mothers as formulas for the better health of the family. Diseases were related to improper eating habits. The dental health of children was explained in one of the articles. Like other physical functions, dental problems were explained as the consequence of bad nutrition or hereditary.<sup>465</sup> The mother was responsible for the diet of the infant during and after pregnancy. Mothers were asked to cook particular meals, and to have their children drink particular kinds of water<sup>466</sup> and daily or weekly nutrition programs were offered.

The journals offered women recipes for nutritious meals within the budget of the family.<sup>467</sup> Not only content of the meal, but also how the meal was served became symbols of modernization. Mothers were asked to set proper tables for meals. The proper table was defined as hygienic, elegant, healthy, with a clean white tablecloth and dinnerware, and dinner time entailed nice conversation. European tables were set as examples with their order and Turkish families were asked to create a room only for meals.<sup>468</sup> The eating habits, from what to eat to how to eat it, of individuals were to change according to western styles. The courses in the Girls'

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<sup>464</sup> Zeki Nasır, "Kara Ekmek, Bulgur Pilavı, Ayran" (Dark Bread, *Bulgur Rice, Ayran*), *Ülkü*, no. 8 (September 1933), p. 142.

<sup>465</sup> Zeki Nasır, "Dişlerin Ehemmiyeti ve Çürüklerden Korunması" (Importance of Teeth and Their Protection from Carious), *Ülkü*, no. 19 (August 1934), p. 440.

<sup>466</sup> Kerim Ömer, "Hangi Suları İçmeli" (What Kind of Water Should Be Drunk), *Ülkü*, no. 3 (April 1933), pp. 246-249.

<sup>467</sup> "İdareli Sofra" (Economic Table), *Sıhhi Sahifalar*, no. 3 (March 1930), p. 93.

<sup>468</sup> Mazhar Osman, "Ay Sofrası" (Month's Table), *Sıhhi Sahifalar*, no. 1 (January 1930), p. 27.

Institutes on cooking taught what to cook, how to cook and how to serve with progressive and scientific methods. The recipes for the meals were stated with western measurements such as kilogram, and liters.<sup>469</sup>

The content of the diet and the preparing process affected the health of the child. Meals were to be prepared in hygienic places. The household, particularly where the child was taken care of, was to be a hygienic space. The hygiene and childcare courses at the Girls' Institutes taught the proper techniques of childcare. As Kline writes, "a mother's love was not enough; medical expertise and morality, as measures of ability and genetic health, were essential to child rearing."<sup>470</sup> In addition to the "genetically" good conditions of parents, particularly mother, the physical health of the child was dependent on the medical knowledge of mother. Ahmet Cevat claims in "*Çocuk Meselesi*" (Child Problem) to serve the country, mothers have to know how to care of their children hygienically.<sup>471</sup>

Nezihe Muhittin told a story about a young Turkish mother and child that she saw on a tram. The child was crying constantly and dropping his bottle. The mother was putting the dirty bottle back in the child's mouth to silence him.<sup>472</sup> In the story, Muhittin underlined the ignorance of the young mother. To prevent child mortality and provide hygienic environments for children, educating mothers became a priority.

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<sup>469</sup> *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yıllığı*, (İzmir: np., 1936), p. 51. Quoted by Yaşın, p. 67.

<sup>470</sup> Kline, p. 31. In the American case, Kline found several articles which promoted the education of mothers on child care.

<sup>471</sup> Ahmet Cevat, "Çocuk Meselesi" (Child Question), *Muhit*, 31 (May, 1931), pp. 1-4.

<sup>472</sup> Muhittin, p. 128.

Popular magazines such as *Muhit*, *Yedigün*, *Hanımlar Alemi* gave place to health related subjects in their pages.<sup>473</sup> Hygiene, diet, home environment, the clothing of young ones, and child illnesses were discussed in women magazines. A complementary step was fulfilled with the Girls' Institutes. In their curriculum, almost half of their courses were related to becoming "good mothers and housewives." Children's health was directly linked to the scientific knowledge of the mother. The more the mother was educated, the more robust the child became. The Girls' Institutes were trying to prepare "our future mothers."<sup>474</sup> In the girls' schools there was a special course for childcare, which taught the diet, clothing and hygiene of children. The clever mother learned how to take care of child from a nurse, doctor or an educated mid-wife. The physicians asked mothers to know two things: a mother's affection (*şefkat*) and childcare. The modern mother did not approach childcare with her affection alone. She also had to know how to take care of children with modern tools and techniques.<sup>475</sup> Horn interprets "educating future mothers" as an attempt of the state to intervene before the mother or infant suffered moral or physical harm through schooling.<sup>476</sup>

In addition to the physical health of the children, moral training was another topic discussed in the women's magazines. The new techniques of training needed to

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<sup>473</sup> Articles such as "Anne Olmak Bahtiyarlığı" (Happiness of Being Mother), *Muhit*, no. 6 (April 1929), pp. 412-414. "Çocuğun Sıhhati" (Health of the Child), *Muhit*, no. 41 (March 1932), p. 71.

<sup>474</sup> Hasan Hilmi Bey, "Asri Anne" (Modern Mother), in *Sıhhat Almanacağı* (Health Almanac), eds. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1933), pp. 521-522. "... bir valde çocuğa nasıl bakarsa o da öyle olur; bakım bilmeyen bir valdenin bakımı ile çocuk bakımına vakıf bir annenin arasında bir fark olmalıdır ve bu fark vardır. O halde biz çocuk bakımında çocuktan ziyade valdeleri nazarı dikkate almıyoruz. Tecrübeli, ilimle mücehhez bir valdenin çocuğu ne ağır hasta olur, ne de ölür; fena bakımlı çocuklar ise sıhhatlerini kayıp ve belki dünyaya da veda ederler..... Anne ne kadar münevver ise çocukta o nispette gürbüzdür. Kız orta mektepleri bize müstakbelin valdelerini hazırlamakla meşgul."

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 522.

<sup>476</sup> Horn, p. 93. For a similar case see the Horn's study on the 1930s Italy.

be taught to mothers. In the articles, modern mothers were instructed not to punish their children with beatings. Instead of physical punishment children mothers should talk to their children and explain the consequences of their behavior.<sup>477</sup> Articles that offered new ways of training for children, on the one hand, tried to change the relation between mother and child. On the other hand they directly intervened in the female body. They aimed to regulate the way the woman spoke, acted and behaved. They asked mothers to control their behavior.<sup>478</sup> Though the ultimate aim was to introduce mothers to modern the techniques of child rearing, it, unavoidably, affected mothers and even became a process of “mother training.”

Mothers were asked to nurture their children and raise them with “proper” moral codes. Because mothers are the nurturers of the children and children spent a great amount of time with the mother, the moral training of the children was left to the mother. Conversely as Glenn writes, “thus women’s bodies may be used to provide the menial physical labor of bearing and raising children, while moral authority and control over children’s lives are still conferred on men who perform none of this labor.”<sup>479</sup> The authority over children, both in the social perception and legal regulations, was assigned to the father. In the Civil Code, decisions about children were left to the father. According to Article 263, during marriage the guardianship of the children should be shared by the mother and father, yet in a conflict of decisions the father has the custody of the children and the right to decide the children’s future.

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<sup>477</sup> “Anne Olmak Bahtiyarlığı” (Happiness of Being Mother), *Muhit*, no. 6 (April 1929), p. 412.

<sup>478</sup> “Ebeveynin Terbiyesi,” *Muhit*, (September 1932), pp. 38-39.

<sup>479</sup> Glenn, p. 12.

The 1930s witnessed the rise of a new concept: social duty. Giving birth was defined as the first and foremost duty of the female citizens of the Republic. Though the strongest stressed duty was becoming a mother, another discourse that fed mothering was constructed on the household. Mothers needed to be “*becerikli*” (skillful) housewives. The reproduction duty of woman did actually started with marriage. In the journals, women were called to become hard working and productive, and to create nutritious and economical diets for the family. They were held responsible for the tidiness and hygiene of the family and household. Additionally they were asked to produce in the household, to sew for the family instead of buying from outside. Courses at the Girls’ Institutes, particularly, focused on tailoring. The goal of the fashion course was to teach students tailoring for themselves, relatives and for her future children. Providing the necessary skills for every housewife was another aim of the course that would help them to produce economically.<sup>480</sup> Women’s magazines, as a complementary unit, published models for dresses and block for hats.<sup>481</sup> Again, women were to decorate their homes with their own hand-made items.

Two corresponding discourses were developed. After the husband left for work and the children left for school the housewife needs to produce. The leisure time of woman was coordinated through the discourse that excluded the “lazy” housewife. Instead of producing at home, buying from outside was marked as a significant proof of degeneration. Even worse, it was labeled as an activity that would harm the national economy. Producing at home was not seen as a good in itself, but was relatively constructed as a “social good.”

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<sup>480</sup> Gök, p. 244.

<sup>481</sup> There was a section in every month’s *Muhit* for models and hat blocks.



Expectancies related to leisure time and duties were justified through nationalist discourses like reproduction. The reaction towards “healthy but idle” members of society was explained that they had become degenerate or were the source of social illnesses. More than, they had become burdens on the national economy. The lazy housewife was equated with the unemployed individuals of society. The intolerance developed towards individuals on the streets was created with the same reasoning as that towards the housewife. Similar time management advice and social force that were applied to the unemployed were constructed towards the housewife.

Woman in the household was asked to manage her time. The leisure time of woman became a social subject that had to be regulated by discourses. In the 1930s the duties and responsibilities to be carried out by woman were differentiated according to the identity with which she was matched. At the same time, she was to be mother, a “daughter of Atatürk,” a modern wife and also a professional. The identity of woman changed according to the context. Yet in every identity she was encouraged to be modern, but not degenerate.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

In the analysis of Corrigan and Sayer, the state-formation has both a totalizing process which represents people as a part of the community and “individualizes them within the state community as “citizens, voters, taxpayers, ratepayers, jurors, parents, consumers, homeowners – individuals.”<sup>482</sup> If the Turkish Republic is considered as a state-formation project, the struggle to construct a Turkish society based on the aim of representing people as a part the Turkish nation and community was supported by creating various identities with “unique” values. The individualized subjects of the state carried different qualifications along with their “drawn” roles in the social body. According to the state’s policies, which were related to the decade’s atmosphere, the role of the citizens differed. The citizens of the young Republic were held responsible for particular duties, determined according to the concerns of the new regime. As a state in formation, the young regime had concerns related to its existence such as legitimacy, unification, production and modernity. The effect of the 1930s world context and the Republic’s unique conditions helped to produce prominent discourses such as nationalism, modernism

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<sup>482</sup> Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer, *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution* (Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1985), p. 5. Quoted by Altnay, p. 14.

and rationalization. The intersection point of the aforementioned discourses was, clearly, population.

In the study, the various dimensions of population-related concerns the 1930s Turkey were examined. Population was a crucial problem for the Republican Turkey with its broad aspects from welfare to density. The study, which investigated mainly the pronatal policies of the young Republic, problematized the relationship between the female identity and the reproduction.

Aims to increase the population focused on several issues such as migration, decreasing mortality rates, recovering health conditions and, finally, increasing birth rates. In the population formation process, particularly, reproduction and health became subjects linked directly to the individual's body. The young Republic tried to create a new "social body" with a young, healthy, productive and "new" population. In order to promote fertility, the young Republic chose two ways. First, it focused on the preservation of the "healthy members" of the nation. Second, it developed policies supported with social, moral and legal practices, which promoted "bearing children." In the thesis, it was suggested that pronatal discourse in the 1930s gained a eugenic tone due to the several reasons such as the world context, the concern about the unification of the nation, the aim to prove the "racial pureness" and the scientification of society ("Eugenic" was considered as a positive science in the 1930s).

In line with the eugenic tone of the Republican Turkey, the health and reproductive potentials of the individual became the concerns of the state for the well being of the social body. According to the division of labor in society, male and female citizens were assigned different roles. Men were expected to defend the country and "earn money" to take care of their families, whereas women were asked

to accomplish their natural duties: “giving birth and nurturing children.” Through legislation, laws and the dominant discourses efforts were made to transform the female body according to the needs of society. Legal codes of the system were developed according to the reproductive concerns and reproductive capacities of individuals, particularly women. The sexuality of woman turned into an apparatus that could be used for the well being of the nation. The “negative” factors for the reproduction such as venereal diseases, bachelorhood or bareness were distinguished and diagnosed as the subject, which had to be recovered, cured or corrected.

The “reproductive” duty of woman continued in the nurturing process. Woman was positioned at the center of the household as mother and wife. Social regulations concerned the physical health of the population and moral training was turned into a subject for the formation process. Woman, due to her critical position as bearer, nurturer and trainer of the next generation, was targeted by the regime. Policies aimed to change the female body, the woman’s habits, attitudes and behavior, unavoidably, intervened in the household. Two main discourses, “children are the state’s property” and “modernization of woman,” lead the intervention of the state into the domestic sphere. Female body was turned into an “object of intervention.”

One of the crucial findings of the study is related to the governmental policies and their applications. The Turkish Republic, on the one hand, produced grand narratives, such as nationalism, modernity and rationalization in the “public space.” On the other hand, the family and household were turned to areas for the application of those discourses. Modern and rational practices were to be applied to individuals in the household. Personal habits were to be changed and modified according to the discourses. Since the female body was positioned in the household, she became a

regulative tool to form society. The change in the household was supported through state mechanisms. Throughout the thesis it was argued that the laws and discourses about the “social” erased the hypothetical<sup>483</sup> line between public and private. Laws were passed to regulate everyday life, and unavoidably, intervened in the “sphere of the private.” Not only state-made-laws, but also common discourses shaped the roles of people in the community. Good mothers, good wives and good daughters were diagnosed/defined through the codes of the narratives produced by leading figures of society.

During the formation process several actors played central roles. Through medicine, physicians became authorities. The important positions of doctors in the administrative strata and the importance of health politics in the 1930s Turkey made for an interesting study. The issues related to preventive health in this study could be a starting point for a study that would focus on the physicians.

This thesis focused on woman’s identity and its reflections. Yet children’s education remained an area for new discussions. The new image of children, schooling system, pedagogy and changes in childcare according to modern and rational values would be another area for research. Surely there existed a difference between the theory and the discursive construction, and the practices of the project. To see the reflection of the project in the everyday practices, an oral history study could be conducted. If the project was considered an “ideal” to be reached and was affected by the negotiation process between the appliers and the citizens, then it could help to exhibit the bargaining process and its results. Particularly stories of housewives during the 1930s could help to see the changes that were brought by the

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<sup>483</sup> For further discussions about the distinction between the public and private spheres, see Habermas.

project. Again such a study would help to analyze the resistant areas against the system. Examining the experiences of housewives/average women and daily practices also would reveal the involvement of the Republican woman in the project.

This study focused on the project, could state a one-dimensional vision that housewives were changed/transformed by the elites. Yet those women were involved voluntarily in this project. In some cases, the citizens of the new Republic were not only receptive, but willingly became active participants in the application process. The roles of female citizens were accepted and re-produced by women. This thesis could provide the basis for studying women's engagement in change through the process of self-surveillance and self-disciplining.

This thesis aimed to re-read the formation process of the 1930s Republic from a perspective that stressed the population policies, which are considered as a part of high-politics. Yet practices fed by those policies had impacts on everyday lives. The project of the new regime aimed to transform patterns of daily life. Modernity and rationalization were made the guides of the new system. "What exactly did it take to be modern?" was the question that helped to determine the limits of the applications. The nationalist discourse and science, which entailed the concern of modernity, worked together to assign "national duties" (for the welfare of society/nation) to woman and determine the practices of her body. The nationalist and scientific discourses served to determine the limits of the "social body." Reading 1930s Turkey from a state-formation perspective helped to display the desired subjects of society.

As a last word, surely, the time and space of the project determined the features. Yet it could be said as if the project aimed to form a social unit, then the targets for regulation became the reproductive elements of society. Particularly

female bodies were turned into areas that needed to be controlled and regulated, since they owned a “natural” reproductive capacity and capability.



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