

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FEMALE CITIZEN THROUGH
REPUBLICAN ETIQUETTE BOOKS:
TURKEY, 1930-1943

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BY

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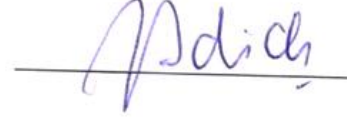
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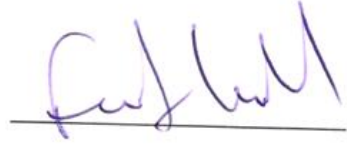
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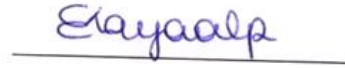
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ABSTRACT

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This thesis is grounded in the textual analysis of twelve etiquette books published in Turkey between 1930 and 1943. The analysis of texts, which are important tools to “civilize” society in both the public and private domains, is important because of their effects on the different dimensions of the period’s discourse around citizenship. This study indicates the main objective of the books was to construct an ideal citizen who would constitute the new privileged class of the Republic in accordance with the discourse of Westernization, but conspicuously adapted to local circumstances. Accordingly, not only the citizen’s dress and deportment, but also the citizen’s body, physiology, and sexuality were to be completely renewed. On the other hand, Republican etiquette books’ effort to construct the ideal citizen was thoroughly gendered. While the books were defining the “acceptable citizen” on a Western model, women were taken as an important measure of compliance. Thus, as the symbols of the new and modern life, women’s appearance, conduct, and all feminine pursuits became signifiers of the social status of men. Consequently, this study reveals the class and gender dimensions of etiquette books are not independent of each other, but intersect and support one another.

Keywords: Etiquette Books, Gendered Citizenship, Social Distinction.

ÖZ

KADIN VATANDAŞIN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİ ADAB-I MUAŞERET KİTAPLARI ÜZERİNDEN İNŞASI: TÜRKİYE, 1930-1943

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Bu tez projesi, 1930-1943 yılları arasında Cumhuriyet döneminde yayımlanan on iki adab-ı muaşeret kitabının metin analizi yoluyla incelenmesi üzerine temellendirilmiştir. Toplum özel ve kamusal alanda “medenileştirme” de mühim bir araç olan metinlerin incelenmesi, dönemin vatandaşlık söyleminin farklı boyutlarına olan etkilerinden dolayı önemlidir. Bu çalışma, kitapların esas gayesinin kısmen yerlileştirilmiş bir Batılılaşma söylemine uygun olarak, Cumhuriyetin yeni ayrıcalıklı sınıfını oluşturacak ideal vatandaşı üretmek olduğunu göstermektedir. Buna göre, vatandaşın sadece kıyafeti ve davranışı ile değil, bedeni, fizyolojisi ve cinselliği ile bir bütün olarak yenilenmesi amaçlanır. Öte yandan, Cumhuriyet dönemi adab-ı muaşeret kitaplarının ideal vatandaş inşa etme çabasının derinlemesine cinsiyetlendirilmiş olduğu görülür. Kitaplar Batılı modele göre “makbul vatandaşı” tanımlarken, kadınlar önemli bir ölçüt haline gelirler. Böylelikle, yeni ve modern hayatın simgeleri olarak, kadınların görünüşü, davranışı ve tüm kadınsı uğraşları erkeklerin sosyal statü gösterenleri arasında yer alır. Dolayısıyla, bu çalışma, adab-ı muaşeret kitapları ışığında oluşturulan sınıf ve toplumsal cinsiyet konularının birbirinden bağımsız olmayıp birbirleriyle kesiştikleri ve birbirlerini desteklediklerini ortaya çıkarmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Adab-ı Muaşeret Kitapları, Cinsiyetlendirilmiş Vatandaşlık, Toplumsal Farklılaştırma.

To my sister Damla Dandiboz

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...

Yücelir sanmayınız kimseyi servetle sakın,
Boyayan gözleri bir an onun ancak süsüdür.
Bizce bir kıymeti asla olamaz varlığının,
Saydıran insanı ancak medeni görgüsüdür.

–Necdet Rüştü, “Görgülü Adam”¹

Selma Hanım’ın bu monden toplantılardaki muvaffakıyeti büyüktü ve Hakkı Bey kendi monden muvaffakıyetleri kadar karısınınkiyle de iftihar etmektedir. Onu, her kadından daha güzel, daha süslü ve daha itibarda görmek yegâne emelidir. Eski Milli Mücadelecilerden bazıları gibi Hakkı Bey için de kıyafet değişiminden sonra milli dava adeta böyle bir mondenlik iddiası şekline girmişti. Bir Avrupalı gibi giyinip süslenmek, bir Avrupalı gibi dans etmek, bir Avrupalı gibi yaşayıp eğlenmek ve hele bu iddiada Avrupalılar nezdinde, Avrupalılar arasında muvaffak olmak bunlara büyük bir zafer kazanmak kadar ehemmiyetli görünüyordu.

–Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*²

¹ Necdet Rüştü, “Görgülü Adam,” cited in Beler 1943, 3.

² Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, (1934), *Ankara* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), 106.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

With the Turkish Republican period, the Europeanization of social and cultural life also brought about many changes and transformations. One of the most important sources which reflected this change and transformation is etiquette literature. Etiquette became an important apparatus whereby practices of modern life were accepted as universal rules. As everyday life changed within the framework of the Westernization project, instilling a civilized and modern lifestyle into society in an idealized way became possible by teaching European etiquette and then adopting it as a way of life. In this respect, the traditional attitudes and behavior of the “old life” were excluded from the field of the new etiquette.

Etiquette books are books that contain the rules of proper behavior for a particular category of people, e.g. the urban middle class in early Republican Turkey. The first examples of Western-style etiquette books were published in the late Ottoman period. However, a greater number of such books were printed and published after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic. Republican etiquette books, in the process of the construction of the new state, were regarded as a requirement to serve the regime's “contemporary civilization” discourse. The Western life style which had been denigrated and dismissed as “*alafranga*” in the books of the Ottoman period was adapted into the everyday life of the new Turkish society. For this reason, the content of the etiquette books of the Republican era was modified in accordance with the new conditions of the period, and they became a medium through which the new regime tried to transmit the new values to society. All the regulations of the modernization discourse sought to institute a Western lifestyle, and everything from everyday dress to attending formal balls was thoroughly detailed in etiquette books. In addition, the most prominent feature of Republican etiquette books was paying special attention to the subject of women. These etiquette books, unlike those of the traditional period, pursued the goal of constructing a “modern Turkish woman.”

Nevertheless, it is not possible to describe Republican etiquette as a set of rules which was based only on a Western model. Republican etiquette was not focused on

religious references, rather, it was in general combined with secular and national values. In addition, the etiquette books of the Republic were not direct translations of Western books but were adapted to Turkish norms. As they were adapted, they were redefined through new moral values. These moral norms concerned women in particular, and women were thus identified within a masculine and nationalist perspective. According to this perspective, women were to appear as Westerners on the surface, but their “difference” from Western women was also to be constructed and maintained.

The etiquette books’ target audience and the community they identified as in need of reform were the new Republican elites. These manuals, therefore, distinguished the privileged segments of society. Their main objective was to transmit essential cultural capital to the new elite of the Republican regime. Thus, the new citizens who would constitute this class were to be constructed in accordance with the discourse of Westernization, but conspicuously adapted to local circumstances. Not only the new citizens’ dress and manners but also their bodies, physiology, and sexuality were to be completely renewed. However, in the process of constructing these new citizens, the books did not address men and women in the same way. While the books did dictate etiquette for men, there were significantly more rules laid down for women. The rules of etiquette were regulated in accordance with gender roles, men’s only duty was to fulfill the requirements of being “civilized.” In a way, the civilized man had to distinguish himself by having a modern physical appearance and by his gentility in order to triumph in polite society. On the other hand, the woman had to assume several different roles; first, as a “modern” mother and wife, she was portrayed in the home; then, as a “refined lady”, she had to take her place in high society. While men were to be considered either vulgar or pretentious should they fail to apply the rules of etiquette properly, women could be labeled as morally “loose” in some cases. This is because the rules regarding women’s behavior were discussed within the framework of honor and moral norms. Therefore, these books can be considered an instrument to dictate to women, through etiquette rules, both how they could be modernized and what kind of moral limitations had to be defined for them.

This thesis is grounded in the textual analysis of twelve etiquette books published in Turkey between 1930 and 1943. It is an investigation into how the etiquette books of

the Republican period attempted to shape society in terms of class and gender issues. The analysis of texts which are important tools to “civilize” society in both public and private spaces is important because of their effects on the different dimensions of the period’s discourse around citizenship. In this study, the discourse of etiquette books is examined within the context of the conditions of the period. Accordingly, while ideologically creating a new and a civilized republican society, it was necessary to construct hierarchy and privilege anew in this society. In the old society, social status had been based on different factors such as economic or religious rank; with the new society, etiquette as a form of cultural capital caused a new social “distinction.” Status and prestige were thus to be attributed to those who comprehended and performed the requirements of “contemporary civilization.” In other words, as the society was modernized, social stratification was transformed and etiquette came to define these new stratifications. Moreover, the Republican writers’ main interest in instructing the newly rising class in this period was in the field of gender relations. Women were indirectly urged to support their husbands or fathers from their private sphere. Through the advice contained in these books, not only were women to be modernized, but through this modernization they were to indirectly raise their husbands’ or fathers’ social status.

This study thus analyzes etiquette books from two perspectives: The first is based on class and stratification. It is emphasized that these books were important instruments either to prove the superiority of a particular class or to create “distinction” as a measure of this superiority. This opinion will be discussed with reference to Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of distinction and cultural capital: the Republican elite wanted to build a specific habitus in order to distinguish itself from other citizens of Turkey. Elites in the Ottoman era had had such a habitus. Republican elites used Western-based etiquette in order to establish a habitus of their own. The most important difference of Republican etiquette from etiquette in the previous period is that it became a form of cultural capital which spread to the wider community. The new rules shaped by the Republican regime aimed to create privileged individuals in the new social arena. In this respect, modern etiquette showed changes in terms of content and style in accordance with the requirements of the period and the new social conditions. Therefore, no longer a sign of distinction, the old elite codes of behavior became “debased” and unacceptable. While the definition of “elite” was

remade according to Republican discourse, Western etiquette also changed to a certain extent in content, now became the measure of “elegance.” Thus, Republican elites constructed their difference not only from the Republican non-elite but also from the preceding Ottoman elites.

The second view focuses on the analysis of Republican era books in terms of a gender perspective. To be an elite Republican was measured in part by the elite woman’s capacity to fulfill the requirements of modern etiquette. This issue is evaluated via Michel Foucault's concept of biopower. From this perspective, the etiquette books served as a discipline mechanism which constructed citizens, and this construction was thoroughly gendered. Indeed, etiquette rules applied differently to men and women, and women were the most controlled. Briefly, while defining citizenship based on Western models, the books used women as a key measure, since men were to discipline their women by integrating them into the new system of etiquette. Thus, it was in part female discipline that entitled men to membership of the elite of the Republic. The duty of the books can be summarized as building an “acceptable” citizenship status for modern Turkish men through constructing Turkish women who would be “worthy” of those modern Turkish men. Likewise, if the woman with her dress, deportment, and behavior maintained these standards, her husband would deserve to be in the “elite.” Thus, male status was measured in part by women’s command of etiquette. A close reading of the etiquette books suggests that their purpose was not solely to convert women to modernity, but also, by converting them, to transfer symbolic capital to the men. Therefore, this study reveals that the class and gender issues in the etiquette books are not independent of each other, but intersect and support one another. The main argument of this study is thus that women’s grasp of etiquette was considered a reflection of men’s status.

Various studies on Turkish etiquette books published either in the Ottoman Era or in the Republican period have been undertaken. One is Nevin Meriç’s *Osmanlı’da Gündelik Hayatın Değişimi Âdâb-ı Muâşeret*. Meriç discusses in detail nine etiquette books published in Ottoman script between the years 1894 and 1927. In her book, the changes in everyday life during the process of modernization in Ottoman society are comprehensively examined within the framework of European etiquette. Although this work is theoretically inadequate, it is important in terms of understanding the transformation of etiquette during the modernization period.

There are two other studies which only focus on etiquette books published in the Turkish Republican period. In her PhD dissertation entitled “1930-1939 Arasında Türkiye’de Adab-ı Muâşeret, Toplumsal Değişme Ve Gündelik Hayatın Dönüşümü,” Tülin Ural examines etiquette books published in the Republican period in terms of their effects on public and private domains within the framework of the transformation of everyday life. Her study analyzes the etiquette books of the 1930s with respect to content and style. She asserts that etiquette books, in the matter of constructing Westernized everyday life, provide different discourses overlapping with the requirements of the new regime.

Elif Mahir, in her article “Etiquette Rules in the Early Republican Period,” analyzes how social differentiation by the Republican elites was produced and reproduced through the new etiquette. As with the present thesis, she focuses on the function of etiquette as a means of cultural segregation in Republican society. However, Mahir’s article only highlights the class issue and the relationship between gender and class is not her main focus. Furthermore, neither Ural’s dissertation, nor Mahir’s article analyzes Republican etiquette within the framework of the concept of gendered citizenship.

The present thesis explores the importance of early Republican etiquette books for the cultural and social “construction” of a new Turkish citizen. In this respect, its main concern is to shed light on how modern etiquette interacts with the principal concepts of class, gender, and social distinction. Accordingly, the second chapter is a detailed discussion of the theoretical framework used in this study, evaluating class issues through Bourdieu’s concepts of “distinction” and “capital,” discussing the Foucauldian notion of biopower relative to the construction of citizenship, and introducing Norbert Elias’s important concept of a “civilizing process” to illuminate the thesis. The third chapter begins with a short history of Western etiquette with reference to Elias, and then traces the historical transformation of etiquette from Ottoman to Republican Turkey, before introducing the primary texts and their authors. In the fourth chapter, the definition of citizenship and its gendered dimensions from Ottoman times to the Republican are described. In the fifth chapter, etiquette books are analyzed at length in terms of Republican discourses around class and gender. The conclusion discusses the results of this analysis.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I will analyze the disciplinary nature of Early Republican etiquette books, benefitting from the theoretical frameworks of Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, and Norbert Elias. I will touch upon certain concepts such as biopower and discipline put forward by Foucault, and I intend to discuss possible dynamics for the control over female bodies in Foucauldian terms. Then, I will apply Bourdieu's approaches to cultural capital and habitus to explain how etiquette books provide "distinction" in class terms. Lastly, Elias' accounts of "the civilizing process" will be introduced as a supplement to these two theories of bodily control and social class. While these authors are generally considered mutually contradictory, I submit that they each provide useful tools with which to analyze the problem at hand.

2.1. Foucault

Foucault provides a way to understand how the emergent disciplines of modernity are concerned with the management of individual bodies (the discipline of the body) and the bodies of populations (biopolitics). These disciplines are interrelated due to the way in which control is attained "through a system of surveillance and panopticism" (Entwistle 2012, 17). In *Hapishanenin Dođusu (Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison)*, Foucault asserts that the body becomes like a machine which can be repaired, arranged, and be subjected to detection and control mechanisms (Foucault 2006). According to Foucault, disciplinary power in terms of the principles of operation became differentiated from the dominant power of the twentieth century as the repressive and violent function of power gradually decreased and turned into a disciplinary and regulatory rather than repressive process. Thus, the body was not subject to physical compulsion but to forces of discipline and control. For Foucault, this instituted less visible forms of discipline, and, rather than suppressing citizens on a social scale, led them to control their own behavior (Entwistle 2012, 18). The concepts of power and the subject have an important place in Foucault's discussion of discipline, and these are connected to the idea of

surveillance. For Foucault, discipline acts as a practice of power for the construction of the subject which is actually a power mechanism to control society. Foucault discusses Jeremy Bentham's panopticon, a circular prison with a tower at its center, with the ability to observe each cell, while the prisoners could not see the guardian at the center. Such observation makes prisoners regulate themselves and their bodies as well as their behaviors. This instance is used by Foucault to explain the control methods of a modern society built on institutional observation. The modern self becomes a sort of prisoner of the docile body. In addition, modern states control and examine their citizens and this control spread through society. Thus, the surveillance at institutions such as schools, prisons, and hospitals works as a disciplinary device which tries to regulate body and behavior (Entwistle 2012, 17-18).

Instead of the negative and constrained power which characterized the sovereign's "absolute" power, with the eighteenth century, the operation of a new power was born. This new power is positive and, in a way, also productive, as it supports and strengthens life. This power, which Foucault calls "biopower," intervenes in life in two ways: the first is "disciplinary" power, in which individuals' bodies and actions take center stage. Foucault calls this an "anatomy-politics" that disciplines bodies, develops their capabilities, and makes them productive, docile, and integrated into economic control systems (Keskin 2005, 16-17). While the disciplinary power of anatomy-politics constructs the actions and bodies of individuals, "biopolitics" starts to develop at the macro level, and demographic studies gain importance, allowing the identification, control, and regulation of the whole population. The task of transforming the techniques of biopolitics into a general theory is undertaken by ideology (Bayhan 2013, 151). Thus, Foucault defines biopower as a number of techniques for the construction of bodies which ensures the control of populations. The regulation of sexuality is also found within these techniques as another site in the controlling discourses of modern society (Foucault 1990).

For Foucault, biopolitics is also effective for the development of social hierarchy and distinction which bring out domination and hegemony. Nevertheless, the techniques while creating this effect are not achieved negatively or restricted, but work rather to strengthen the biological life of the individual. The other outcome of biopolitics is the new importance of norms and how these are expressed in the processes of the legal system, which becomes a tool to regulate life. In a way, biopolitics which is

focused on life, creates a normalization of society as people have to obey a set of norms (Keskin 2005, 17-18).

By putting the body at the center of power relations, Foucault contributes to the formation of a theoretical framework in which the social dimension of the body is constructed. He indicates that biopower is an indispensable element of capitalism in the context of disciplining the body and controlling the population (Bayhan 2013, 151). The main aim of modern states is to have efficient and useful bodies. Therefore, by developing the workforce, these bodies will contribute to capitalist production. Foucault reveals that the methods of monitoring individuals are intended to create disciplined bodies since the body can only be useful if it is productive and docile. Thus, while disciplines increase individuals' physical capacities in the name of economic productivity, in the name of political-social obedience, it seeks to control the rebellious nature of the body (Akın 2004, 123-124).

Foucault's oeuvre shows us that the body is not alienated from power, which is invested everywhere and in everyone for the promotion and practice of bodily control (Yeğenoğlu 2003). Foucault's approach to power and its grip on the body can be applied to discuss the way in which the practices of etiquette seek to discipline the body. The necessity of etiquette literature with the rise of the new regime in the Turkish Republic and the new middle class can be read as the reproduction of modern power or as the aim to discipline the modern individual. The etiquette books of the early Republican period served the purpose of constructing a new citizen on a Western model through new behavioral norms. In this process, Republican etiquette functioned as a form of "discipline" in order to train and shape the citizen in modern ways. The application of this etiquette was a kind of social force which applied pressure to the body and a tool of social control which operated by imposing standardized norms. Foucault's theory on discipline, therefore, allows us to question modern etiquette and think about the structuring influence of social force on the bodies of citizens.

McNay argues that Foucault overlooks the matter of gender in his theory about the social construction of the body (McNay 1992). Likewise, Göksel mentions that the body has a special place in Foucault's theory in order to understand and explain the forms of power in any society. Yet, for her, while Foucault's theory reveals body

politics with clarity, he does not provide a detailed analysis about how discipline and regulation mechanisms process differently male and female bodies. Indeed, the body is an important tool and site in the creation of male and female subjectivity and power does not act on female and male bodies in the same way. Göksel maintains that the blueprint for the construction of a female body is different from that for a male body because masculine power relations generate different discipline mechanisms in the name of suppressing and controlling women (Göksel 2012, 353-354). Foucault's theory is useful for analyzing the relations between the application of etiquette and gendered forms of bodily discipline. In this respect, Republican etiquette books played a crucial part in marking out the gender boundaries in constructing citizens who impose self-discipline through having obedient bodies. Of course, etiquette was not only for women, and male behavior also had to be renewed. However, disciplining the female body gained importance in the patriarchal context.

According to Foucault's notion of power and discipline, particularly his idea of the "panopticon," the strict etiquette code of the Republican Period was intended to create "modern and civilized" female images. The enforcement of etiquette subjected the women to constant surveillance by the social gaze. The bodies of women were subjected to controls and disciplining techniques. Thus, certain etiquette rules were an apparatus for control over female bodies. Since Republican etiquette called for women to be self-conscious and self-controlled, the bodies of the women had to be changed and transformed. According to the etiquette books published in the Republican period, the traces coded in the female body from the Ottoman times were expected to be renewed. For this reason, etiquette books dictated how to dress, talk, greet, eat, and drink, as well as setting rules for how sexuality could operate to discipline the body in the new, modern ways. Indeed, it was especially the body of the woman, from her appearance to her attire to her manners that was to be used in the production and signification of the modern.

2.2. Elias

Elias is known for his concept of "the civilizing process," which is used to identify the modern Western individual. His work *The Civilizing Process*, published in 1939, was fundamentally about the correlation between the changing structure of society and the standardized behavior norms in the construction of the modern European

individual. According to him, during transition from the courtesy norms established in Europe in the Middle Ages to modern societies' rules of public civility, the modern individual had to adopt self-restraint with respect to bodily behavior and natural functions. Thus, his main argument is that civilization is a sort of process of increasing restraint that leads to the intensification of pressure and control on individuals through refined forms of behavior (Elias 2000). According to Elias' theory, one of the features of the civilizing process is to control human nature by creating restrictions and prohibitions. In other words, social prohibitions become part of every "civil" individual's habitus which also becomes an interior discipline of self-control. For Elias, this process is supported by certain political and social developments such as the centralization of the state and its monopolization of violence as well (Öncü 2000, 12).

Like Foucault, Elias' analysis of the civilizing process is related to the civilization and rationalization of the body. Elias mentions that the refined codes of behavior which emerged in the medieval courts made individuals monitor their bodies to make themselves civil and well mannered. He emphasizes that this process also transforms the physical appearance of the individual. The body is, in his works, treated both as an unfinished biological process and as a continuing social process. The civilizing of the body as the civilizing of society thus has no beginning or end (Işık 1998, 130-132). Individuals have to conceal their bodily needs and the expression of some emotions because they are seen as "uncivilized" and thus a source of shame. The change in attitude toward bodily behavior not only develops self-control over feelings but also changes in "the frontiers of shame and the threshold of repugnance" (Elias 2000, 118). Thus, courts promote the idea that social status can be determined according to the application of rules of conduct as well as civility. The court aristocracy created a unique bodily appearance with elocution, attire, and manners which marked them as different. For Elias, the conduct rules that were formed at court symbolize prestige and power. In this respect, the body was the indicator of social status, (this theme was later discussed by Bourdieu in his concepts of "distinction" and "cultural capital"). Yet, this does not only affect the interior of the court, and a new order of control of the body is also established outside the court (Işık 1998, 133).

Both Elias and Foucault write about discipline techniques for controlling both body and feelings. Elias defines discipline as the establishment of dominance over emotions and impulses which restrains individuals. Civilized societies were defined by their controlled and disciplined individuals. Yet, for Elias, this is not a top-down application of disciplinary power, as Foucault proposes, but, on the contrary, is a “spontaneous” process that can be expressed as self-control over bodily functions. In a way, discipline can also be read as a control mechanism of the inner world of the individual in order to accommodate social life and, importantly, to gain social status. It is spontaneous because it refers to a process that originated in courtiers’ manners and behavior. This event continued with the spread of etiquette from aristocratic life to the bourgeoisie and then to the whole society. Etiquette was one of the apparatuses of social discipline. It became an important symbol of a way to make people civilized by internalizing control over the body and emotions (Topuzkanamış 2010).

The main criticism of Elias’ theory is that it identifies the modern individual only as Western European, in other words, that his theory was Eurocentric. For Elias, the concept of “civilization” is an expression of Western “consciousness”, and cultural “dominance.” Actually, it is used to indicate the difference of the West from “primitive” societies and the pride of the West due to its superiority over non-Western countries (Elias 2000, 5). This concept entails Western societies’ feelings of pride about their level of civilization. According to Elias’ orientalist tendencies, there is no unique civilizing process in Eastern cultures, and the civilized individual can only be constructed through the Westernization which comes with colonization (Esenbel 2000, 22). The concept of civilized states “going forward” or “progressing” also specifies an ideal to be achieved. Thus, everything related with civilization such as technology and codes of conduct are used to distinguish the West from the “primitive” societies and legitimize the historical superiority of Western civilization. Thereby, Western society constructs its hegemonic habitus over the rest. The imperialist motto of “bringing civilization” actually served colonial practices that it understood as the natural outcome of cultural hegemony. Therefore “uncivilized” cultural others were expected to reach standardized norms of the West by internalizing its culture as well as its manners (Göle 1998, 87). Yet, for non-Western societies like Turkey, this process causes a dilemma about internalizing Western

cultural values and, consequently, a “unique” identity must be constructed for the modern individual (Esenbel 2012, 122-23).

2.3. Bourdieu

According to Elias, the demonstration of good manners in European societies not only promoted the discipline of bodily functions but also represented social status and distinction. At royal courts, the degree of bodily control, civility and good manners were important signs of an individual’s social position and prestige and status, which also determined social class. Therefore, manners became an important apparatus for distinguishing the high class from the lower classes. This theme can also be found in Bourdieu’s work *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984). In Bourdieu’s thought, cultural capital, rather than solely economic capital, becomes significant for the creation of class distance. Bourdieu’s model of class is based on such “distinction” and provides the general theoretical framework of this thesis project. This framework provides the greatest explanatory power in understanding the relationship between power and privilege in social class construction. Bourdieu’s work introduces three main concepts: social field, cultural capital, and habitus.

Bourdieu argues that while the traditional notion of social class is that specific groups gain status contingent on economic income and mode of production, the social reality of class is different and cannot be reduced to a single factor. (Swartz 2011, 205). Thus, rather than specific social classes, Bourdieu provides “social fields” within a system of different social positions. A social field is constituted by different forms of “capital” which include, along with economic capital (money, property), social capital (social connections), cultural capital (cultural competences and educational credentials), and symbolic capital (sources of status and social recognition) (Bourdieu 1984). Bourdieu sees capital as “the set of actually usable resources and powers” in which cultural capital is at least as important as economic capital (Weininger 2005, 87). For the current study, two capitals are especially important; namely, symbolic capital and cultural capital. Symbolic capital refers to the various sources that provide “prestige and a glowing reputation” (Webb, Schirato, and Danaher 2002, xv), i.e. the elements of class distinction that cannot

necessarily be bought with money. Cultural capital refers to various cultural competences such as verbal ability, awareness of general cultural, aesthetic preferences, and educational credentials, which are used in the construction of a lifestyle for a certain groups (Swartz 2011, 111). All these elements are used by members of social groups to improve their positions within the class structure. Bourdieu's main objective is to show how culture and social class are correlated with each other. According to him, cultural practices are the underlying signifier of class distinctions. (Swartz 2011, 201). Distance between classes can be determined with "cultural" differentiation rather than economic capital. The concept of cultural capital, for Bourdieu, "merely refers to a culturally specific "competence," albeit one which is unequally distributed and which is efficacious—as a "resource" or a "power"—in a particular social setting". (Weininger 2005, 87). The main component of cultural capital is education, which is an important sign of practicing domination which complements economic income and provides social distinction. It has such a significant role in modern societies that, within Bourdieu's model, cultural capital gains importance for the distribution of status and privilege (Swartz 2011, 112). Thus, class differences find expression not only within the framework of economic interest, but also in status distinctions which grade individuals and groups according to criteria of social esteem (Swartz, 2011, 212).

Finally, Bourdieu discusses the fact that "social class is not defined solely by a position in the relations of production, but by the class habitus which is 'normally' [...] associated with that position" (Bourdieu 1984, 372). In an earlier work, Bourdieu defines habitus as an internal structure of "thoughts, perceptions, expressions, and actions" constructed by a system of dispositions (Bourdieu 1990, 55). Habitus, according to Bourdieu, originates in human consciousness through an inherited set of tastes, customs, and habits. For Bourdieu, classes are sets of individuals who have the same habitus. Every habitus includes similar social conditions and symbolical classifications (Swartz 2011, 215). Habitus is thus both class-specific and constituted according to each individual's position in social space. Thus, via habitus, particular class conditions provide a particular set of dispositions for a given individual (Weininger 2005, 91-92). Bourdieu argues that each social class has a unique habitus which has distinctive lifestyle types. Tastes and aesthetic preferences have significant effects in defining different class fractions and different

lifestyles (Jenkins 1992, 88-97). From everyday life activities such as eating or dressing preferences to the indicators of refined aesthetic pleasures, everything is an apparatus for the practice of symbolic “distinction.” For Bourdieu, lifestyle difference is the most powerful barrier that exists between classes. The practical activities of everyday life, at the same time, determine the ranks of individuals in the order of social stratification (Swartz 2011, 257).

This study will apply Bourdieu’s concept of “distinction” as a product of social fields, social capitals, and habitus which distinguish social groups from others. It will thus analyze the objective of etiquette books as to create the superiority of a certain class in the Republican period.

CHAPTER 3

WESTERN, OTTOMAN, AND REPUBLICAN NOTIONS OF ETIQUETTE

3.1. Historical Development of European Etiquette Literature

The evolution of the European literature of manners follows the changing social structure of European societies. The rearrangement of some of the rules of human behavior in Europe occurred along with courtesy literature and etiquette literature. Courtesy literature originated in sixteenth-century Renaissance. The terms “courtesy” and “courteous” refer to the deportment recognized at the ruler’s court. Courtesy manuals emphasized personal conduct and good taste along with finer points such as “simplicity of demeanor, consideration for others, personal honor, restraint, and freedom from affectation” (Goodwin 1999, 20). Since the court, in that period, was politically and socially dominant, courtesy writers aimed to create an ideal courtier both for the maintenance and the administration of the state. In addition, the development and application of conduct and protocol rules, as important signs of aristocratic “distinction,” provided the aristocratic environment with enduring social status. (Curtin 1985, 397-399).

In the eighteenth century, two different innovations affected the structure of European society: capitalism and urbanization. With the rise of modernity, a new and independently wealthy group—the urban middle class or bourgeoisie—emerged in Europe and became an increasingly effective and dominant presence in social life. With population growth, urbanization created an increased necessity for social interactions (Goodwin 1999, 23-24). Therefore, modernity determined appropriate manners by regulating them according to the private and public spheres. People were defined as civilized or not according to their application of the appropriate conduct rules for both spheres. Therefore, the centralization of political structure caused uniformity of human manners in city life (Meriç 2000, 39).

Etiquette manuals as a separate genre developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and quickly became very popular (Curtin 1985, 411). The concept of “etiquette” came from the French word for “ticket,” which firstly referred

to a court's ceremony and the protocol rules required by diplomatic intercourse. But then, because its meaning broadened in the process of time, it pertained "not only to formal acts but to any conventional [rule] of personal behavior observed in the intercourse of polite society" (Arditi 1994, 177). The changes in social life effected a change in the definition of "civilized" behavior. Etiquette books were also written within the period of rising class consciousness and social mobility. The creation of social hierarchy with the appearance of a middle class in the social arena was not apprehended by courtesy literature. As the court lost its influence on society, the literature on manners transformed in terms of content. For instance, etiquette books, contrary to courtesy works, didn't concentrate on moral values while describing the ideal behavior. Now, the essential element of civilized life was redefined, and manners were associated with the concepts of taste and fashion. While courtesy literature focused on the improvement of "the moral virtues of an ideal individual," etiquette books disregarded this aspect, and were written for specific social occasions such as balls, dinners, visits, and so on. The main aim of such manuals was to assist the new elites integrate into urban polite society (Curtin 1985, 409).

With the rise of the middle class, new codes of behavior were taken into consideration in response to unprecedented social mobility. Etiquette books provided advice on manners and were addressed to new members of the middle class who did not know how to behave in polite society. Etiquette books nevertheless detailed the rules and customs of upper class society, teaching aristocratic rather than middle class manners, and including specific details of aristocratic lifestyles. Through these books, middle class readers thus had the opportunity to attain aristocratic manners (413). The rules of etiquette and publications about them became supports with which the bourgeois was able to legitimate its status and complement its financial success over aristocracy. Etiquette books served as important tools for newcomers to wealth to compensate for their social inexperience. Thus, etiquette functions as a measure of social acceptance and as a passport to high society, providing social advancement (Perrot 1994, 88).

This increased social effectiveness of bourgeoisie forced the aristocracy to take precautions. In other words, etiquette created a rivalry between the nobility and bourgeois. The more the bourgeoisie came to resemble the aristocracy, the more the aristocracy tried to refine its manners. Conduct and manners became a vessel for the

aristocracy to display its supremacy, and it formulated ever more sophisticated and genteel manners, intending to distinguish itself from the lower, upstart class to secure its position. The main objective of the aristocracy was to distinguish itself by developing manners in a more eloquent way. Thus, the manners which had been considered refined before became vulgar as soon as they were used by the bourgeoisie, and this competition between the nobility and bourgeoisie became a vicious cycle. With its new political and social position, the bourgeoisie took its place in high society. As a result, "civilized conduct" now spread from the bourgeoisie to the whole society (Elias 2000, 424-430).

Bourdieu (1984) has argued that classes were not distinguished only by economic capital, but that cultural capital was also an important measure for class distinction. Etiquette became established as a promoter of social hierarchy and distinction created persistent tension between different classes. Through the practice of etiquette, not only did the upper class maintain its status and power and distinguish itself from its others, but it was furthermore able to convert its economic achievements into social prestige. In other words, the bourgeoisie adopted noble class traditions and manners to make itself socially acceptable in the eyes of the aristocracy. It then assimilated these conduct manners, learned from the aristocracy, to its own social norms. Thereafter, etiquette spread to the masses from the bourgeois class.

3.2. Etiquette from the Ottoman Era to the Republic

Etiquette is a system of rules governing social behavior and conventions. In the term *adab-ı muaşeret* (etiquette), in general, "adab" refers to decency, method, and ways of behaving, and "muaşeret" expresses social relations and getting along well. For the Ottomans, etiquette books were one of the significant sources that reflect a Western way of life and values which began to take part in social life along with modernization. The deployment of Western etiquette through books started in the late Ottoman period and continued in the Republican times (Emiroğlu 2001, 86-87).

The origins of Turkish modernization lie in the Westernization movement, which actually started in the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century. The reforms primarily began in Selim III's reign with the intention of modernizing the

army in accordance with the recommendations of French consultants. With the reign of Mahmud II, the janissary system was abolished, and a disciplined army was established which was equipped and trained in the European style. (Özer 2009, 16). The comprehensive reforms intended to rearrange Ottoman civil and political institutions started in the era of reform known as the Tanzimat (reorganization). In the period between 1839 and 1876 the Ottoman government formulated comprehensive reforms as a way to develop and modernize the empire. Many Tanzimat reforms involved adopting different Western practices. Though the innovations transmitted from the West firstly affected only the political and military fields of the Ottoman regime, Ottoman rulers also applied reforms in the sphere of education and law (Özer 2009, 24). The modernization effort during Abdulhamid II's reign eventually came to embrace every aspect of social life, including education, economy, and technology, and were all regulated in accordance with the Western lifestyle and norms. The main purpose of these movements, which were mostly led by bureaucrats, authors, and especially those intellectuals educated in Europe, could be summarized as an aspiration to become part of the civilized and modern world (38-9). In this context, Elias's paradigm of "the civilizing process" and his emphasis on the role of manners is instructive.

Westernization also affected the social structure, and the entry of Western forms of etiquette occurred in the late Ottoman period. The palace and the upper class came under the influence of Western manners. Western codes of conduct showed itself in protocol rules firstly in the palace. Thus, the genteel manners in formal occasions such as the meeting with the foreign ambassadors and special feasts were taken into consideration (Özer 2009, 282). The Sultan and the Ottoman upper class injected European conventions, social conduct, and dress style into Ottoman culture. While Western etiquette rules and a Western lifestyle were still dismissively called "*alafanga*," (Kudret 1984, 267) they were nevertheless accepted by Ottoman bureaucrats and their families following the tendencies of the palace (Meriç 2000, 49). The gradual increase in the adoption of Western social codes and etiquette by Ottoman society was also encouraged by books and periodicals. Western etiquette became more influential in Ottoman everyday life with the aid of etiquette writers, who helped disseminate it from high class circles to the general public (Özer 2009, 283).

Ottoman society remained under the influence of Western lifestyle aspirations, but imitativensness, also in the name of Westernization, dominated the period as well (Özer 2009, 40). While Ottoman society tried to get accustomed to the new manners, leaving the old habits was not easy at first. They could also either be misunderstood or were not completely internalized. For this reason, even if there were supporters of the adoption of Western etiquette, there were opponents who sought to protect the Ottoman social order and its traditional codes of social behavior. This conservative section of society was anxious about the possible corruption of Ottoman culture and morality with the adoption of the Western lifestyle. Some of the Ottoman etiquette authors were thus careful to criticize the improper practices of European culture and provide their correction in accordance with Ottoman social norms. Ahmed Midhat was one of these authors, and his *Avrupa Âdâb-ı Muâşeretî yahud Alafranga* (European Etiquette, or *Alafranga*) was written in 1894 in order to clarify the arguments about European etiquette. He intended to analyze the new manners and moral rules from a conservative perspective in order to illuminate the real and civilized part of Europe. He thus attempted to outline how modernization would look without cultural degeneration (Işın 2006, 141-142).

With the proclamation of the republic in 1923, an organized process of Europeanization which included political, economic, and social reforms began. Between 1920 and 1930, many reforms followed each other, including the abolition of dervish orders, changes to the calendar, acceptance of the Latin alphabet, and so on (Özer 2009, 107). The discourse of Westernization was used by the new regime to structure the new society and life of the modern man. Beyond simply modernizing the state apparatus, the political elite tried to influence the lifestyle, manners, and daily habits of the public in constructing the new state. In addition, this newly established state and society needed to construct a “new man” who could symbolize the new life. (Özer 2009, 285-287). Etiquette books operated as a control mechanism akin to the Foucauldian notion of “discipline,” supporting the modernization process and creating the Republican citizen in accordance with the new regime’s outlook.

With the foundation of the Turkish Republic, new norms of daily life were implemented immediately, and this helped create a relatively homogenous middle class. Western lifestyle and etiquette rules were promoted by the Turkish elite. The new elites considered themselves agents of modernization and Westernization and

the modern etiquette rules determined their social status. This created cultural segregation between the elites and the masses (Mahir 2005). The new etiquette became more important in both the public and the private spheres. The manners of conduct were to be performed first in private space in order not to appear inexperienced in public life. Therefore, people continually had the same level of self-control in their house as they had in the street. Republican etiquette books also emphasized the transformation of manners in the name of the modernization discourse. The changes in social life with the Republic also affected etiquette such as apparel and social activities. The conduct rules also became vessels for defining the position of women, the family, and the relationship between the sexes (Meriç 2000, 58-62).

Comparing Ottoman and Republican etiquette according to political enforcement, the former had a civil character. One of the main reasons for this was that the top layer of Ottoman families' structures was independent of the palace. In addition, there was no specific class to impose etiquette outside the bureaucratic elite. Only the bureaucratic elite was the target of the dissemination of etiquette. Besides, in Ottoman society different social groups did not interpret European etiquette and did not adapt it into their lifestyles at the same level. Contrary to Ottoman etiquette's civil character, Republican etiquette had a formal character. Republican social life was regulated according to the norms of military discipline so that everyday life was under the influence of the military bureaucracy. Republican etiquette was also shaped within this official mold, and, instead of the aristocratic normativity which it opposed, it was regulated in a simpler but highly disciplined way. The revolutionary elites' integration of different segments of society in a frame of ideal notions demonstrated the government policy's centralist and official character as well. It also made possible the redefinition of the new etiquette according to the political elite. Actually, in the Republican period, promoting etiquette rules in accordance with the purposes of the sole authority became necessary to construct the modern civilized man (Işın 2006, 155-157).

In Republican etiquette, all activities in daily life came under strict prescriptions and were shaped according to the new rules. On the other hand, the inner world of individuals was expected to be consistent with their secular and modern appearances (157-158). For Işın, Republican etiquette was a criticism of the legacy of the past. To

create a modern society, a new type of etiquette had to be put forward for social life. The adoption of modern etiquette by society was also important for Republican ideology as it proved to the Western world how civilized Turkish society was (166).

3.3. Etiquette Books and Authors, 1930-1943

In this thesis, I focus on twelve etiquette books published in Turkey between 1930 and 1943. This period is important to understand the economic, political, and cultural changes that occurred in Turkey and their effects on Turkish society. This era was consciously chosen to explore how early Republican Turkey's modernization process was reflected in etiquette books. All of the books instruct the reader in how a modern and civilized person should act in social environments. Anything related to everyday life, such as the regulations on attire, behavior, entertainment, and so on are arranged in a Western style in accordance with the modernization discourse of the Republic.

Indeed, the etiquette books under study are all based on Western etiquette. Most books were translated from European, usually French, sources. However, they are not verbatim translations but mostly adaptations. Nine books out of twelve were published under the title of "etiquette," but two books which belong to Zeki Zeren have also been analyzed because their content is related to social manners and the rules of social life. Two writers are represented by two distinct books, making this a study of ten writers, comprising three women and seven men. These authors are in general teachers, doctors or military officers. While female conduct is seen as very important for these etiquette writers, and the majority of their books seem addressed to women and girls, only a few of the books obviously mention "women" or "girls" in their titles. Female writers do not have a unique voice or style in their etiquette books and they do not offer prescriptions that differ from those of male authors. Rather, they reinforce the sexist views of the latter.

Ömer Lütfü, a major, wrote *Adabı Muaşeret Konferansı. Hayatı İçtimaiye* (Conference on Etiquette. Social Life) in 1930. His book comprises modern etiquette for the newly established social life. Even though it was written for military officers, it also details conduct rules for the rest of society, and especially for women. For Ömer Lütfü, the natural rights that people have could be divided into three parts which were the rights to live, to have discipline, and to have an education. Thus, he

believes that, to qualify for the first right, individuals should be disciplined and taught according to the requirements modern life (Ömer Lütfü 1930, 3-7).

Feliha Sedat [Oksal], a teacher of philosophy and sociology, wrote her etiquette book for young girls during this period: *Genç Kızlara Muaşeret Usulleri* (Etiquette for Young Girls), published in 1932. The argument of her book is mainly about preparing women physically and morally for the newly formed society. The content of the book entails only female conduct and its sections are divided under the subheadings of decency and politeness, knowledge, attire, the girl in her house, sports and entertainment, and society and the girl.

Yeni Adabi Muaşeret (The New Etiquette) was written by Muhittin Dalkılıç in 1932. His book provides the details of “the newest” etiquette for manners and physical appearances necessary for the newly established modern society. He defines the main motto of his book as moving from the “old etiquette toward the modern: the new century, the new life, the new love, and the new family” (Dalkılıç 1932, 1).

These writers also tried to disseminate modern etiquette to the wider masses through public organizations. *Adabi Muaşeret* (Etiquette) are the published notes of Hüsni Savaşçın who gave a series of conferences in the Kayseri community center in 1938. It is a booklet of twenty-three pages that was distributed to readers free of charge by the administrative committee of the center. The booklet emphasizes modern manners, and explains how men and women should behave at home and in the community. The conduct rules for greeting, introductions, shaking and kissing of the hands, dining, and so on, are illustrated with examples.

Samih Nafiz Tansu wrote *Talebeye Muaşeret Usulleri* (Etiquette for Students) in 1939, the fifteenth anniversary of the Turkish Republic and the year İsmet İnönü became president. Tansu firstly reminds the children that the country had been created by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and then refers to the new leader İnönü, warning the young to keep their promise by being honorable, dignified, and decent citizens of the country (Tansu 1939, 3). Tansu explains how every male and female student should act in school, at home, and in society. In addition, in order to be a “complete man”, he recommends Turkish readers to know and practice etiquette rules (4).

Süheylâ Muzaffer wrote *Subay - Asker - Memur - Mektepli ve Umumiyetle Herkes İçin Modern Adabı Muaşeret* (Modern Etiquette for Officers, Soldiers, Civil Servants, Students, and Generally Everyone) in 1939. For her, the country is in need of this work and her mission is to teach etiquette rules to her people. In addition, she asserts that her book meets the need for an etiquette book written according to Republican discourse. Her book differs from other books in its classification of etiquette, which she divides into individual, social, national, formal, and international etiquettes. The last three of these categories are unique to her book.

Feliha Sedat Oksal published her second book, *Genç Kız Yetişirken* (As a Young Girl Grows Up), in 1940. Here, she emphasizes the significance of the “soul” during the internalization of modern etiquette. Accordingly, the control of both soul and body is the main goal of etiquette. Indeed, in this book, external appearance is seen as a “cover” which is meaningless without taking into account inner feelings. Feliha Sedat intends to educate girls both morally and mentally and she wants them to apply etiquette with a unity of soul and mind. Her book is divided under the headings of “social circle” in training girls, moral education, physical training of girls, practical training, training girls in terms of aesthetics and taste, and advice for them in social life (Oksal 1940, 167-168).

Also in 1940, Zeren wrote *Sihhat, Terbiye ve Giyim Hakkında Umumi Prensipler ve Âdetler* (General Principles and Customs about Health, Manners, and Dress). This book was intended to educate the stubborn inexperienced people who could not accept the deficiencies in themselves regarding discipline, etiquette, and morality (Zeren 1940, 6). This book prioritizes the rules to protect personal and public health, detailing conduct rules for behavior, clothes, entertainment, and walking in the street, and so on.

Sosyal Tam Âdâbı Muaşeret (Complete Social Etiquette) was written by the French tutor of the old artillery academy, the military author Bahri Özdeniz, in 1942. He considered the book a guide to the benefits of social life, international etiquette, the methods and principles of decency, education, etiquette and ceremony, the elegance of women and their attire, travelling, guidelines for everyday life, and the particular roles and other details to be successful in social life (Özdeniz 1942, 1). Unlike other etiquette writers, Özdeniz begins his book with a short paragraph entitled “the

presence/existence of God” and asks everyone to have a faith in God (Özdeniz 1942, 3). Then, he reproduces Atatürk’s 1927 address to Turkish youth and “National Chief” İsmet İnönü’s address to Turkish youth (4-5). After that, he provides two stanzas of the Turkish national anthem and includes his own poem which follows the national anthem in respect to both content and form (Özdeniz 1942, 3-6).

Halk ve Talebeye Muâşeret Bilgileri. Yemekte Muâşeret Ziyâfet Masaları Tertibi. (Etiquette for the People and the Students. Etiquette for the Dinner and Banquet Table) was written by home administration teacher Süheylâ Arel in 1943. This book provides rules of etiquette for the practical activities of daily life. In addition, it also involves the rules for formal tables and everyday family tables.

Turan Aziz Beler’s *Görgü* (Etiquette) was published in 1943, and is an adapted translation of a work by the Viennese sociologist and writer Dr. Andreas Gottfried. Beler adapted the translation by rearranging it for the social conditions of Turkish society, and he declares the work to have been prepared attentively in accordance with customs and social conventions (Belers 1943, 14).

In 1943, Zeki Zeren wrote *Bekârlık ve Evlilik (Bilgisi ve Öğütleri)* (Knowledge and Advice for Bachelorhood and Married Life). In his book, he gives advice to both single and married people about male and female sexuality, sexual activities, and hygiene. He writes that it is his different identities of family man and family physician that have led him to write such a book to enlighten society. He asserts that his book is the first semi-scientific work about sexual life and family life written in accordance with social norms during the early Republican period. He also wants his readers to consider his book as a sort of anatomy book, and explains his intention to use medical terms when writing about sexual organs and detailing sexual life (Zeren 1943, 6).

3.4. Overview of Republican Etiquette, 1930-1943

From the writings of contemporary etiquette experts, it is clear that the early Republican period regarded etiquette as part of the Turkish modernization and civilization project. According to one etiquette author, Hüsnü Savaşın, after saving women from both “the cage” and “the veil” and overcoming bigoted thoughts and

beliefs, the Turkish revolution has made Western civilized manners a national target. To this way of thinking, a good command of etiquette also gains importance as more women begin to appear in the public sphere as compared to the Ottoman period. Therefore, for Savaşçın, it has become necessary not only to regulate the relations between men and women in accordance with civilized norms, but also to set certain “limitations” on female visibility in social life (Savaşçın 1938, 2-3).

Applying the rules of conduct is considered a national and social duty. Ömer Lütfü asserts that a person comes into the world to fulfill his or her duties, and that his or her duty is to know how to live in a civilized way among civilized people. The individual is thus held responsible not just for himself and his family but also for society and the nation. Since he/she is charged with representing his/her country, social etiquette, for Ömer Lütfü, should be learned and followed so as not to harm or undermine the position of the nation or society (Ömer Lütfü 1930, 4-8).

Knowledge of etiquette is thus seen as mandatory for the cultivation of ideal citizens. Samih Nafiz Tansu considers being an honorable, dignified and decent citizen as a promise to the country. Therefore, for him, to be a “complete” citizen requires one to follow the principles of etiquette (Tansu 1939, 3-4). Likewise, Zeki Zeren explains the main objective of his book as cultivating a civilized and modern man who could be “acceptable” to the new society, for which knowledge of etiquette is necessary (Zeren 1940, 9).

Etiquette, for some of the writers, is more than the practice of civilized manners. Savaşçın considers it a kind of “science” whose laws everyone is obliged to apply both in private and public spaces. Indeed, etiquette is not inherited but learned. Since there is no school to teach etiquette, it should be learned either by asking one who knows or by reading books of manners. Anyone who does not know this “science” is bound to feel humiliation in society. Practicing the rules of etiquette is necessary for all members of society without exception. For him, “anyone who says ‘I’m a good person’” has to know etiquette (Savaşçın 1938, 2).

Republican etiquette provides cultural information for social ascent to those who seek to improve their position. Bahri Özdeniz admits that he wrote his book for those who are preparing for society life, for those who travel to foreign countries, for the young man who chooses diplomacy as his profession, and lastly for the people of the

country who are candidates for a good future and life (Özdeniz 1942, 7). Along with social mobility, a good command of etiquette is also thought to provide personal success. For Özdeniz, to be considered a polite person, to have a place in society, one has to show courtesy and respect to other people. The decency, virtue, education, and refinement acquired with etiquette can provide one with a good reputation as well (Özdeniz 1942, 7).

Indeed, privileges and distinctions in Republican society began to be determined by the standard of modern etiquette. The main argument of all the etiquette books of this period is that, since Ottoman customs and etiquette were now outdated and invalid, modern rules had to be written to distinguish the new etiquette from the conventional one. According to Ömer Lütfü, knowledge of modern etiquette, written in accordance with modern requirements, is necessary for an individual even to have the right to take his place in social life (Ömer Lütfü 1930). Here, again, the drive to “catch up with contemporary civilization” and the central role accorded in this project to manners are reminiscent of Elias. In addition, the newest and most elaborate forms of modern etiquette are intended for individuals on the rise. Muhittin Dalkılıç emphasizes that new reforms also require a relinquishing of Ottoman customs which do not suit contemporary etiquette. He maintains that, up to the end of the time of the sultans, though some of the customs in social life are “weird”, because they have been internalized deeply, any disobedience to them is seen as impertinent and vulgar. The new reforms thus also revolutionize local customs and Turks have to accept new etiquette. For Dalkılıç, at that time, Turkey is rejecting etiquette rules from fifteen years earlier (Dalkılıç 1932, 7). For Süheylâ Muzaffer, etiquette by its nature shows an alteration according to social changes, and asserts that her etiquette book has been modernized according to Republican conditions. Contrary to the books of the old period, her book is written according to Western sources and thus eschews a conservative and strict style (Muzaffer 1939, 5).

Republican etiquette writers addressed most of their advice on proper behavior and physical appearance to a broad readership, especially to the new middle class. The revolutionary origins of this advice indicate that its aim is to help rising individuals be civilized. Yet, the writers make it clear that they do not include the lower classes or “peasants” in their broader audience. Even though Zeren says that his book will be useful for the whole society, he declares that he writes his book to those whose

position, income and character requires mastery of rules of etiquette (Zeren 1940, 10). Bourdieu's argument that cultural capital provides the ruling class with distinction is well illustrated by this approach.

Gender expectations were of particular interest in this period and etiquette writers began to address more works to women than to men—an important difference from the imperial period. Girls in particular are charged by both male and female writers with the construction of ideal female citizen. In her *Genç Kızlara Muşeret Usulleri* (Etiquette for Young Girls), Feliha Sedat mentions that “Life has changed; society has changed. Who has felt this great and glorious revolution as much as a young girl?” ([Oksal] 1932, 3). Publication of etiquette books is seen as necessary to enable girls to adapt to the new life. Feliha Sedat states that the reforms can be considered a redeemer of the young girls because though yesterday's Ottoman girl might be described as “poor,” she could now compete with men in every field. According to Feliha Sedat, the new life had created a lively, dignified, cheerful type of girl, in contrast to the shy, timid, veiled, poor girls of the past. In other words, the civilized girls had now become part of civilized life and had acquired certain rights that men had. She hoped that etiquette book would help answer the questions and teach the right manners to girls who had been newly saved from the superstitions and obligations of the past (3).

Turkish girls are idealized in the book of Feliha Sedat because she thinks that the girls have pure and good characters. Nevertheless, she presents her etiquette book to eliminate any uncertainty and guide these inexperienced and sensitive girls on a dark road. Feliha Sedat's main objective is to correct the young girls' wrong manners and point them in the right direction (Oksal 1940, 6). Feliha Sedat declares that her etiquette book will enable girls to easily control their manners with respect to the necessities of the “new life”. Therefore, she admits her real intention to write such a book in order to regulate the manners of the girls by providing new rights and duties according to social and moral norms. Actually, she states that her book undertakes to prepare the girls for “the new Republican life” which has to be shaped by leaving the old habits. In one respect, the young girls in the new life should have civil manners and appearance in compliance with Republican ideology. The main goal is to leave the “old” to keep up with modern times. As a female writer, Feliha Sedat declares herself responsible for educating girls as a “patriotic citizen” in accordance with

Republican discourse. Feliha Sedat writes to help the girls to discover themselves while taking into account their life and social surroundings in terms of national identity. The main target is to enable girls to conquer themselves. This is seen as a great victory that will auspiciously affect not only the life of women but also the national entity (Oksal 1940, 7-10). Here, Foucault's concept of governmentality and his emphasis on the disciplined body provide a useful analytical framework.

Etiquette books, in general, adopt a new moral discourse which is applied differently from that in the past. The moralistic content of the modern etiquette books is based neither on a religious frame of reference nor any religious duties seen as an obligation for a civilized person. However, though etiquette books do stress the secular aspect of this new moral discourse, they nevertheless implicitly take greater inspiration from Islamic thought and morality when adapting Western etiquette to Turkish norms. In a way, there are some parameters when emulating Western conduct which are processed only with the maintenance of national and moral identities. For these authors, it is not right to get behind the times and to be indifferent to the necessities of modern life. At the same time, adopting the changes in modern etiquette does not mean that one will abandon one's moral customs and national values through unconsciously emulating everything without careful consideration (Ömer Lütfü 1930, 6). Furthermore, the moralistic content of Republican etiquette books redefines "decorum" in manners and attire for women much more than for men. Terms such as "modesty" and "decency", within a gendered context, are thus used to define "acceptable" female citizens ([Oksal] 1932; Oksal 1940).

Republican etiquette books are written from an explicitly nationalist perspective. Republican citizens are desired to be civilized on the one hand, and to protect their national identity on the other. The continuous emphasis on the definition of civilized and modern citizen in manners and in lifestyles undoubtedly overlapped with the new regime's nationalist ideology. While nearly all the books touch on nationalist views, Süheylâ Muzaffer sets herself apart from early etiquette books by providing a separate section entitled "national etiquette" to teach civic duties. For her, adoption of "national etiquette" is a national duty and a sign of patriotism. She stresses the importance of Turkish national unity and of social duties in the era of the newly established regime. For her, today's communities, that is, nations, prioritize

nationalism. With the removal of difference in religion and sectarianism, the new movements are constructed on national unity. For instance, language and dress can say a lot about national qualities. While every nation has a history, the Turkish nation has a great and glorious history necessitating greater national duties than do other nations (Muzaffer 1939, 171-172).

According to Muzaffer, the true practice of “national etiquette” is a national duty that expects obedience from every segment of society. She mentions that one of these duties is knowing the history of Turks thoroughly, a history that started anew with the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. For her, in acknowledging of Turkish history, not only must Turks know themselves, but they must also come to understand the Turkish leaders, particularly Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and İsmet İnönü (171). Muzaffer also emphasizes the sacredness of military service for society. Therefore, showing respect to and love for the military rather than being frightened of soldiers, is a significant requirement of national etiquette. Moreover, her “national etiquette” entails different rules such as respecting the national flag, speaking Turkish rather than other languages, and even not throwing away a cigarette but if the symbol of crescent and star appear on it. In addition, congratulating one another on national holidays was also an important part of national etiquette (174).

Savaşçın also writes about etiquette in an explicitly nationalist tone. In his conference publication, he specifies the significance of national etiquette rules. He mentions that since it carries the nation’s honor and glory, it is one’s duty to salute the flag. He, therefore, instructs the reader in how the flag is to be saluted with respect, and what he/she should do during the performance of the Turkish national anthem, detailing the proper bodily movements (Savaşçın 1938, 5-6). Along with the flag, showing respect to the president, members of the army, the police, and to government officials is considered a significant civic duty. Likewise, for Tansu, because the army and the police represent the state, people should not go against them but rather obey their orders (Tansu 1939, 57-59). Also, since the prosperity of the nation is important, students are also asked to pray to God before sleeping for prosperity, honor, a long life, and a bright future for their families, friends, the country, and its elders (30). Özdeniz was a teacher in a military academy and his books contain many references to the army. By generally emphasizing the sense of national duty of soldiers to protect the country, he asks the reader not to fail to

respect for them (Özdeniz 1942). In addition, even in theatres, national qualities should be displayed such as the courage, bravery, fortitude, and unselfishness of Turkish heroes, while the nation's wars, victories, and struggle for independence should be shown on the stage particularly for the benefit of youth and children (144).

CHAPTER 4

GENDER AND CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship, in its simplest sense, can be considered as a relationship between an individual and the state which generally describes an individual with legal rights within a given political order. However, citizenship is also a broader concept than its purely legal definition. T. H. Marshall's concept of citizenship focuses on a social status that is a "full membership" of a particular community which entails civil, political, and social rights (Marshall 1992). But this membership is not available to all members or segments of the national community. Citizenship is also constructed in terms of the possibility of exclusion from the public sphere as a part of bargain between the state and its member citizens (Yuval-Davis, 1997). In terms of gender, women are often seen as second-class members of the political community. Although constitutions are meant to be written in gender-neutral language, state institutions and political policies can in practice promote a male model of citizenship. In this chapter, I will discuss how the notion of citizenship is gendered and examine the status of women in modern societies.

Gender is determined by social conditions as well as by economic, cultural, historical, and ideological factors. Because it is socially and culturally constructed, it is bound to expectations, behaviors, roles, representations, and sometimes to values and beliefs that are specific to either men or women (Butler 1999). It is also developed as a system of ideologies and social relations that can affect other institutions and relations. Thus, it should be no surprise that gendered outcomes are also traced in the formation of citizenship. For Nira Yuval Davis, women are exposed to very different definitions of citizenship compared to men. The duality in the application of women's citizenship is that women are not only included in the general citizenry, but are furthermore held responsible for specific regulations and policies because of their gender identity (Yuval-Davis 2010, 58). As political and civil rights are granted unequally to men and women, with women "often excluded from the collective 'we' of the body politic," their 'otherness' becomes legitimized (Yuval-Davis 1997, 47).

Citizenship cannot be thought independently from patriarchy. First and foremost, it is clear that, in the distinction of public and private spheres, the public sphere is attributed to the political sphere of men and the private sphere relates to the family domain where women are located. Thus, Carole Pateman emphasizes the public-private separation in the construction of the patriarchal concept of citizenship. For her, the concepts of “citizen” and “civil society” should be read as masculine. She mentions that “the social contract presupposed the sexual contract, and that civil freedom presupposed patriarchal right” (Pateman 1988, x). Barbara Hobson also analyzes the masculine nature of citizenship. For Hobson, in terms of rights and duties, women and men experience citizenship differently. While men become privileged members of a community through paid work, women are seen as “lesser citizens [because of] a lack respect for their contribution as mothers and [caregivers]” (Hobson 2000, xix).

Modernization and citizenship are closely interrelated since citizenship as a gendered concept is constructed within the modernization process. In both industrialized societies and those societies which have experienced colonialism, women cannot be seen as “full” citizens and their citizenship becomes problematic. The rest of this chapter will be about the two types of societies and their approaches to citizenship in respect to gender.

Although the differentiated roles and responsibilities of men and women did not emerge with modernity, modern capitalism institutionalized these roles socially and economically. Industrialization in the last half of the nineteenth century corresponded to a period of far-ranging social changes. The men who owned the capital and factory workers engaged in conflict on the basis of their class interests. That period was also important since the changes in social life also affected gender roles in the early industrialized societies. The changing social structure of societies generated and maintained gender-based inequalities, along with other social inequalities and hierarchical divisions. In this period, the concept of “modern family” was defined within a public-private dichotomy based on a male breadwinner and a female responsible for household chores. Under this model, the new familial ideology supported a strict division of labor between husband and wife. Actually, working class and middle class women were exposed to the similar attitudes of masculine dominance. Thus, the women in both classes were relegated to a “housewife”

position by both working class and bourgeois men. One of the main targets was that while public patriarchy would guarantee male control over the family, in the private sphere, women would depend on their husbands financially and the role of men as the sole breadwinners of their families would be maintained. Accordingly, working class women were paid lower wages and were segregated from male employees. This was an attempt to exclude those women from paid work and send them to their private space that it was also supported by the legal system. On the other hand, the new urban family's children were raised in a modern style and had modern houses designed around an assumption of middle class women's role as mother and housewife (Sancar 2012, 28-31).

During this period, power was allocated to men unequally because of the organization of society, politics, and the workplace. While citizenship was defined in the public sphere, the citizen's position was guaranteed with his paid labor. Modern political parties, unions, parliaments, and bureaucratic apparatuses were constructed around the male experience. Since women were excluded from public citizenship and constrained within the private sphere and motherhood, their citizenship was regarded as second class by the patriarchy. They could not be active in political and economic spheres and their roles were constrained to those of homemaker and consumer (31). However, women were not entirely quiet or passive and fought against the gender inequality of modern societies, bringing about the first and second feminist movements (33).

Actually, the status of women as citizens not only became problematic in early industrialized societies but also in non-Western nation-states. Nira Yuval-Davis argues that men and women's different citizenships were formed in accordance with different needs during the national state-building process. Women's citizenship was constructed differently, leading to a different set of citizenship rights (Yuval-Davis 1997). Under the threat of imperialism, third world countries focused on creating a new society and a new state within the nationalist paradigm. To protect their cultural identities, they felt that building a nation state was compulsory, and the nationalist idea adopts the notion of "being modern but not like the West." Hence, while Western technology and science were adopted and celebrated, the new nations tried to maintain their cultural values backstage. In particular, women became significant symbols of nationalist imagery and culture, and it was their identity that was

expected to emphasize the nation's "difference" from the West. Thus, women's bodies, sexuality, attire, and manners were always in question within the nationalist perspective (Sancar 2012, 43-51).

The modernization movement in non-Western states caused different gendered positions. National policies often restrained the involvement of women in political affairs. While these policies provided a "unity" and solidarity among men, women were excluded from this solidarity which was the basis of equality only within male citizenship (Sancar 2012, 65). The new states regulated their rights and policies by strengthening the masculinity of the public sphere and the femininity of the private sphere. Thus, for Moghadam, the modern non-Western states, even if unintentionally, followed the early Western model whereby women as citizens were not decision makers (Moghadam 1999). Thus, while men were responsible for establishing the state in order to rule the nation, women were only "supporters" of this "rule" from the private sphere. Their national duties were determined within the borders of certain feminine roles as part of what Serpil Sancar calls the "feminine nation-building" process (Sancar 2012, 206).

The edited book *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East* analyzes how citizenship is practiced in Middle Eastern states and its different application to men and women. In this book, in the article entitled "Gendering Citizenship in the Middle East," Suad Joseph's theoretical discussion of gender and citizenship focuses on how citizenship can be evaluated within gendered concepts, and how it can serve to maintain male supremacy and privilege. For Joseph, citizenship is not just a legal process but can be evaluated within gendered and cultured terms. Since cultural definitions of citizenship treat men and women differently, this differing relationship between men and women is reflected in the application of laws and practices of citizenship in Middle Eastern States (Joseph 2000b, 3-4).

The position of women in Middle Eastern states is defined differently in different geographical locations and in different historical periods. In the Middle Eastern context, "woman" as category always stands for something else and becomes a symbol in particular discourses. For Joseph, the bodies and behaviors of women become important signifiers of national movements (Joseph 2000b, 6): the usage of women is closely related to "the imposition of forms of behavioral control on women

in the name of the nation, in the name of liberation, in the name of progress, and in the name of God” (Joseph 2010, 9). On the other hand, the masculine citizen is constructed as a legal subject with certain privileges. Since women are not considered full citizens, nearly all such states limit the political and civic participation of women and constrain their personal rights. In Joseph’s terms, “citizenship is mandatory in the modern “nation state” [but] the modern nation-state has mandated a masculine citizen” (Joseph 2000b, 4). While male citizens have privileged positions, women are relegated to lower positions. Because female citizenship is defined in male terms, women are subjected to patriarchal laws and regulations (Lazreg 2000). Women do not experience citizenship in the same way as men, both as women and because their female identity and role can be further complicated when they are considered as members of a class, race, ethnicity or regional identity. Thus, “the intersections of citizenship and gender” have affected “the lived realities of women in the region” (Joseph 2000b, 30).

In the Middle Eastern context, nation, state, religion, and family are different forms of patriarchy and have a great impact on the gendering of citizenship. Nation-states use women as icons and symbols of their political discourses. Women are often the main figures of nation and state building processes and are always used to carry out the revolutionary projects. For Joseph, modernizing regimes such as those in Iraq, Iran, and Turkey all supported women’s education, presence in labor market, reform of dress, and integration into the political process. However, women were only the emblems of the transformation of the nation states, and all this was done in the name of modernity. Women’s experience of citizenship shows that they are at the center of conflicting demands of nation and state building (Joseph 2000b, 6-7). On the other hand, women as symbols of the nation become important figures of the boundaries of the nation which are defined with various regulations and laws (Joseph 2000a).

In the paragraphs that follow, the concept of citizenship is discussed within the Middle Eastern context; Turkey will be analyzed later. In Middle Eastern states, religion is another significant aspect in the gendering of citizenship. Religious institutions generally support patriarchy through their support of patrilineality. Gendered citizenship dynamics emerge from discourses of family and religion as institutions maintained by the state. In the Middle East, the roles and responsibilities of women are often determined by reinterpreting the Islamic texts (Hoodfar 2000).

The family is also important in constructing gendered citizenship. It acts as a mediator that articulates gender relations. It is not an autonomous institution governed by male authorities (Joseph 2000b, 17). Since religious codes determine family law, the practices and laws of citizenship are shaped by the power of religion (Hale 2000). Citizens' position in a family determines their status in their relation with the state. The image of the national woman provides a sense of "belonging" to a kin community, to the home and the family. Most Middle Eastern states confer citizenship through patriarchal blood ties and have permitted fathers—but not mothers—to pass citizenship on to their children (Joseph 2000b, 8).

The interaction between women and the state is through their position as members of patriarchal families. Soraya Altorki maintains that the identity of women as citizens is problematic; not only they are excluded from certain state entailments, but also they are exposed to many legal and customary restrictions (Altorki 2000). Most Middle Eastern states, rather than focus on personal status, recognize religious authorities. Thus women are subjected to the patriarchal control of male relatives as well as clerics. While the men do not have any mediator for citizenship legislation in Jordan, women have to get the consent of the family members (Amawi 2000). Mervat Hatem emphasizes the masculine character of Egyptian nationalist discourse about citizenship as well. Generally the constitution in Egypt only recognizes adult male citizens as members with a right to vote and participate in self-government. While the male citizens have this privilege status, women are not included in the definition of "the Egyptian people" (Hatem 2000). The patriarchal character of citizenship is formed on the grounds that citizenship is based on the family and religion rather than the individual. Thus, in religious communities, family law gains importance in citizenship (Joseph 2010, 12).

In their study of Kuwait, Haya Al-Mughni and Mary Ann Tetreault argue that women, rather than being seen as individuals, are seen as members of a family "whose rights and duties are defined in relation to their kinsmen." Men act as the protectors of women in order to guarantee "their honor is preserved and their sexuality remains under control." Women's social, political, and economic rights are therefore at the mercy of male authority. In addition, Kuwait's personal status law legitimizes male control over women. While men have to support their families, women have to comply with their husbands and rear their children (Al-Mughni and

Tetreault 2000, 247). Women's labor participation is lower than that of men and they also get lower wages (253). Suffrage and political participation were achieved very late (255).

Male citizenship is constituted as primary through the male roles as the head of patriarchal families. In addition, women's political and social dependence on the authority of men consigns them to a secondary position. All this indicates that citizenship is a gendered process, and that it designates an unequal position for men and women, with different laws and regulations applying to each sex. Thus, gender discrimination is seen and experienced differently in the various patriarchal systems.

4.1. Gender and Citizenship in Turkey

Citizenship was based on masculine authority from Ottoman times to the Republican period. Male privileges as citizens in the public and political domains came from their hegemonic status in the private/domestic sphere in which male privilege was supported by social laws and policy. In this section, I will examine the concept of gendered citizenship in effect in Turkey. I intend to analyze how citizenship applied men and women in different forms throughout Turkey's historical process. I will try to express the difference between applying of practice and laws and equality legislations during the process of nation-state building.

The position of women in contemporary Turkey has been shaped within the historical process of modernization, with the modernist mentality, defined by men in each period, assuming women as a "problem" to be solved. Women thus became the tools of successive ideologies and the category of "woman" was at the center of different ideological projects. From the nineteenth century, and particularly from the beginnings of the Tanzimat Period, the women's question formed one of the major issues in social debate, first among the Tanzimat reformers, then among the Young Turks, and finally, among the Republican elites. Thus, the "woman question" emerged as a political question that was integrated into ideological positions in debates on women and the family throughout the transition from Ottoman Empire to Turkish nation state. During this transition, women appeared "first as objects of political discourse and later as political actors and citizens" (Kandiyoti 1991, 42).

4.1.1. The Ottoman Period

The social position of women started to be discussed with the attempts at modernization during the Tanzimat period, as well as with the tendency to emulate Western social models. During this period, one of the changes in traditional social norms was the argument over the social status of Muslim women living in the cities. Raising the social status of women and regulating their social life as well as their legal rights indicates a conservative mode of modernization. Almost no women became part of these debates. Yet, male reformers spoke on behalf of women to define conservative norms for women, such as a good wife, a good mother, and a good Muslim. Therefore, Islam became the sole “legitimate terrain in which issues relating to women could be debated” relative to notions of Westernized progress (Kandiyoti 1991, 26). Such debates over the moral degeneration of women were also carried on over women’s heads. For Ottoman Westernists, civilization could be attained only with the isolation of women from religious rules and conventions. Yet, for Ottoman conservatives, freedoms granted to women could cause moral decadence (Göle 2010, 29).

In the late Ottoman period, women’s citizenship rights began to be discussed. However, the debates were generally over civil rights rather than political rights. In the legal plan of the Ottoman period, even the smallest attempts in favor of women’s emancipation failed. While Western influence was seen in some branches of law, everything related to women’s rights was kept out of reach of Western effect (Caporal 1999, 11). In that period, women were neither individuals nor citizens, but their identity was constructed purely as mothers and wives within the family unit (Kadıoğlu 1998, 92).

During the Second Constitutional Period, women were able to participate more in public space and gain social visibility. Yet, there were also official reactions against this situation. As women crossed the line of “privacy”, the state tried to control the life of women by rescript (Göle 2010, 70). In this period, women were more active than ever before and struggled for their rights by founding different associations and publishing new journals as active participants in the social life (Çakır 1994). Although some steps were taken towards women’s emancipation, the position of

women and the family had to be preserved by the state within private borders so as not to spoil cultural integrity.

The different movements which emerged in the Second Constitutional Period, such as Westernism, Islamism and Turkism, differed on the issue of women's rights (Tunaya 1960, 77). The first movement suggested changes in the position of women according to that in Western culture and a relinquishing of local gendered values. On the other hand, the Islamic movement represented the antithesis of Westernization and insisted on the isolation of women from public space in the name of protecting the unity of the family and Islamic morality. Lastly, Turkism also tended to portray women according to her role in the family. Consequently, all three movements took women as instruments of their discourse by charging them with the impossible task of providing balance between conventionality and modernity. Thus, the common point of all these three movements was to see women as the object of their great social projects and to define women within the family, even if some of these also encouraged women's public visibility (Kadıoğlu 1998, 92-93).

With the second constitutional period, citizenship law was regulated and the issue of citizenship moved onto legal ground for the first time. The modern administration of this period was based on the "equality" principle. However, the unsuccessful attempts to regulate family law, adultery, and the rights of women show that women were still not part of that "equality" (Caporal 1999, 125). The men of the period continued their struggles to be modern and citizens, but women only seemed to be able to support it by following these struggles from the "private sphere" (Üstel 2009, 114).

4.1.2. The Republican Period

After industrialization, Western capitalism was more able than ever to fulfill its desire to colonize non-Western countries. Therefore, these countries strove to establish nation-states to protect the existing social and political order against the threat of colonization, and the politics of nation state building were shaped by the idea of anti-colonial nationalism. Modernization as a requirement of the era was intertwined with nation building politics. The nationalization processes primarily focused on establishing a new state to create a modern society in accordance with the

nationalist sentiments of political elites. In the face of imperialism, building a nation state became practically compulsory (Sancar 2012, 43). Contemporary Turkish reformers also established a regime based on national identity in order to build an independent nation and avoid the hegemony of Western authority (44).

Even though it was constituted under the influence of West, the nationalist idea of Turkish modernization had to stress its ‘difference’ from the West in order to distinguish and define itself. This difference was constructed via the injunction to “be modern but not like the West” (Sancar 2004, 204). Defining what was different from the West constituted the basic structuring strategy of gender. In exchange for representing national culture and the honor of nation, women received the privilege of public visibility. However, rather than having equal citizenship status with men, modern Turkish women became cultural symbols. Hence, as cultural symbols, they could not speak or struggle in the name of their own problems; they could only “show” without subjectivity or agency (205). While imitating the technical and technological opportunities of the West was an important strategy of Turkish modernism, this imitation was an ambivalent one because it stood for social corruption. In other words, over-Westernization was represented as overconsumption, idealization of social parasitism, and a lifestyle based on sexuality. For Sancar, the close relation with the West meant the corruption the society, family, and moral values. Thus, women’s freedom was shaped according to their relation to the West (206).

Nükhet Sirman sees the construction of the new woman and the family within national values as an important strategy to create power over the cultural hegemony of the West (Sirman 2002). In order to protect cultural power, female citizens were constructed as a “difference” from the West, becoming one of the important ideological pawns of the nation state. Thus, as key signs of Turkey’s non-Western identity, woman, family, and sexual ethics were rearranged by the modern Turkish elites. The modern appearance of the “new woman” of the Turkish Republic, as both the object and carrier of the Republican modernization project, came to represent the success of the project. Hence, she had to act and dress in a modernized way. From the outset of the modernization efforts, the Turkish woman became a political showcase mannequin. Ayşe Kadioğlu calls her a simulation of modernity and one who was “modern in attire only” (Kadioğlu 1999, 31). Westernization was also determined for

women and defined within the concept of gender. Women were expected to equilibrate between tradition and modernity (ibid.). Nevertheless, women were expected to suppress their sexual identity. Instead of acting as loose women, they had to be quiet, pure, and asexual wives (Kandiyoti 2007).

The politics of the era of Turkish nation-state building demanded that a constituent authority be composed of a male administration and an autonomous identity be created against the hegemony of the West. As in other countries, the articulation of women to this process became controversial. Although women were affected by and co-opted within social reforms, they were unable to take advantage of equal rights in terms of citizenship. They were unable to be active in the political field until 1930s or fight for their rights, but were relegated to a role as mothers of the nation and carriers of national and cultural values. In addition, they could only be free in social areas that were separate from men's. The identity of modern Turkish women thus became a cultural indicator of modern and national Turkish identity rather than indicating women's equal citizenship status (Sancar 2012, 112).

Citizenship can be simply defined as a legal bond which determines the reciprocal relationship between the state and the rights, duties, and obligations of the individual (Aybay 1982, 3). At the establishment of the new state, the Turkish Republic made significant readjustments in the political, economic, and cultural fields. During the early years of single party rule in the nineteen thirties, the state and its political elites tried to condition new citizens who would be compatible with the new regime. According to the 1924 constitution, anyone living within the boundaries of the National Pact (*Misak-ı Milli*) was to be considered a Turkish citizen with equal rights and duties. Therefore, the 1924 Constitution legally equalized all citizens regardless of class, gender, race, or ethnic origin (Aybay 1982, 27). In addition, later Republican reforms claimed to equalize the status of women in society. Hence, the main aim was to replace the image of the Ottoman woman with the ideal Republican woman who had equal rights and responsibilities with men. While democratic efforts struggled for the social and political rights of women, the reconstitution of women as citizens in Turkey was quite problematic. Neither social regulations nor legal frameworks fully recognized women's needs or rights. Women thus had a largely symbolic role in the process of Turkish modernization. In this period, femininity was redefined and women's roles were once again determined from above.

Generally, women were regarded as the educators of society, as mothers, and as teachers. They had to contribute to the project of modernization because it was considered their duty for the sake of nationalist ideology (Arat 2010). The emancipation of women under Kemalism was a part of a broader political project of nation-building and secularization (Kandiyoti 2007). The “women question” became an important tool to break the Republic’s cultural and historical ties with the Ottoman Empire and create a new notion of citizenship. This “new woman” was to be depicted in a thoroughly modern way. Although modernization nominally supported the active life of woman in politics and public spaces, the main idea was to support the role of woman as a modern mother at home and to demand her education for this purpose. The political discourse of the period though apparently supported women’s working in the public sphere, clearly emphasized women’s responsibility for bringing up and educating the modern Turkish generation. In this sense, the advancement of women’s role in society was not for her own benefit, but to enable her to raise well-educated men for the sake of the national community (Durakbaşa 1998).

In the Republican period, the concept of citizenship was defined within the framework of the “common good” (Keyman 1997). Thus, “militant citizens” were expected to act for the sake of the state and perform their national duties (Üstel 2002, 277). The creation of this type of citizen blocked individualism for both men and women. Kadioğlu analyzes this dichotomy between “citizen” and “individual” specifically in terms of women, arguing that Turkish women became citizens before they became individuals. Of course, women gained citizenship status with the proclamation of Turkish Republic, but, since these rights were conferred from above, women did not have a right to comment on their future. On the other hand, the promotion of a uniform image of the modern woman also worked against the development of individuality (Kadioğlu, 1999, 119-127).

Sirman argues for the gendered nature of citizenship in the Turkish context by emphasizing the importance of the construction of the family. For her, creating a new family and a new woman were the main concerns of the nationalist ideologies. She stresses that citizenship was constructed in Turkey through family discourse. Citizens were portrayed, not as individual beings, but as a dominant husband and a dependent wife. This explains how an individual’s position within the family determined his/her

status within the state (Sirman 2009, 163). The traditional gender roles of women were thus reconstructed through the ideology of nationalism and the “social engineering” program of the nation-state. Within the framework of nation-state ideology, for the welfare of society and the development of the next generation, women were assigned a central importance in modernization project due to their role as mothers (Durakbaşa 1998).

Sancar emphasizes that the early modernization period in Turkey had two principal aims: the first was to establish a nation-state that could ensure modernization, while the second was to build a modern family through which the principles of the state would be practiced. This modern family was to be a public role model in the construction of a modern society. For Sancar, this process brought about the gender gap between women and men in the Republic; men and women were assigned different roles in the name and service of modernity. While men were expected to work to establish a modern state, women were to be occupied with the construction of a modern family. Sancar underlines that this situation did not create equality between the sexes because women’s citizenship was suspended between the poles of being “equal citizens with men” and “mother-citizens” (Sancar 2012).

With the proclamation of the Republic, although reforms were carried out ostensibly to develop equal citizenship for the two genders, women were not able to achieve full liberation because of patriarchal restrictions. Citizenship in Turkey, as in most Middle Eastern states, was male oriented and so-called gender neutral citizenship was in fact based on male practices and norms. Thus, patriarchy used laws to confine women to the private sphere, and women’s bodies and sexuality were kept under control in the name of public order (Akman and Tütüncü 2011, 180). Yeşim Arat analyzes the gendered construction of citizenship in Turkey by focusing on the public private dichotomy and patriarchal efforts. Arat sees citizenship in Turkey as “a ruling class strategy” which was initially defined by political elites to promote Westernization. Thus, the rights of Turkish women were based on male-oriented privileges and served the project of Westernism (Arat 2000). For Arat, since the concept of citizenship in Turkey references male norms and experiences, men always-already occupy a privileged position when performing responsibilities for the nation and country. Actually, different rights and responsibilities such as to voting and running for election, paying taxes, and defending the country when necessary

were already attributed to men. Therefore, the main reason for ignoring women as actual citizens was blindness to the barriers they faced in performing the preconditions of citizenship (Y. Arat 1998, 70).

Although Republican discourse accepted the theoretical equality before the law between men and women, gender discrimination can also be seen in some articles of the law itself. With the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, traditional Sharia courts and jurisprudence were abolished and both the Civil and Penal Codes were secularized. In 1926, the Turkish Civil Code was adopted from the Swiss Civil Code and was intended to provide grounds for Turkish women to exercise their citizenship rights. The Civil Code was important in accepting women as equal citizens with men, and was the main tool of the new regime's secularization project to emancipate women from religion and tradition. At first glance, it provided important empowerment for women regarding their rights in the family, marriage, and child custody (Kadioğlu 1998, 93). However, it still did not guarantee full legal equality, even in family law. Thus, women as citizens remained in a second class position.

The legal framework of the Republic showed that the male breadwinner model was adopted for the construction of citizenship, even though this male-dominated model infringed the equality provision of the Constitution (Akman and Tütüncü 2011). According to Article 152 of the Civil Code of 1926, the husband was the head of the family and responsible for providing for it. Article 153 described the wife as responsible for domestic duties and as the helpmate of her husband. In addition, after marriage, she was required to take the surname of her husband. Article 154 asserted that it was the husband who represents the marital union. Women had some right to representation, but this was limited within the legislation (Z. Arat 1998, 56-57). Actually, the Civil Code also legitimized women's economic dependence on men. Article 159 stipulated that a woman could not pursue a profession without the permission of her husband. In addition, society did not see a profession or independent income as a legal right or a means to meet the woman's own needs (57). Along with the Civil Code, gender discrimination can also be seen in the Penal Code and the Labor Code, particularly regarding the criminalization of adultery and abortion and in work-related issues (58).

Indeed, until the mid-1930s, women did not even have equal political rights with men. During the preparation of the 1924 Constitution, women's suffrage was debated in the General Assembly of the Parliament, but the motion to extend political rights to women failed. According to the proposed wording of the 1924 Constitution, every Turk had a right to vote, regardless of sex. However, the majority prevented any attempt to give women equal citizenship rights and the final wording granted the vote to "every male Turk" (Kandiyoti 1991, 38). Nevertheless, Turkish reformers did eventually grant women the right to vote in 1934 and 1935 for general and local elections nearly a decade after the acceptance of the Constitution (Terzioğlu 2010).

The new regime also attempted to isolate women who had been active in the Ottoman feminist movement. In the process of creating a new society, the powerful women of the old regime were perceived as a threat to the newly established society. Therefore, the Republican ideology redefined these women as "Istanbul women," emphasizing their identification with Ottoman history. While these educated and vocal women were looked down upon, Anatolian women were glorified and defined as "real women." The ideal woman of the Republic had to be a hardworking Anatolian woman because she was a producer rather than a consumer (Toska 1998, 77-78). The activist discourse in the women's periodicals of the Second Constitutional Period had claimed political rights for women and struggled against traditional male dominance. In the women's rights discourse of the early years of the Republic, however, women's demands were made in the context of male domination of the modern state, and women's voices were more easily silenced or even "strangled" (Durakbaşı 1998, 37). The Ottoman women's movement that had been regarded as one of the elements of civil society thus gave way to "state feminism" (Abadan-Unat 1998, 328).

Above all, in the early years of the Republic, the supposedly radical reforms to the position of women provided little or no opportunity for women's self-organization. In other words, women took their places in the public space but they were obliged to participate on men's terms and according to men's rules. They in the early Republic were thus expected to suppress their independent demands (Tekeli 1982). Women were not actually passive, but they could only act within the limits drawn by the male political elite. In 1923, a group of women made an attempt to establish a political party called the Women's People's Party (KHF). This party was to be an advocate

for the political and social rights of women. However, permission to found the party was officially denied on the grounds that women's political representation was not constitutionally or legally possible. In response, the association transformed itself into the Turkish Women's Union. Thus, women's collective absence from politics indicates that the demands of women were deliberately ignored by male policy (Zihnioğlu 2003). Yeşim Arat, who has studied the women nominated and elected to Parliament from 1935 on, mentions that 64 percent of women MPs were just spectators, that only a quarter were active members, and that only 3 percent saw themselves as active pioneers (Sancar 2012, 176). Women's active citizenship and participation in politics was characterized as negligence of their domestic duty as "mother-citizens." Indeed, those women who attempted to engage actively in politics alongside men faced social stigma and restraints. The dominant view required a participant but quiet and dignified woman who would not neglect her motherhood and household obligations (177).

It is generally accepted that, with the foundation of the Republic, women embarked on the process of becoming citizens through the newly founded fields of education and the professions. The modern Turkish state is held to have enabled women to be legally equal citizens, in contrast to their segregation and isolation from public space under the Ottoman Empire (Berktaş 1998, 4). Yet, women remained unable to raise an independent consciousness of their continued oppression, not simply due to the external obstacles already mentioned, but also because of an internal one. The inner obstacle was women's notion, encouraged by Republican discourse, that emancipation had been achieved and the ultimate target reached. In other words, they failed to consolidate their legal and political gains to radically question the gender stereotypes in family and society. This showed that, despite all the innovations, the male-dominated structure of culture and power was allowed to continue unchallenged, and that Turkish society remained patriarchal in the Republican period (5).

CHAPTER 5

CLASS AND GENDER ISSUES IN TURKISH REPUBLICAN ETIQUETTE BOOKS

5.1. Physical Appearance

5.1.1. Rules for Dressing

After the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, regulations on dress were aimed at “achieving the level of contemporary civilization,” and legislation encouraged a modern Westernized appearance. With the clothing reform of 1925, some women stopped wearing veils and started to wear modern women’s clothing. Men started to wear hats rather than the fez (Özer 2009, 330-332). Regarding this change in the population’s outward appearance, Republican etiquette books became one of the important instruments teaching the readers of the newly established society how “modern” attire should be. For modern etiquette, good physical appearance and acceptable clothes were important determinants of a civilized person. Therefore, in order to take part in society, gain prestige and be appreciated by others, good dress was considered a must. Indeed, it was the first and foremost consideration (Muzaffer 1939, 110).

In etiquette books, ideal modern dress is expected to meet the requirements of the new civilization by jettisoning the bondage of tradition. According to Dalkılıç, instead of the previous period’s dresses which “cover” the whole body, modern clothes are based on the notion of “openness” (Dalkılıç 1932, 85). In addition, Süheylâ Muzaffer recommends that the clothes of the traditional period, which are a reflection of the old mentality and bigotry, should be abandoned (Muzaffer 1939, 110). For her, “exaggeration” and “ostentation” in clothing are characteristic of the old period and are also outdated. She maintains that a pompous and flamboyant style of dress is one of the important features of the times when the body was veiled completely (110). However, now, the general principle of modern dress is “simple” and “unpretentious”. She recommends a mode of dressing without any ornament or garnish designed to grab the attention of others and which make one look ridiculous (108).

Republican etiquette provides detailed rules for modern dress which varies according to time and space. The style of attire is, therefore, redefined with the term “fashion” which thus acquires a new meaning of “change” and “renewal”. The members of the new class are expected to know the differences between “formal” and “informal” attire (108). Formal attire is a must for government meetings, dinner parties, visits, and balls, and has a significant place in dress etiquette. For instance, the refined man is responsible for wearing formal attire such as a frock coat, tuxedo, morning dress, or redingote (123). Informal attire is for everyday activities such as walking in the street, driving, riding, playing sports, holidaying, and attending summer resorts. For each activity, both men and women have to wear certain clothes which are determined by etiquette rules (118).

The attire of the modern man is determined by certain rules within the borders of what civilized life dictates. Applying the rules of different dress categories for formal or informal occasions and for the changing seasons are enough for the modern man. In terms of accessories, a neck tie and gloves are seen as signifiers of civilization, while a cane and top hat are considered redundant. Actually, in male dress etiquette, only uncleanness, raggedness, or color mismatch make the man seem either ridiculous, outmoded, or uncivilized (35-36).

The modern woman is likewise expected to leave behind the traditional style of attire. Wearing either the veil or a head scarf is considered unsuitable (Savaşçın 1938, 12). Acceptable attire for a modern woman also changes for the different spaces of home, street, city, tea party, ball, beach, dinner party, and workplace. However, the principles of simplicity and modesty are particularly emphasized for female dress, which are also seen as the main signifiers of female refinement (Özdeniz 1942, 72-73). At balls, as they are formal occasions, the refined woman can wear a low-cut dress, provided it be plain and elegant (Ömer Lütfü 1930, 22). In addition, the refined girl can also wear a small low-necked dress to a ball, provided it be plain ([Oksal] 1932, 93). Wearing extravagant jewelry signifies vulgarity, and less ornament that is compatible with a dress shows the stylishness of a woman (Arel 1943, 88). Out of formal environments and in everyday life, dressing in a causal and sporty way are important sign of civility, while a luxurious and pompous everyday style denotes vulgarity (Muzaffer 1939, 120).

Simplicity in female attire is also important from a moral and economic perspective. For Savaşçın, “the real housewives” in the street should wear modest clothes. Obtrusive make-up and dress with a strong perfume are not appropriate for female austerity. Only “loose women” have an inclination for heavy make-up and excessive adornment. Women’s luxury consumption is seen as the enemy of the national economy, and Savaşçın advises simplicity and modesty in female clothes and make-up, giving German’ women’s plainness as an example (Savaşçın 1938, 12).

Contrary to the rules for male attire, the rules for the attire of women are differentiated according to different female categories such as married women, young girls, female students and female children. Before all else, the married woman has to dress according to the desire of her husband (Muzaffer 1939, 36). If she is not with her husband, she should dress more austere and as plainly as possible (37). She should have a separate dress for housekeeping and should not wear the same dress in order to welcome her husband or while with her husband. Unclean or ragged attire is not acceptable. She has to take care of her appearance; if she does not, she will destroy her family (37). According to other rules, whether married or single, all women should dress appropriately for their age. They should not make themselves ridiculous with their clothes. Excessiveness in attire and make-up is unacceptable. They who are overweight should wear corsets. Furthermore, the ideal female dress should not be tight-fitting, too low cut, or too conspicuous, but should be noble, dignified and austere. The woman should avoid of foppishness and solecism in dressing (36-38).

Young girls have certain unavoidable duties about their attire, which should not be ornate or ostentatious. Natural beauty of face and dress is preferred for them. For Feliha Sedat, if a young girl cannot have a plain and modest style of dress, it means that she, in the future, will be a dangerous member of the community ([Oksal] 1932, 62). The girl is to be dressed according to her age. Thus, emulation of the make-up and dress of her mother and older women is not acceptable (Oksal 1940, 161).

The attire of the female student should be under the control of her family. She should pay special attention to her clothes and should not think of carrying any unnecessary apparel other than her school bag and books. Thus, as long as a student acts according to the norms of her school, she will appear ever more beautiful, charming, civilized, and honest. Female students are warned to be plain and dignified in their

physical appearances. Exaggeration in girls' attire and make-up is highly criticized as immoral, though there is no specific interference in boys' appearances (Tansu 1939, 33). For Tansu, a girl is an ideal and important member of society whose beauty and manners represent nobility (Tansu 1939, 35). She should avoid luxury and jewelry. She cannot apply lipstick to her lips, powder to her face, mascara to her eyes, or nail polish to her nails. All such behavior is considered shameful. Washing hair and paying continuous attention to it, dressing neatly, cleaning nails, ears and teeth, and not wearing torn clothes are enough (for girls). Female students should be always dignified, solemn, clean, and attentive. Otherwise, it could be a violation of etiquette (Muzaffer, 22-23).

All these rules make clear that dress is a most important instrument of what Bourdieu calls social distinction for the ruling class. The modern woman, just like the modern man, should not fall behind the trends of the time, yet she has to do it within limits. She can keep up with fashion only by maintaining her "individual characteristics." The ideal female dress, for Dalkılıç, should reflect her individual taste and her character. However, the woman who blindly does what fashion dictates can be no more than an "elegant fashion model" (Dalkılıç 1932, 86). In addition, imitation of the style of hair and dress of actresses is criticized because it causes a woman to lose individuality. According to Dalkılıç, if a woman emulates an actress' attire, hair, or make-up, it means that she has lost self-respect and sold her character in the name of fashion. He maintains that this woman is considered a bad copy of the original one, and will also be seen as vulgar, ignorant, and simple-minded (89-90). Excessive fondness for fashion, since it is particularly attributed to women, is redefined within the moral frame. For Feliha Sedat, the female subjection to fashion as a "slave" is no more than promiscuity and lack of character ([Oksal] 1932, 64).

Along with the moral dimension, economic concerns are also a basis of the criticism of fashion. Thus, the woman, rather than the man, should be careful with what she spends on her attire. Although she is expected to care for her appearance, she is warned not to consume too much time and money on it ([Oksal] 1932). In the nineteen thirties, the effects of the economic crisis of 1929 were also experienced in Turkey. Economizing and saving is therefore seen as compulsory when the economy of country is ailing (Ormanlar 1999, 50-51). But the one who must be thrifty about attire is the woman rather than the man. To save money, Muzaffer recommends

wearing the same dress for similar occasions such as for the balls and tea parties (Muzaffer 1939, 134). Dalkılıç also suggests that women should not wear a different dress for each ball. For him, saving is also seen as the indicator of civilized life. He maintains that while the clothes worn in ancient times were a sign of status, being frugal about clothes is a necessity of modern life. In addition, avoiding unnecessary expense, for him, is a woman's national duty. Therefore, the woman who has no inclination to overspend on clothes will show her fidelity to her country and nation (Dalkılıç 1932, 138).

The ideal feminine dress of the new life should reflect women's elegant taste. However, refinement is also connected with avoiding unnecessary spending on clothes. Therefore, with one dress, a girl can go to many places. For Feliha Sedat, a girl should not buy more than she needs, and even girls in Europe behave like this. The main objective should not be to wear different clothes, but to wear the same clothes with slight changes that make it appear new and clean after many uses ([Oksal] 1932, 60). To realize savings on clothing expenses, Dalkılıç proposes "color harmony" in dress. He outlines the importance of tonality in dressing which he presents as a method known to European women. For him, dressing according to color harmony can lead to savings (Dalkılıç 1932, 91-92). Savaşçın compares German women and Turkish women in terms of thrift. He advises Turkish women to be moderate and avoid luxurious things to aid the country's deteriorated economy. As a result, Turkish women should be "plain and make-up free as German women are" (Savaşçın 1938, 12). Thriftiness is one of the important duties of the moral woman, and spending more than one's budget is a trait attributed to "loose women" and "ridiculous" people (Ömer Lütfü 1930, 22).

For Özdeniz, a woman's main desire is to be considered beautiful and she therefore strives to increase her beauty. Thus, he connects the woman's interest in attire to two dangerous emotions; "desire" for a nice dresses and "jealousy" of other rich women. These "undesirable" feelings can destroy family life and ruin the husband emotionally and economically. Özdeniz maintains that the women, because of their passion for expensive pleasures, can even seduce their husband into fulfilling these luxurious wants. Thus, such female desires, for Özdeniz, may even make the husband a thief or a prisoner, and he links both suicide and homicide to dangerous female aspirations. Women are always warned to be moderate in order not to covet the luxurious

lifestyle of higher class women. Özdeniz states that it is those women who keep to the income of their husband that are “the most acceptable” (Özdeniz 1942, 49-50)

The woman had to have knowledge of the new etiquette in order to do her duty in polite society. One of the important components of the ideal of etiquette that the books of Republic presented was women’s appearance. With the Republican period, legislation on clothing arose due to the Turkish public’s lack of an appropriately “modern” image. Dressing like Western women was perceived as a national objective. According to etiquette books, the attire of the new woman had to be compatible with Western style but within certain limits.

5.1.2. Personal Grooming / “Toilette”

Both the modern man and woman should take special care of their personal grooming, or, in French, “toilette”. The rules for attaining a modern appearance through the appropriate care of the body, as enunciated in the etiquette books, illustrate Foucault’s theory on “disciplining of the body.” The new etiquette obliges the modern man to shave every day. A beard or a moustache on the face makes a man appear not only frivolous but also indifferent; he looks like someone who doesn’t care for the requirements of civilized and modern life. Removing his beard or moustache also makes him appear hygienic and is necessary for active business life (Dalkılıç 1932, 96-97). The man should care for his physical appearance but without exaggeration. In a way, care for his personal appearance should not harm his masculine image. The things that are forbidden for men are having their hair done, plucking their eyebrows, putting powder or moisturizing lotion on the face (except after shaving), applying nail polish, tinting the eyes with kohl, or dying the hair (Muzaffer 1939, 27).

For Muzaffer, a woman writer, in the care of a woman’s appearance, hygiene is extremely important. It is not only related to health but also important for a happy family life. Her personal care is done only to please the husband. A woman has to change her appearance as much as possible for her husband (Muzaffer 1939, 21). A woman has to be well groomed while with her husband, especially at home. She has to know her duty to be a good wife. Therefore, the woman who does not care for herself or her house is criticized as she may reduce to ruin her husband and her

family (37). Thus, personal grooming becomes vital so that “a woman has to be clean and to look after herself” because neglect of her personal hygiene and appearance can cause marital conflict. (20).

For Özdeniz, “a complete woman” is one who prioritizes her attire and personal grooming. In addition, doing domestic work in neat way, arranging the hearth, and looking after the husband are also important for this full or complete womanhood. If she cares for her appearance, she will show the same care for her husband. Özdeniz also maintains that a woman’s complaints about her husband are in fact invalid under the civil code if she doesn’t already care for her personal appearance (Özdeniz 1942, 159).

Early Republican etiquette books focused on the beauty of the female body. For the books, an elegant appearance can be gained through appropriate care of the body. Having a fit body is a new measure of beauty (99). Sports are recommended for women not only for their positive effects for health, but also for reasons of physical beauty (Oksal 1940, 94). Rather than classical athletics, certain new sports are chosen for women, such as swimming, tennis, and rowing because of their suitability for femininity ([Oksal] 1932, 107-111). Hygiene is also necessary in order to be elegant, and nearly every book entails prescriptions for toilette. Personal grooming is highly significant for a modern appearance. Thus, body care is vital for the refined woman, who should always be well-kempt and clean (Muzaffer 1939, 20) and must wash her hair regularly, dress neatly, clean her nails, ears and teeth, and not wear torn clothes (21).

5.2. Etiquette in Public

5.2.1. Rules for the Street

The street was an important part of public space and gained a new meaning with Westernization. It became one of the spaces that were used widely in Republican times compared with the Ottoman period. Indeed, conduct rules for the street have a special place in all etiquette books as they are redefined for the modern man. Self-discipline is considered important in order not to act undesirable ways. In the street, individuals are urged to be more polite, more decent, and have a better command of

manners than ever before. In addition, while decorum is considered necessary, exaggeration in every act is seen as a mistake (Muzaffer 1939, 93).

When people go out in public for any purpose, they walk along the streets to get to their destination. Respect is, therefore, an important principle and a compulsory behavior which should be applied in communal areas. Walking requires special care. All people in the streets should walk on the right side and give precedence to other pedestrians. In order not to collide with other pedestrians, people should walk neither in a great hurry nor too slowly, and three people should not walk arm in arm on the sidewalk. People who carry an umbrella or cane should not swing them in order not to hurt someone else. Also advised against are making practical jokes, using excessive gestures and motions in talking, and laughing (93-95). The attire for the street is also important. Wearing careless or disheveled clothes or those which are worn at home, such as a house dress or pajamas, are considered vulgar (98).

Keeping the streets clean is seen as a must in order to resemble European cities. In addition, blowing one's nose, relieving oneself instead of going to a restroom, dropping litter, talking too loud, being drunk, and singing in the streets are considered deviations from appropriate behavior (97-98). Spitting is also forbidden on the street because the person who spits in the street is acting like uncivil and vulgar (Dalkılıç 1932, 117-118).

While with a woman on the street, the modern man should be careful of his manner and in no way show disrespect. Refinement shows itself in knowing how to walk with a woman. If a man is walking down a street in the company of a woman, he should know that the right side is the honorary side. He should therefore let a woman walk on his right side in order to honor her (126). In addition, the woman should always walk on the "protected side", which may be either the left or right depending on where she might be exposed to some unpleasantness. For instance, on rainy days, women can be taken on the left side to keep them out of the rain. In addition, in crowded or narrow places, the woman should be escorted to the empty side, though without touching her body (Muzaffer 1939, 96). While walking down the street, gentility is seen in giving precedence to women. Following a woman or looking at any woman's behind, including a woman who is with another man, are seen as vulgar acts (Muzaffer 1939, 97). The other rule for a man is to give his seat to a

woman in every public vehicle, though he cannot do this for young girls since it might be misunderstood. Lastly, he should not disturb any woman on public transportation (104).

A significant aspect of the public sphere is that, according to Muzaffer, one's every act and manner can be seen and heard by others without one's awareness. She maintains that the way one walks, one's movements, one's attention and inattention, in short all of one's manners can easily be noticed by others (92). Likewise, for Tansu, the street is the most important meeting point of the community where "unacceptable manners" come easily to others' attention. To solve the individual anxieties due to the public gaze, Tansu advises that the only acceptable way is to slip unobtrusively through the streets like a shadow (Tansu 1939, 43). One of the main principles of the street is that it is neither our home nor our personal space. Therefore, it is not suitable to act freely in the streets as if at home (Muzaffer 1939, 92).

The notion of being "seen and heard by others" makes women's appearance problematic in the public sphere. The sexualizing and controlling male gaze threatens female status. The Ottoman view of women belonging naturally within the domestic sphere rather than in public space was not radically changed for early Republican women. Appearing in public carried the possibility of being understood as conspicuous in the Republican period as well. Thus, women are expected to pay more attention to their public manners than men. In Muzaffer's book, the conduct rules for street are written specifically for women under the title of "women's manners in the street" (98). For her, as a woman attracts a great deal more attention than a man, it is necessary that she should prioritize etiquette and comply with the rules intently (98).

In terms of her mode of walking and her manners in the streets, the refined woman should be as inconspicuous as possible. She never applies make-up, pulls up her tights, laughs boisterously, or does anything to attract the attention of others, including showing emotions such as agony, grief, or happiness that should be kept for the home not shown in the street (98-99). It was also important to exercise control over the body. Thus, a polite woman, while walking down the street, should never

put her hands back, walk too fast or too slow, trot, or shake certain parts of the body (99).

The streets are an important public landscape where women are publicly visible. Yet, while there, a woman should attempt to remain as invisible as possible. She is expected to be both dignified and solemn. The solemn woman should never speak or laugh loudly and never look behind her or to her right or left but always walk forward looking at her feet (Muzaffer 1939, 99). She should never smoke on the street or stop to talk to any acquaintances (Özdeniz 1942, 21). She should walk down the street in a sedate way without looking at anyone's face (Ömer Lütfü 1930, 23). She is not allowed to "stop to talk with someone in the middle of the sidewalk" ([Oksal] 1932, 17).

Although the woman is encouraged to be present in public space, she is expected not to show much reaction to any disturbance by men. In case of verbal abuse by men in a public space, women are asked to be quiet and serious, and are advised to act as if they do not see or hear anything (Savaşın 1938, 12). For Özdeniz, women had better preserve a prudent silence when a man abuses them verbally in the street. As a last resort, he recommends a girl go to the police, but only if this verbal harassment is excessive (Özdeniz 1942, 116).

The etiquette of greeting in the street concerning women also prioritizes inconspicuousness ([Oksal] 1932, 13). When greeting someone, every movement of a woman should be controlled and performed in a noble and plain style. She is required to be attractive with her modesty and politeness; she should salute acquaintances not with hand waving but with a gentle bow and a slight smile. She cannot be saucy or behave coquettishly, as these are seen as vulgar and disgraceful acts (Muzaffer 1939, 68). Because greeting is seen as an important mutual contact between a man and woman, it should be performed in a formal way. If not, girls can make a wrong impression and can be misunderstood. In a moral frame, being willing to greet a man at all is seen as an undesirable attitude which can easily be abused by men. In the act of greeting, handshaking or talking with an unfamiliar person in the street, a woman is expected to be prudent and cautious not to transgress the limit of formality ([Oksal] 1932, 18-20).

In the street, inconspicuous public dress and moderate manners are indicators of women's culture and morality. The main aim is that she should be as invisible as possible while in the street. Actually, conspicuousness of dress or manners are attributed to non-elite women or to prostitutes. The invisibility of the refined woman is understood to distinguish her from "Other" women because she does not try to attract the gazes of men. According to this view, the woman should also have unobtrusive, modest and plain attire in the street (Özdeniz 1942, 72). Hüsnü Savaşçın also makes a distinction between the ideal housewife and the loose woman in terms of the way they dress and apply make-up. For him, appearing on the street in conspicuous make-up, dress and strong perfume do not accord with the solemnity and seriousness of the ideal woman, who only goes out in a plain dress. For Savaşçın, the woman with exaggerated make-up and dress can only be a loose woman (Savaşçın 1938, 12). Savaşçın's focus on women, as that of the other etiquette writers, and his emphasis on their self-control in terms of behavior and appearance on the street once again illustrates well the Foucauldian notion of "discipline."

In order to restrain the gaze, women are advised not to be too interested in their physical appearance while in the street. Dalkılıç criticizes the woman who continually looks at a mirror to spruce herself up and apply make-up since this kind of woman does not do this for her own benefit but for those who will see her. In addition, this undesirable act of the woman is not recommended since it makes her "cheap" and vulgar, and also causes the loss of male enthusiasm for this arbitrary beauty (Dalkılıç 1932, 122-23).

According to most of the etiquette books, women should use the street only to get from one place to another. Either stopping or spending time on the street are acts attributed to prostitutes. For Savaşçın, window shopping at great length is not for the refined woman but is an act of prostitutes; only prostitutes stand in front of shop windows in pretense of having a need to buy something (Savaşçın 1938, 12).

In the early years of the Republican period, with the transition from gender segregated to mixed gender public space, women were commonly in public but their presence remained controversial. Since the social circumstances were not ready, the appearance of women and girls in street was also matter of question. According to

Feliha Sedat, the main reason for the restrictions on girls in public spaces is explained as the inexperience of both sexes in sharing the common public space. Because the modern etiquette is not applied in the strict sense, men do not show proper respect for women and neither can women get respect from men. For her, until the society has become more civil, constraints must be compulsory. In the process of establishing a new society, both sexes are inexperienced in mutual relations because of facing each other in the public sphere for the first time. However, only the female side—girls especially—are obliged to demonstrate self-control in their social life. This process is seen as a necessity until the society becomes more civil ([Oksal] 1932, 38).

The presence of a girl is also so problematic that she is advised act with acute self-consciousness, knowing that even the smallest details of her manners are under the gaze of unfamiliar people ([Oksal] 1932, 96). Yet artificiality or exaggeration in acts also defines girls as prostitutes (97). Walking alone is not acceptable for young women. For most of the etiquette writers, a girl is not usually free to go out alone. On strolls, she has to be accompanied by other women, her mother, or her father. For Feliha Sedat, a girl who reaches marriageable age has a right to go out for shopping, visiting her friends, and attending social activities. Thus, going out alone is useful in order to know the neighborhood and not to find the environment strange after she is married. In addition, her presence in the city is subject to constraints. For instance, if a girl needs to go to a cake shop, she should eat a cake standing rather than sitting. Furthermore, she can go out alone only in the daytime and not when it is getting dark without company. The girl is asked not to misuse the chance to go out and not to forget her responsibility to her family ([Oksal] 1932, 37).

Etiquette writers assert that the restrictions on girls are valid for girls who live with their family and have no job. If a girl works outside, she can be more independent in her actions than the girls in the house. Girls who are thought to have given themselves to their career can be free in their acts, though still only to a certain extent. For instance, they can eat in a restaurant or shop alone. However, they are not independent in public space at all. For Feliha Sedat, girls have to listen to their consciences before doing harmful acts. Thus, girls who begin to work should act in an honorable way without bringing harm to the image of Turkish woman ([Oksal] 1932, 38-39).

5.3. Etiquette and Society Life

5.3.1. Rules for Entertainment, Balls and Dances

The modern individual and ideal citizen of the Turkish Republic was expected to comply with the duties of citizenship even in his/her leisure time, even in entertainment venues (Cantek 2003, 261). Ballrooms with Western-style entertainment facilities were also important places in terms of the efforts to introduce the new modern way of life in the early years of the Republic, and were an important part of its cultural history. Along with balls, soirées, music nights, and tea parties, dances were also popular in order to fulfill the modern Republican man's entertainment needs. Among these alternatives, balls were the most preferable and formal form of entertainment (Muzaffer 1939, 131).

In fact, Western-style balls began to be organized for the first time in the late Ottoman period. They were held with the attendance of foreign guests, non-Muslims, and men from the palace. However, Muslim/Turkish women almost never took part in such occasions. After the proclamation of the Republic, balls gained formality and significance and became a major part of social life. From the first official ball organized in 1925 in Ankara, such social occasions came to represent the Western face of the Republic (Cantek 2003, 264). On the other hand, balls were used practically as ideological instruments in order to ensure cultural and social change in the new Turkish state (Duman 1997, 45). While balls were considered part of entertainment culture and social life in Western society, in Turkey, they were used as tools for abandoning old habits and replacing them with new values. One of the new values can be defined as overcoming the traditions which cause the isolation of the sexes from each other and implementing a new lifestyle (48). In one of her interviews, Mina Urgan pointed out that the primary purpose of balls was not entertainment but teaching how to entertain. She maintained that Republican balls had a great function in Anatolia, getting men and women accustomed to eating and chatting together. The chief matter was not having fun but bringing men and women together in society (Öztürkmen 1999, 181).

In the early Republican period, balls were important occasions for polite society where individuals could display taste, power and distinction. Indeed, ballrooms were the ideal venues to parade the signifiers of Westernization such as dress, manners,

relations between men and women, and the latest dances (Cantek 2003, 264). Having proper knowledge about modern etiquette for ballrooms was an important aspect of what Bourdieu has called “social distinction.”

According to etiquette writers, since balls are organized among polite and refined families, dress is most important for these gatherings (Savaşçın 1938, 20). Evening clothes and a frock coat are essential for the male guest at a ball and the wearing of white gloves is obligatory (Zeren 1940, 183). Ball dress for women is usually in the most elegant taste. It is always décolleté to a modest level and commonly sleeveless (Ömer Lütfü 1930, 22). In addition, it is enough to wear simple jewelry rather than anything ostentatious (Arel 1943, 88). In accordance with Republican ideology, balls supported the integration of men and women. For etiquette writers, rather than single people, only couples are asked to attend the balls. A bachelor’s participation in a ball is seen as vulgar (Muzaffer 1939, 132).

As an indispensable component of balls, dancing is an important part of polite social interaction. Refinement, therefore, shows itself in performing the conduct rules for dancing. The correct performance of dance with all its rules is a must for both men and women. Almost all etiquette books request men to show respect towards women at balls and other formal occasions. In addition, he should be act especially politely and courteously when dancing with a woman (Ömer Lütfü 1930, 42). A man cannot ask a lady to whom he has not been introduced to dance a figure with him. He cannot dance with a married woman without asking the permission of her husband (Arel 1943, 86). After receiving permission from her chaperone, a man can dance with a girl (Muzaffer 1939, 133). Staring at a woman’s every act and at her dress is seen as a sign of ill-breeding (Arel 1943, 86). Always dancing with the same partner is highly impolite (Muzaffer 1939, 132). The gentleman should be very careful in the manner of holding his partner. The ideal partner holds the lady firmly but not too close (Dalkılıç 1932, 157). No gentleman ever abruptly leaves a woman standing alone in a ballroom (Dalkılıç 1932, 158). The refined man should not have a feeling of jealousy when his partner dances with another man (Arel 1943, 86). After the dance, he should escort her to her table (Muzaffer 1939, 132).

In the early Republican period, dance was an indicator of the modern life and of the desired Westernization. Not knowing how to dance, in modern circles, was perceived

as “bigotry” and as a failure of keep up with the times (Öztürkmen, 182). According to etiquette manuals, social distinction was measured by having a full command of dancing. Therefore, Turan Aziz Beler proposes to even take professional dance lessons for a good performance (Belér 1943, 131). Performing modern dances such as foxtrot, tango, swing, and waltz are seen as necessary for a civilized life (Savaşçın 1938, 20; Belér, 131). Although dance is important for civilization, the relation between men and women during the dance is a moral issue. In a way, dance is removed from the field of entertainment and becomes predicated on strict rules. For the etiquette writers, dance is defined as a “sport” (Savaşçın 1938, 21). Therefore, the physical contact which may occur between men and women during the dance is controlled through certain etiquette rules. The couple can dance by leaving a certain interval between them. During the dance, a man cannot look at the woman’s face and cannot talk with her (Savaşçın 1938, 21). Thus, control over the body becomes guaranteed with the application of the rules. For instance, during the dance, talking, immoderate laughing, or any improper act is not acceptable (Ömer Lütfü 1930, 41).

Some of the dances are considered inappropriate on the grounds that they cause intimacy between the sexes. Muzaffer points out that, even in European countries, some dances are considered immoral, recommending that dances be in accordance with honor and dignity (Muzaffer 1939, 157). For Dalkılıç, being modern and civilized does not permit the violation of moral principles or prudence (Dalkılıç 1932, 154). His criticism is directed against the modern dances. For him, the quadrille, the contradance, the bolero, and so and so forth, were dances from the European past. He sees them as moral and honorable (153). However, they were replaced by the modern dances such as the one-step, the waltz, the tango and the Charleston. For him, these latest dances are immoral and degrading because they entail love and lust in itself and cause intimacy between the sexes (154). The modern tendency to rapidity in these dances carries risks, especially for women. Dalkılıç criticizes families who send their girls to dance such immoral dances with unknown men (154). In addition, one of the duties of married women and girls is not to dance these dances in front of their husbands or family (155). Because dances like the tango or the Charleston are considered the dances of the “loose woman” and “drunken man.” Thus, they are not suitable for wise and decent people but only for those who seek to have fun in bars (155-156). Men, therefore, are warned not to ask “family”

women and girls to dance immoral dances such as the tango, the rumba, and the Charleston (Muzaffer 133).

Both the refined woman and the girl have to be familiar with all the rules of etiquette for balls and dances in order to function in polite society. For Dalkılıç, before anything else, women must not forget that they are in fact in “official” uniform even if they are wearing fancy dresses. (*Süsler içindeki hanım[ların], hakikatta, resmi bir [ü]niforma altında oldu[klarını] bir an unutmama[ları] lazımdır*). (Dalkılıç 1932, 139). Therefore, in ballrooms they are expected to fulfill their duties by performing the requirements of the modern etiquette. Accordingly, women have to be vivacious and cheerful throughout balls. They should always be ready for every invitation to dance and they should not refuse any offer to dance. They should allow their hand to be kissed with a queenly attitude. They have to leave balls with the same chaperone they arrived with (139). The main target of etiquette books is to ensure women dance primarily with familiar men such as husbands, fathers, or relatives as much as possible. A married woman cannot attend balls without her husband (Muzaffer 1939, 134). A married woman should not dance with the same partner and cannot be present on the dance floor all the time or alone. She can go the buffet only with her escort (135). A married woman cannot dance with anyone with the consent of her husband (Dalkılıç 1932, 139). In addition, she should take care of her behavior in order not to arouse the jealousy of her escort (Muzaffer 1939, 135).

A girl is introduced to society life thanks to balls that should also act ideally according to ball etiquette. A family girl cannot attend the balls without the consent of her family. In addition, she cannot attend balls with an unknown man or boy (Savaşçın 1938, 21). A girl should never attend a ball without a chaperone. She can participate in balls only in the company of either her family or her fiancé. A girl should always be under the observance of her parents. A girl at a ball usually establishes herself in a seat by her chaperone, to whom she returns according to her convenience after dancing ([Oksal] 1932, 121).

She has to keep in mind that she should have self-control. Thus, the civil girl never smokes, drinks, acts discourteously, or laughs or talks in a boisterous way (Dalkılıç 1932, 140). She also should be ready for every dance invitation and should be cheerful all the time. In addition, the pleasure of her escort is her first care rather,

than her own pleasure ([Oksal] 1932, 125). The girl should not cross ball-room alone because it can invite attention. She only dances with a man if he is introduced to her by her family (123). Furthermore, all girls have to keep an eye open for womanizers. For Feliha Sedat, men at balls can be divided into two types; one belongs to the intellectual class and the second is an idler. While the first does not know about dancing, the second knows nothing but dancing. Feliha Sedat warns girls about the second category of men who can attract their attention with dancing and compliments. She also asks girls not to be affected by men just because they dance well and make kind compliments. In addition, she emphasizes the significance of a solid morality and virtuousness which she considers essential components of girls' self-control (132-134).

5.3.2. Etiquette for Visits, “At Home” Days, and Tea Parties

Attempts were also made to regulate social visits in accordance with European mores. Visits were organized under the name of “at home” days, and “tea parties” which involved going from one's own home to those of members of the same social circle. This created sociability between the families of civil servants, bureaucrats, and officers. It also served another purpose for the civilizing mission as a display of how civilized men and women gathered to share the same space for recreation or sociability.

Since Süheylâ Muzaffer believes society to be important for the rise of the nation, she recommends middle class families to both attend and host such events (Muzaffer 1939, 131). Modern visits should be performed in accordance with the European model. “At Home” days are advertised by a hostess as a particular day of the week or month when guests may call (141). It is essential that every family should designate a specific day to receive visitors. Muzaffer asserts that since this sort of visiting custom is already present in Turkish history, it is also extremely convenient for the new Turkish social life (140). Unlike the previous period, however, the traditional notion of the “unexpected guest” is left behind. Guests, therefore, should inform the hostess beforehand and it is important to wait for a reply (Zeren 1940, 99). The aim of this model is to avoid importunate visits and not to be caught unprepared. Thus, visiting without a prior announcement is seen as an important lapse of etiquette

(Dalkılıç 1932, 149). The use of a visiting card becomes a distinctive feature of socializing among the polite class. Visits have to be announced via the visiting card which in turn requires a reply. Leaving a card is also compulsory if one makes a visit and no one is at home (Zeren 1940, 99).

As requirements of social life, visiting and receiving visits are seen as a symbol of social achievement. Both men and women can attend these parlor activities (Muzaffer 1939, 138). The lack of such public activities indicates a failure in social life. The woman is expected to display etiquette correctly not only as a hostess but also as a visitor. For Zeren, in a civilized country, any woman whose husband has a high position is obliged to give invitations and be visited by her husband's friends and family (Zeren 1940, 110). As wives of "important" men, they also have the responsibility to organize visits, decide on days, and make reciprocal visits. It was customary for women to set aside one day a week or a fortnight for welcoming guests (Zeren 1940, 99).

At such social occasions, women have to represent the man who accompanies her in the best way. In order to maintain the social position of her husband as well as the family, the woman should apply a high degree of skill to her preparation, and wear appropriate attire. The success of a "day" depends to a great extent on the skillfulness of the hostess; she must know the art of managing a crowd. In this "day", honoring the guests, household order, and everything that relates to social meetings should be done according to visiting etiquette (Zeren 1940, 99).

On the social level of the house, the hostess can have a servant (Arel 1943, 70). But the guest should be welcomed by the hostess herself, and by her husband if he is at home (Savaşçın 1938, 13). Introducing each visitor to the next is the main duty of the hostess. Adopting elaborate forms of social protocol is important for women. The refined women have to know the important visiting etiquette of presenting and introducing the guests to each other. The main principles of presentation are age, position, and sex (Zeren 1940, 111). A woman cannot request anyone to present a man to her. A man should ask to be presented to a woman and he can be presented only after her husband or father gives his permission. The manners of a woman in a parlor are also important. In the act of presenting or in any situation, it is vulgar for a woman to stand up for a man (Zeren 1940, 111).

Good taste should be seen in woman's management of food. The well-versed wife should know what can be served for different visits. The service for tea parties or for dinner can change. For instance, serving the guest refreshments such as tea, lemonade, liquor, or cake is a must for "at home" days (Dalkılıç 1932, 149). The tea party is another social function which is in the afternoon. In the original simple form, the hostess merely welcomes her guests as they come to her on her regular day at home, in the drawing-room, and there offers them a cup of tea served by herself and light refreshments of sandwiches, cakes, and the like (150).

On a day on which guests are to be entertained, a woman should pay more attention to her attire and her manners than ever before (Arel 1943, 69). The female dress code for both tea parties and visits should be plainer than for formal occasions such as balls. The refined woman, in accordance with etiquette, can wear a sleeveless dress, silk or fur coat, and a hat (Özdeniz 1942, 160). Dresses in dark colors and a dark color neckpiece with black shoes are preferable. The refined woman cannot wear gloves on visiting days. She cannot go visiting in a dress which is worn on the street. She should wear a delicate lady's suit (Zeren 1940, 103). Girls should also be plain for tea parties, and should not wear luxury jewelry. Girls should be dignified, solemn, clean, and attentive to their dress. They should wear white rather than color ([Oksal] 1932, 92).

5.3.3. Dinner Parties

While visits represent Republican parlor life, there are other forms of gathering that are, related to the rules of Western civility. Dinner parties are one of them. Not only is the table a symbol of civilization, but furthermore dinner party etiquette is an important part of cultural capital. Social status can be measured by whether or not the host and the guests behave in accordance with their respective etiquette rules. Therefore being acquainted with all the rules of conduct for dinner parties serves as a means for distinguishing the dominant class from the lower classes, as discussed in Bourdieu's study of social distinction.

According to etiquette books, having a good command of the rules of etiquette governing the table is important whether for informal feasts or the high society dinner table, or in ordinary family dinners. Dinner invitations are also an important

responsibility of the lady of the house. The ultimate aim is to make the woman do everything in the European style, from inviting the guests to preparing the table. She can have her servants do the work, but she has to organize the table herself. It is customary to seat guests according to their social rank, and the distribution of the meals should be done in a hierarchical way as well (Zeren 1940, 105). The presentation of the meals should be done in “*alafranga*” style and some Turkish dishes should be presented through the end of the meal (Muzaffer 1939, 153). The order of the table is also important, such as knowing where and how to place the plate, fork, knife, napkin, and so on (Zeren 1940, 125).

5.3.4. Table Manners

Etiquette at table is another important indicator of refinement, and refined manners while eating are important for maintaining civilized status ([Oksal] 1932, 157). Instead of advocating naturalness in the act of eating and drinking, formality in manners predominates in most etiquette books. The main argument is about the control of bodily functions for both men and women. The advice on exercising self-control and regulating bodily movements at table can be read within the framework of Foucault’s notion of “disciplining the body.” Therefore, the way a person holds and positions their body is defined in a detailed way to avoid artificiality of the posture. For instance, while eating, spoons and forks are brought to the mouth with an unperceived gesture, with the elbow below and the hand lifting a little (Arel 1943, 105). Furthermore, a person neither leans on the backrest of the chair nor sits on the edge of it. Hands can be rest on the table without bending the body forward or backward. Tipping the chair is unforgivable. Elegance shows itself in these delicate manners. It is understood that the upper body should be vertical, but this perpendicularity should not be artificial (104).

Rules of manners changed with the passage of time. Having control over complicated etiquette rules such as the use of knives and forks for different meals is necessary to be civilized. For instance, in the past, meals could be eaten by hand, but now this would be seen as a vulgar act because it is unhygienic (Dalkılıç 1932, 165). For Muzaffer, the new eating style is completely different. According to new table manners, eating by hand is a primitive act within the context of Western culture

(Muzaffer 1939, 152). Using a napkin in the right way is important during the act of eating. Pinning the napkin in a buttonhole or under the plate are signs of vulgarity, putting it over the knees is sufficient (Zeren 1940, 136-137). Etiquette for eating is the same for both men and women. However, for Feliha Sedat, errors of table etiquette are particularly unforgivable if made by a girl or woman who should be the epitome of refinement and elegance ([Oksal] 1932, 96) In addition, behaving decently only outside the home is considered affectation and foppishness (95). The refined woman must know the proper way to sit at table. For instance, disturbing those sitting next to you, making noise with cutlery, having disgusting manners, speaking a lot or loudly are all indicators of impoliteness. The table should also be left in a tidy shape (Zeren 1940, 135).

5.3.5. Rules for the Decoration of the House

In the early Republican period, the house—hitherto a private sanctuary—became a venue for social events such as tea parties, celebrations, and soirées. In order to decorate the house in a modern way, it was essential to have both economic and cultural capital (Cantek 2003, 124). In other words, modern houses in Republican society served as a site of distinction in the sense given the word by Bourdieu.

Since the parlor is the specific part of the house where guests are received as a requirement of polite sociability, it became a particular status symbol for middle class families. Therefore, the house (and especially the parlor) should represent what we may call the Western bourgeois lifestyle with its decoration, aesthetic appeal and comfort. For instance, rather than a coat stand, a mirrored cabinet in an antechamber is a sign of modernity (Dalkılıç 1932, 170). The refined woman should decorate her house tastefully, avoiding ostentation. Rather than many luxury goods, a combination of color and goods are required. Instead of garish goods such as trinkets, pictures, china, and covered furniture, plain objects should be chosen. The lounge and dining area should be united for the new etiquette (Belcer 1943, 314-316). A dining room sideboard, heavy chandeliers, and plates on the wall are all instances of bad taste; arguably, this opinion was held because they were reminiscent of the taste of the bourgeoisie during the Ottoman period. Good taste shows itself in a plain and comfortable lounge and dining room (Dalkılıç 1932, 171). Each family member

should have his or her own room. This creates distinction from other classes. Thus, a well-informed girl should show her taste by arranging her room with flowers and works of handicraft (Beler 1943, 316).

5.4. Etiquette and Personal Issues

5.4.1. Sexuality and Marriage

The early Republican manuals also address matters of sexuality, relationships between men and women, and marriage. The Foucauldian notion of discipline problematizes question the influence of social forces on the bodies of citizens. Here, the function of these manuals as a control mechanism intended to regulate the body and the sexuality of the new citizen provides a good illustration of Foucault's thesis.

In the 1930s and 40s, articles and books that provided sexual knowledge were the monopoly of physicians like Zeki Zeren. In his book, *Bekârlık ve Evlilik (Bilgisi ve Öğütleri)* (Knowledge and Advice for Bachelorhood and Married Life), Zeren discusses sexuality, sexual activities, and personal hygiene both in celibacy and marriage. In the preface to the third edition, Zeren (1943) states his intention to provide hygiene advice for young people at the age of puberty when sexuality is discovered for the first time. According to him, the real aim is to inform parents and teachers, but especially mothers, about how to discipline the sexual life of children. His book is intended as a guide to those who considered it disgraceful and shameful to speak of this subject during that period. Therefore, Zeren sees the new Turkish youth as lucky to have, contrary to the old period, comfortable access to the discipline and knowledge of principles of sexual life with its good and bad sides (Zeren 1943, 8).

Sexual appetites and sensual desires are accepted as one of the biological needs found in every human being. For Zeren, single young girls and boys in puberty need knowledge of sexual life since their body is becoming sexually mature as it develops into adult form (Zeren 1943, 29). Sexual drives can cause "viciousness" such as "Onanism" (masturbation) in bachelor men and women and should be controlled at an early age. Knowledge and self-discipline are seen as necessary to avoid such viciousness (117).

One of the first principles in “sexual discipline” is that bachelors should know that Onanism is harmful. By detailing the harms of Onanism, Zeren tries to imbue the minds of young girls and boys with self-denial regarding concupiscence. Onanism is dangerous, he says, because it can cause bodily deformations such as anemia, memory loss, dullness of the intellect, palpitations, and dark circles around the eyes. Furthermore, in the end it can lead to insanity, physical and mental illness, and even death. The quality of being weak, feeble, nervous, and absent minded are connected to excessive Onanism (30-31) Moreover, Onanism can cause impotence in young men when they get married. Therefore, in their married life, such men will make their wives upset and aggravated because of their inability to perform sexually (31).

As Onanism is seen as a significant obstacle to married life, Zeren warns his reader to desist from this habit before it becomes an obsession. Therefore, parents are charged with taking some precautions in case masturbation turns into an obsession for both boys and girls (118-119). Otherwise, adolescents who engage in excessive Onanism can either be remanded to a mental hospital or they will become sickly, always feeling psychologically and physically weak. They will turn into incompetent, awkward, incapable people. In this respect, they will suffer until the end of their life (32). Zeren thus states that Onanism must be controlled to raise strong and sturdy generations. According to him, to be athletic, healthy, and robust, young boys and girls should refrain from sexual fatigue (31). But no matter how robust and healthy they may be, physical fatigue or sickness due to sexual satisfaction is seen as an important obstacle to achievement in both education and profession (33).

Self-control regarding sexual satisfaction is advised to both men and women. Bachelor boys are allowed to fulfill their needs by going to brothels to fulfill sexual desires on the condition that it is only once a week. In this way, if a boy is addicted to masturbation, he can satisfy this need in a “moderate” way. Zeren asserts two reasons for such moderation: firstly, sexual exhaustion affects the health of the body, and fatigue can weaken the memory and intellectual capability. Secondly, young boys should protect themselves from “venereal diseases” resulting from or contracted during sexual intercourse (32).

However, when compared with the advice to bachelor men, the sexual double standard is clear for bachelor women. A girl is asked to control her sexual appetite

completely until she is married. If she is addicted to Onanism she can get rid of it only by getting married (33). The girl who cannot control her sexual desires has three choices. One is dishonoring herself and ruining her reputation by having illicit sexual intercourse. The other is damaging her health by being addicted to Onanism. The last is waiting for the day she become a bride (117). It is also asserted that the lack of sexual desires after eighteen can cause some illness. Zeren, therefore, promises a life full of physical or mental illness due to lack of sexual satisfaction (14). For instance, acne or red spots on the face, fainting, crying, aggression, and bad temper can be seen in young girls because of sexual deprivation. In addition, hysteria or over-reactions, losing weight, and an unhealthy appearance are also attributed to this lack. But a girl who looks sick and unhealthy will strengthen and revive in health after being married (14).

Satisfaction of sexual desires can only be achieved in one legitimate way; marriage. Marriage transforms into a dominant discourse over sexuality and is provided as the only solution to the needs (12). Zeren explains the benefits of marriage throughout his book since it is seen as necessary for the welfare of society. He begins his book with a sentence which summarizes the general discourse of the book. For him, “marriage is the basis of society” (Zeren 1943, 9). So, this notion is built on two main ideas, one is biological, and the second is sociological. Zeren asserts that he “cannot imagine a reasonable living being who would not want to marry” because it is a biological need and marriage becomes a need in the mind of every living creature in the period of puberty (12). For him, marriage has many advantages for individuals and society as well. It is a necessity of a civilized life and society. In the process of founding a new society, healthy marriages and the unity of the family is considered highly important. Thus, Zeren mentions that “all the communities encourage their members to marry in order to start a family. It is necessary for the salvation and continuation of society” (12). In addition, Zeren tries to find reasons why a marriage is essential from the viewpoints of religion, society, and philosophy. For instance, in all the sacred books, marriage is appreciated and celibacy is decried. In addition, many philosophers accept marriage as an important duty. Moreover, marrying a suitable partner has a positive effect on life achievements and on physical health (12). As for the economical aspect, marriage can contribute to the financial well-being of individuals since sexual desires can be satisfied in easy and harmless ways,

with a partner, without looking for satisfaction elsewhere, with others. Marriage also enables bodily health and achievements in life. Therefore, he defines marriage as an insurance for happiness; economically, socially and biologically (12).

In the name of encouraging marriage, Zeren supports the policy of protecting families with children by rewarding them according to the number of children (Zeren 1943, 28). In this sense, he adopted a pro-natalist view in line with general opinion during the early Turkish Republic. Since bachelors do not have a regular life, they do not care for eating or drinking at particular times, and they always stay awake. They become drunkards and prone to gamble. In order to satisfy their sexual desires, they wear down their bodies for the sake of sexual pleasure (14). He provides the reader with myriad harms of bachelorhood for both sexes, maintaining that married couples live longer than singles, that it is mainly bachelors who commit suicide or become lunatics or murderers, that they are more prone to syphilis and gonorrhea, and that mental and psychological illness can be found among the celibate girls, and so on (13).

For Zeren, bachelorhood is an unacceptable life choice, so there must be specific reasons for choosing celibate life. Zeren divides individuals not suitable for marriage into six categories, on the basis of the reasons behind their choice. The first group is not suitable for marriage due to their young age or the continuation of their education or profession; the second is those who are ugly and unpleasant and thus excused; the third is those who are afraid of marriage because they are egoists; the fourth is people with a low income; the fifth group is sick people; and the final group is old people. All people must get married unless they are part of these categories (20-24). In other words, according to Zeren, those who actively choose a single life are all “egoists”. While getting married is a quality of a moral human being, bachelorhood is correlated with hypocrisy and egocentricity, suggesting exaggerated feelings of self-importance, selfishness, and vanity (13).

Zeren criticizes the modern misapprehension in choosing a single life. For Zeren, as bachelor men do not depend on social rules, they choose to live freely without any borders or obligation. Women’s bachelorhood is based on economic reasons. If a woman has financial independence, she doesn’t seclude herself from social life. Hence, instead of devoting her life to her husband and children, she embraces an

independent lifestyle (13). Young people are afraid of marriage because they do not deem anyone worthy. Thus, he calls this type of people fops, and dismisses them as incongruous, egoists, and moral degenerates. Then, he maintains that this type of person, in order to avoid being alone, gets married when they are old. For this reason, the children of these people will be miserable throughout their life (25).

Zeren thinks that bachelor men or women who are preoccupied only with their own benefit are violators of the system. Because of their self-centered acts, they are important threats to social unity and the continuation of family institutions. Zeren mentions that marriage is an ideal work of human community which brings both happiness and prosperity to couples. In such a union, the man shows his real virility and the woman shows her femininity. Thus, the desired “order” of society is violated when men and women do not marry (Zeren 1943, 15). An official marriage instead of an illegitimate relationship is seen as a guarantee of social continuity. The main objective is to maintain the continuation of the family institution for the welfare of the community.

Nevertheless, just as for bachelors, the sexual life of married people too should be kept under control by specifying certain times for it in order not to obstruct the flow of social life. In addition, the sexual life of married people has to be kept under control. According to the author, couples should have a determined will. Those who control their animal feelings can live in comfort. Otherwise, those who overdo their sexual life can fall prey to severe disease with the slightest reasons, can suffer from nervous prostration (or neurasthenia), or can lose the individual power to work. In addition such people can be absent minded with poor judgment (Zeren 1943, 173).

Among other significant problems in getting married, venereal disease, psychosocial disorders, and alcoholism are considered highly destructive social ills. All these mental or bodily “deformities” are seen as dangers for the institution of the family institution and for a healthy race and society. Zeki Zeren’s advice for the reproduction of healthy generations are nurtured by eugenics, an ideology in vogue at the time. To breed a better Turkish generation, he focuses on advising his readers to choose fit partners. He allows marriage only between healthy people. People do not desire ignorant or syphilitic spouses, and they should also investigate their fiancées’ families to discover whether there is any madness or not. The children of

“undesirables” can be feeble, dumb, or deformed (Zeren 1943, 115). For him, those who have syphilis or gonorrhoea should be forbidden to marry because their children will not be beneficial to themselves or society (63).

While such sexually transmitted diseases and their treatment are explained by the author in some detail, the portrayal of the painful and difficult treatments for venereal diseases acts rather as a deterrent for illicit sexual intercourse. According to Zeren, venereal disease can be seen among the bachelors and married sinners who betray their wives (Zeren 1943, 56), and he considers such diseases as misfortunes for a person, his or her generation, and mankind (66). For him, the sick—with tuberculosis, heart disease, psychological problems, hysteria, mentally derangement or epilepsy—should also be forbidden to marry until they restore their health. These kinds of people are also seen as a threat both for the social order and the family because they can pass on hereditary disease to future generations (Zeren 1943, 113). Zeren warns the readers to research their partner’s physical and mental health beforehand because mental illness will have negative effects for both the family and the society. For him, it is also a pity for the children of these people to see their parents’ madness (114). Drunkards are also not allowed to get married, for fear that they will devastate the family income and the health of their children. The children of alcoholics are described as feeble, retarded, and defective (115).

5.4.2. Rules for Relationships between Men and Women

For the Republican etiquette writers, romantic affairs between men and women are to be regulated in a modernized way as it is in countries where no concept of gender segregation exists (Ömer Lütfü 1930, 57). Engagement is a significant period of time when marriage is planned or promised. The couples who decide to have a relationship should have an engagement until they are married. The engagement period is also seen as necessary for young people to form an idea about their future partner and make the right decision about whether to marry or not. (Zeren 1943, 129).

The relationship between men and women must be based on certain rules. The acquaintance phase of women and men can be provided only during the engagement process. Thus, engagement between girls and boys is regarded as the most acceptable way of attributing to this relationship a sort of formality. However, within this

period, both girls and boys must not act independently and should be under the observation of their families (Ömer Lütfü 1930, 59). After the young people are engaged, they can be together only in the presence of their chaperone. For instance, they cannot go out into the street, the theatre, or concerts alone. They cannot chat in their home without the supervision of their mother (62). The engagement period creates tension, especially for young girls. Because they are responsible for their future husband, until they are married young girls should act properly and pay attention to their every manner (63). Ömer Lütfü warns girls about intimacy with their fiancé, and they are recommended not to violate etiquette illogically, and should suppress their sexual and emotional interest in him. For him, it is anyway evident that simple-hearted Turkish youths cannot act as loose women do, otherwise they may be accused of engaging in shameful acts (64).

Contrary to Ottoman times, prearranged marriages are not recommended. Within the new social order, couples can know each other before they are married. Özdeniz recommends a marriage based on mutual love between partners. While love marriages are desirable, the respect in any relationship between a man and woman should be protected as well (Özdeniz 1942, 121). Equality in the marriage is seen as a must. Özdeniz asserts, therefore, that marriages among the noble and the elite class should be based on equivalence. Thus, equality of the partners in cultural, economic, and class aspects is considered an important indicator for happy and true marriages (Özdeniz 1942, 122). Moreover, Özdeniz insists that the quality of a woman is important in a marriage. For him, rich men will bitterly regret getting married to beautiful European women and ignoring Turkish women (122).

5.4.3. Etiquette and Family Life

Rather than the traditional extended family, the new modern family was constructed as a basic unit of society based on the unity of husband and wife, was small and child-centered, and was an enviable example of a Western bourgeois family (Duben and Behar 1996). The husband and wife should act collectively to provide their children a tranquil life. In addition, couples should make a joint decision on every subject in order to have a happy family. On the other hand, gendered responsibilities and concerns are also protected in Republican etiquette books. While men are purely

described as part of the “outside” world where they earn money for the protection of the family, women are confined to the home, domestic concerns, and each other’s company (Zeren 1943, 151-152).

In Özdeniz’s book, gendered roles in the family are determined for young people and are explicitly presented in two fictional letters. Actually these two letters portray ideal male and female figures who play out the gender roles in accordance with Republican discourse. In the first letter, an unnamed father gives his son moral advice and recommends his national duties such as protecting the country and fulfilling his national service (Özdeniz 1942, 198-199). The second letter is written by an unnamed mother to thank her daughter for being a good girl and then a faithful wife and affectionate mother when she is married. The mother gives different advice about family life, but is happy with her daughter because she has knowledge of homemaking, pleases her husband, is loyal to him, and in addition supports the family income by not spending much money and being contented (199-201).

5.5. The Ideal of Feminine Conduct in Family Life

5.5.1. Woman as Mother

Being active in social life and taking part in “society” does not mean that a woman can ignore her traditional roles. Regardless of her social status, she is expected to fulfill her feminine duties in the private sphere. Thus, the new etiquette writers also portray ideal femininity within the family context. Motherhood, wifedom, and housewifery are described as strong symbols of the modern life and the greatest responsibility of a middle class woman.

Ömer Lütfü mentions that a woman can now benefit from the same social rights as a man, yet this does not mean that she can forget her responsibility to maintain and order the hearth (Ömer Lütfü 1930, 16). For Özdeniz, “a good woman, a good mother, and a noble, beautiful wife are a great treasure” (Özdeniz 1942, 25). The position of women in society is measured in terms of their performance of gender roles. He maintains that women, in civilized societies, have high positions and are considered worthy of respect. He then mentions, however, that they deserve respect only because of their duties as wife and mother. In addition, he supports making

compliments to women in order to make them more faithful and loyal. He asks women to be “both the queen and the servant of their house” (26).

An important aspect of the ideal of conduct that Republican books presented is women’s motherly feeling. Feliha Sedat mentions that womankind innately has feelings such as affection, tenderness, and kindness for everything, which comes from their sense of motherhood. Maternal love and desire to look after a child is innate and begins even in the cradle. Since the ones who do not have the sense of maternity are considered insensible creatures, every girl has no choice but to have this feminine sensibility (Oksal 1940, 38).

The ideal of etiquette, for the woman, is also determined by looking after her child well. Thus, raising the children in best way becomes necessary in terms of etiquette. Actually, a child’s rudeness, naughtiness, even intelligence—in short all of his or her manners—concern the mother. The health of the child and his or her moral education are all the mother’s responsibility. The mother, according to Muzaffer, has to educate her children in the habits of modesty and should keep her children from foppishness by teaching etiquette in the proper way. For a good education, Muzaffer suggests that mothers read childrearing books (Muzaffer 1939, 32-33).

The modern woman is measured by her virtue in the family. She, therefore, should embody certain qualities such as decency, politeness, moral rectitude, thrift, abstinence, submissiveness, faith, nationalism, honesty, and discretion. The woman can infuse these qualities in her family who will also have the capacity to help man overcome his moral failings (Ömer Lütfü 1930, 19). The portrayal of the woman within the family serves an ideological purpose. In order to gain the honor of position which is bestowed by society, a woman should have a family that is based on national values. For Ömer Lütfü, woman’s duty is to be keeper and regulator of the family in which citizenship, love of nation, virtuousness, and the principles for the future of the country are all constructed (16). She also has a duty to bring up a dutiful child who can serve both the country and the nation (18).

Building an ideal family in accordance with national purposes is also seen as one of the future responsibilities of girls. Building healthy families is presented as essential to the welfare of society. Feliha Sedat asks girls to be the future’s dutiful mothers. For her, girls can pay their debt to the nation and country only if they can create ideal

families (Oksal 1940). Likewise, Savaşçın believes that, without solid families, society will be exposed to danger as family members become “rotten” and of low character. Girls, therefore, will create ideal families if they are raised to be well-mannered and moral from childhood. For him, girls raised free, spoiled, and uppity cannot start a family, and he warns parents to discipline their daughters for the benefit of society. He feels that parents should prepare girls to be future mothers who will be both patriotic and loyal to their families (Savaşçın 1938, 23).

Just as Republican etiquette constructs women as “mothers” because of their biology, girls are constructed as potential mothers. Therefore, maintaining the form of the female body through sports is important for the health of the next generation. Feliha Sedat argues that girls are the future producers and creators of the Turkish race. Then she asks “does a woman not produce and breed the race? Is not the generation born of a feeble and weak woman itself feeble and weak?” (Oksal 1940, 94-95). Feliha Sedat’s opinions are written in a highly sexist tone, perhaps not surprisingly for the period. Even though she is herself a woman, she is so harsh as to consider women as no more than incubators and to see their bodies as an apparatus to be utilized on behalf of society. Therefore, she expects girls to protect their health for the sake of the reproduction of healthy future generations. According to Feliha Sedat, the children of an unhealthy mother will probably either die or be sick or even paralyzed because of ill health. Therefore, the ideal girl and future mother who has a healthy body is more beneficial and essential for society than the girl who is only sophisticated and intellectual. The next generations should be borne by healthy girls with healthy qualities since only physically healthy women can bear robust and healthy children. Therefore, ideal girls are both well-educated and physically healthy for the prosperity of society (96). For girls to have a healthy life and body, physical exercises and “easy” sports are recommended. Therefore, in her etiquette book, gymnastic exercises are explained in detail. Walking in the fresh air, sleeping at regular hours, eating a healthy diet, doing exercises and observing personal hygiene are all suggested as national duties and are expressed as necessary to create the ideal woman (92-104). The main objective of the girls’ physical exercises, of course, is to prepare them for their maternal duty and for the preservation of the beauty of the race (101).

5.5.2. Woman as a Wife

The idealized image of femininity entails all the components of the traditional wife re-established in the new family. In this view, the deserving wife is a woman who manages her home, looks after her children, fulfills her husband's requirements, and protects the family income (Özdeniz 1942, 159). One of the most significant duties of the ideal wife is to be a supportive factor in a man's life by appearing cheerful and making them happy during their grief and misery. Women should infuse "a new energy into her man." This "new energy" is necessary for the man's achievement in social life. Briefly, the woman who knows the pleasure of living should transmit the same lifestyle to her husband (Muzaffer 1939, 22). The wife is responsible for either the success or the destruction of her family and her husband. Before anything else, a woman should be sophisticated, intelligent, and sensible because she is an important assistant and emotional support to her husband (Zeren 1943, 154).

Being loyal to her husband is also a must; the wife should not leave her husband even if he cheats on her. She is expected to forgive rather than rebelling through any unfaithful act of her own. She should never defy her husband for infidelity or otherwise she will devastate both their own lives and those of their children (143). Thus, women are given the task of keeping the family together after infidelity. To fulfill the requirement of the ideal women, they should be compassionate and devoted to give a chance to the husband. If the husband confesses to cheating, she should forgive him (143).

5.5.3. Woman as a Housewife

Responsibility for all things domestic is attributed to the woman. Girls in particular are to be trained in domestic realities. Even the middle class woman with servants in her house has to know homemaking. Özdeniz mentions that freedom of action is not given to young girls, and is not even given in Western etiquette books. Western girls, even though living independently, are aware of their domestic duties. Even after graduation or if she has to enter into a profession, a young girl should keep her mind on becoming a homemaker (Özdeniz 1942, 117).

Simply being intelligent and having a good education is not sufficient to be a perfect housewife. Practice in the family home before marriage is thought to be useful for girls to become perfect mothers and good wives, and girls should gain practice in doing housework from childhood (Oksal 1940, 112). An ideal young girl should have homemaking skills such as preparing a room, setting a table, cooking, doing craft work, sewing, and so on (111). Mothers should ask girls to help them in domestic work to prepare them to be perfect housewives. The girl should take responsibilities at home, becoming the prime supporter of her mother. Additionally, helping the mother during the service of guests is the main duty of the young girl and she should make the guests perceive her pleasure in doing it ([Oksal] 1932, 91). She should also act as a representative for her mother while her mother is away from home. While having good relations with her mother in the matter of welcoming guests, girls should be modest and not arrogant because of her friendship with her mother, or she will lose her elegance (79).

Housewifery is shown as a law of nature and, if the girl leaves the path of nature, she is regarded as disoriented (109). According to Feliha Sedat, a well-educated “family girl” has to also know handiwork, cooking, cleaning, along with everything that belongs to housewifery (56). Knowledge of housewifery is seen as necessary in order to raise the value of the girl as a modern wife. It is recommended that when girls have graduated they have to get accustomed to housework (54). Because an intellectual education is not sufficient to be an ideal woman, great performance in housewifery is seen as a more “honorable thing” (Oksal 1940, 111). Young girls are expected to devote their life to hearth and home and apply their knowledge to ensuring the happiness of the family. Even if a girl is well-educated and has a good profession, she must be proud of her housewifery and should not be embarrassed to say this honestly (116). For Feliha Sedat, even though a girl is not to be blamed for not being well educated, girls who do not know the household should be condemned (116). Girls who do not do their duty in the home are considered guilty in the world of femininity (113).

Under the title “the angel in the house,” Feliha Sedat defines the home as a perfect place for young girls. For her, “a young girl is the chief personage for the house who helps bring happiness to the family and is even the precious bond that ensures the happiness of the family in different situations” ([Oksal] 1932, 71). Despite her age,

the girl should comprehend her primary liabilities. In a way, she has to face more responsibilities and duties than her brother. While boys can be away from home for different reasons such as education, military service, or work, girls can leave home only when they are married. Until that moment, a girl is expected to bring joy to the family and support her mother and especially her father in the hardest times (72). In return for this, the family should teach their daughter modern manners and prepare them for the new social life. For instance, it is thought that if a girl learns to honor a guest in her family, she will do the same when she is married. In other words, every occupation that a girl has in the house makes ready her to be mother and housewife in the future (72).

5.5.4. Household Management: Domestic Economy, Domestic Household

The ideal woman is in charge of the administration of the home, and one of her main responsibilities is domestic economy. She should not be a spendthrift because excessive expenditure and lavishness is seen as a lack of adequate cultural capital. The cultivated woman should know domestic economy. Moreover, the woman should be careful with her money and avoid luxurious purchases. Rather than being lavish, she should help her husband earn more money. An uncultured woman loyal to her family only because of her own interests and keen to show off her luxurious lifestyle is called improvident (Zeren 1943, 154).

For Feliha Sedat, different economic and social crises stem from a certain class of women's profligacy in their expenditure and interest in luxury. Thus, this type of woman is seen as a threat to the family and the wider community (Oksal 1940, 114). Therefore, disciplining girls about being careful with money is seen as important. The precise relationship between money and women is examined carefully in etiquette books. A girl is expected to be prudent from childhood. The main reason is that if she starts to be thrifty from an early age, she will be more careful with money when she gets married as well (113). But if a woman squanders money randomly, it can be harmful not only to herself and her family but also to the greater family, i.e. to society (114). Women's role becomes honorable in contributing to the family income because it will benefit the national economy as well. Interestingly, women are blamed for economic and social crises because of spending too much money and for

being interested in the luxury lifestyle (114). The woman who doesn't work for the benefit of the country but wastes her money on her own taste in luxury is highly criticized. Feliha Sedat calls this type of woman a "parasite" and describes her as self-centered, one who lives at her husband's expense and spends too much money for her own pleasure. It is believed that society will be different with tactful and prudent women. Thus, the frugality of women is equal to patriotism (115).

The new etiquette also tries to modernize housewifery and housekeeping. It aims to train women in rational housekeeping techniques. The status of a woman, as well as her husband's, is connected to the extent to which a housewife develops a modern way of housekeeping. Yael Navaro-Yaşın analyzes how housework was rationalized during the first years of the Turkish Republic by considering it alongside factory work, and she calls it a kind of Taylorism. Thus, it is understood that housework is an important matter of social construction. Like in factory management, women's domestic work was to be reorganized to provide incentives for good performance (Navaro-Yaşın 2000). Therefore, Girl's Institutes were founded by the state in the Republican period to instruct young women in arranging and ordering domestic work.

Housekeeping in a "Tayloristic" way as a sign of the Republican civilizing project is also found in etiquette books. Süheylâ Arel has a chapter about "Taylorism at home" and provides "scientific information" on ways for women to please their families with moral and material support (Arel 1943, 441). She defines Taylorism as time-and-motion study. Arel first provides ten rules of Taylorism determined for the factory and then adapts them for the management of the home (442-443). Women are urged to divide the day into hours and determine their daily and weekly working hours. In addition, factory discipline is applied to home economics. The function of this modern way of housekeeping for disciplining women in order to have the desired efficiency at home echoes the Foucauldian idea of "discipline." Süheylâ Arel constantly tries to impose this new domestic etiquette on his female readers, suggesting the proper tools and training for good performance in domestic work. She gives a detailed explanation of the necessary principles to be more productive and save time at home. As in a factory, a housewife can have workers to help her at home, and she has to pay her maid's wage not to lose her (448).

Arel organizes the domestic tasks according to her Taylorist view. She describes different techniques for home management, such as cheap and easy procedures to remove all stains (121), how to make a variety of cheap and easy cakes at home (166), how to prepare elegant salads and hors d'oeuvres (195) as well as diet meals for patients (239), an economical way to wash clothes at home (263), how to can fruits and vegetables at home (319), ways to cook fish and elegant dishes (367), and so on and so forth. Her explanations of varied principles are not only about housework but also home economy. In modern life, the health of the body becomes important, and Arel writes a chapter about diet and diet meals to maintain the health of body, providing a table with the calories contained in every food (211-237).

5.6. Women and Work

According to the official Republican ideology, the new woman was charged with a new “social duty”; she was, from now on, not only a good mother and wife, but was also defined as a modern employed woman (Özer 2009, 243). Republican reforms accorded women the right to have a profession, though they also stipulated women had to work in suitable jobs and not heavy occupations. Even though women were encouraged to have a profession in that period, etiquette books chose to keep silent on this subject. Actually, in only a few places do etiquette books mention girls and work, and married women working outside the home is never a question. This silence conflicts with the mission of “women in professions” dictated by Republican discourse.

Özdeniz discusses the useful function of the society such as earning one's living and being useful to society. He sees working as a national duty and those who do not work are a huge embarrassment for not being beneficial to society. Although he talks about the necessity of working, he does not support women's working at all (Özdeniz, 1942). The main reason for not encouraging women to have profession can be explained by a patriarchal perspective. For instance, according to Zeren, women's financial independence is a danger to family unity. He maintains that women's desire to work can cause nasty interrelated problems. If a women works outside because she earns her own money she does not depend on male protection and may choose a single life. If she chooses a single life, she would not get pregnant and give birth,

because she does not want to deal with the domestic work at home by herself. Thus, the continuity of the generations would not be maintained and a healthy family would not be created. For him, the woman who does not choose marriage is finally “ignorant” and “selfish” (Zeren 1943, 13).

In the section entitled “Do women have to work?” Zeren sees girls’ employment as only for those who are not beautiful. (Zeren 1943, 160). According to him, if a girl’s physical beauty, affection, sympathy or character are not enough for an early marriage, her working outside can be excused until she can be married or is too old to do so (160). For Zeren, these single girls’ working can serve specific purposes. While working, not only can they console themselves, but they can also be beneficial to society. They can perhaps meet their future spouse while working (161). For him, women’s ambition to work outside, if she has a capacity to get married, is futile (162). Widows or bachelors can of course earn a living, especially to support their family, but they should also protect their honor (162). On the other hand, the girl can work only if it is not too heavy for her. Her working is also supported for matrimonial purposes. Thus, having a profession can discipline the girl and teach her both the duties and responsibilities in her marriage. Thus, through working, she will become aware of the value of money, can understand how her husband earns money, and can properly value her husband and family income (161).

Süheylâ Arel supports female employment but she looks for certain criteria. For her, to work outside the home, women should be physically and psychologically healthy so that they can take care of their bodies. Therefore, Arel examines which physical, intellectual, and spiritual skills and abilities young girls or women should have according to their profession. Moreover, she determines that only certain professions are suitable for women, for example working as a teacher in certain subjects, a doctor, a chemist, or a saleswoman. (Arel 1943, 431-437).

5.7. Girls and Education

The education of girls gains value when they fulfill their domestic duties. A girl’s education is required not for her personal improvement but to ensure the construction of a future modern mother, wife, and homemaker. As well as being a mother and wife, educated girls should be better daughters and sisters. A girl’s education also

makes them a suitable spouse for the modern man. Thus, education is seen as necessary cultural capital for the modern girl. Girls with an appropriate education, the content of which is determined by etiquette writers, can thus represent a modern image without losing their traditional roles in public or private sphere. For Feliha Sedat, an adequate knowledge of certain subjects is seen as sufficient for the education of girls, such as a good command of writing and speaking, knowledge of mathematics in order to arrange finances, knowledge of biology to know animals and plants, and knowledge of physiology to treat sick people. On the other hand, having a profound knowledge of Turkish history and geography is seen as the foremost national duty of girls ([Oksal] 1932, 43). Girls have to attend conferences for development of their intellectual level (52). They should have a diploma, even if only from secondary school (53).

Girls have to read books to discipline their intellect and develop a sense of taste, rather than simply for pleasure. Explicit control is to be exercised over their reading material. To save girls from books thought to cause moral deterioration, the family is charged with the authority to choose the right reading material for girls (47). In addition, the main aim of etiquette writing is to produce a modern girl with the help of the books she has read. Therefore, classical Ottoman literature is not recommended, not only because it represents the old regime but also because it cannot teach the standards of modern life. Thus, this approach can be evaluated as cutting all bonds to Ottoman cultural tradition (46).

Girls are asked read morally appropriate books which also should have literal value. They are also recommended to read books about history, art, philosophy, and sociology, and to read valuable books such as novels published by the Ministry of National Education. The works of the national authors such as Namık Kemal, Reşat Nuri Güntekin, and Halide Edip Adıvar are highly recommended (47). Feliha Sedat also asks intellectual Turkish women to work actively to produce a literature specifically for young Turkish girls. Translating books from foreign sources or writing national texts in accordance with the regime is an important mission which is put on the shoulders of “intellectual women.” Elite women are asked to support the regime by presenting national reading texts because this is considered an honorable duty which can only be done by enlightened women. This is also presented as a matter of the honor and dignity of womanhood (48).

Girls are expected to have impeccable taste in everything from apparel, posture, behavior, and etiquette rules to the fine arts. Interest in all kinds of art is seen as necessary for Republican girls in terms of the construction of a sense of taste. To have good taste and take pleasure in beauty and aesthetic things, a girl needs to be aware enough to be fond of the arts at least. Therefore, visiting painting exhibitions, attending concerts, and participating in different art activities is seen as an important civil duty that girls should not ignore (Oksal 1940, 128). In addition, having insight into music, painting, and poetry will enable girls to have a certain taste in everyday life (127). Yet it is also, of course, for her family. For instance, aesthetic appreciation is thought to be useful both for the household arrangement and for recreation (128). Showing interest in art is recommended for all classes of girls, from both poor and rich families. Poor girls' relation with every sort of art is required because of its capability to raise status (128-129). In addition, women are encouraged to develop consideration for beauty and aesthetics because they are seen as "the protector of taste and the disseminator to the other members of the family" (117). Thus, it is thought that the arts will be useful in spreading modern etiquette to the family easily.

Both male and female etiquette writers charge girls with the construction of an ideal female citizen. Education in accordance with the regime is emphasized. Because the previous generation cannot be taken as a role model, Republican girls have to fashion themselves as modern women, wives and mothers. For Feliha Sedat, mothers and elder women can be seen as the continuation of the old regime, even if they are becoming accustomed to the new regime, and so girls are still charged with creating themselves according to modern etiquette. In this respect, she asserts that anything that belongs to the old regime is the main obstacle to "the new life" and the previous generation's discipline must be rejected as old and invalid ([Oksal] 1932, 3-4).

For Feliha Sedat, true education can only be given by a professional governess or institution rather than at home by the parents. She thinks that this is the ideal way for girls to be disciplined. According to her, girls should have a contact with their family only once or twice within twenty four hours. In the education of girls, boarding schools or a governesses can minimize the close contact between the girls and their mothers. Although mothers are supported as prime instructors for the girls, their emotional approach to in training their daughters is seen as hardly credible. It is thought that today's girls have to construct themselves in a space free from their

mother. Therefore, rather than the mother's lap, principle-based multidisciplinary education is seen as essential for girls. Feliha Sedat recommends boarding schools or discusses the benefit of nurses to train the girls with definite methods and principles. In addition, the current generation of mothers has not internalized the innovations of the regime (Oksal 1940, 14-21).

For Feliha Sedat, the misinterpretation of "modern life" can cause mothers to commit unwelcome acts such as letting daughters go to the cinema or dance at night, or go out without hats or stockings, dye their hair at an early age, and so on. Mothers do these harmful things in the name of modernity as they are anxious to be and appear modern (22). Thus, boarding schools provide perfect order and discipline to inculcate decorum in the character and manners of girls. Taking a firm grip on the girls in accordance with official ideology becomes important for the community. For Feliha Sedat, the boarding schools have different benefits for the girls. For instance, they provide the girl with great strength of character, bring orderliness to her life, and set boundaries to her temporary desires and caprices. Moreover, the young girl learns how to apply the rules of conduct in her manner in social places. In other words, she learns self-sacrifice by leaving behind personal desires and aspirations. Such sacrifice is seen as necessary in a society which adopts Republican ideology as an ideal (20-21).

On the other hand, boarding schools also bring about changes in the girls' psychology. Because femininity is identified with emotion rather than rationality in Feliha Sedat's book, boarding school is said to provide an acceptance of righteousness and justice rather than enslavement to sentiment. In addition, boarding school will teach the limits of Westernization. Thus, undesirable things that can be observed in the acts of girls such as over Westernization, love of fashion, gossip, arrogance and ill manners will be turned in the right direction. Obeying order and principles, applying the rules of right conduct, and being modest are only acquired in the boarding school. Therefore, the most important role in the birth of a Turkish girl in compliance with the life and mentality created by the revolution should belong to the boarding schools for girls (21).

Before anything else, a girl should protect her femininity. Feliha Sedat advises girls not to follow the new movement among Western girls; "alâgarson" (in English, "the

flapper”) ([Oksal] 1932, 34-35). This style was popular in the nineteen twenties when some young women bobbed their hair, smoked cigarettes, and frequented clubs (Özer 2009, 351). Feliha Sedat warns girls not to be affected by this movement. Girls as well as women should know their differences from men and should not aspire to imitate male manners (Oksal 1940, 77). According to Feliha Sedat, while the revolution gives independence to girls as well as boys, the masculinization of girls in their every act is unacceptable. Ideal girls, therefore, should have self-control in order not to emulate male style (79). In addition, they should maintain the qualities of womanhood in their manners, attire, talk, laughter, and gait ([Oksal] 1932, 35). The ideal family girls have no inclination to be masculinized. Instead of coarse manners, being decent and polite is their honorable duty (36). Smoking like a man is not acceptable either. Feliha Sedat wants girls not to imitate everything that they see in the West because it means a loss of national identity and moral values. For her, only the girls of the smoky bars would have the desire to take up this dirty habit, not sensible Turkish girls (Oksal 1940, 76).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Etiquette books published shortly after the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey provided a new code of manners that can be considered a revision of traditional conceptions of proper behavior. Etiquette recomposed according to Western norms became an apparatus used by Republican elites to reproduce their domination. The etiquette literature of this era was highly gender specific. Even though the books did dictate some male conduct, they were addressed more to women than to men. In addition, although the etiquette writers ostensibly wrote for the entire nation, their books were clearly directed at the members of a certain class, and nearly all the books discussed here attempted to construct an idealized female citizen.

In the early Republican period, citizenship itself was a gendered concept which constructed men and women in different ways. Relative to the old regime, the position of women in society improved in the Republican period. They obtained a public presence and equal rights to share public space with men. They were also encouraged to be active in social life by getting an education and having a profession. The state attempted to realize their emancipation with formal national policies. However, women generally did not take an active role in gaining their own rights, which were instead merely granted by the men who represented the state. In addition, women had to be pleased with what they had been given and were not expected to ask for more (Kadıoğlu 1998). With the Republic, the reforms in the position of women in the Turkish Civil Code, or the right to elect and be elected granted in 1934 and 1935, respectively, undeniably provided women with certain important rights in both the private and the public domains. Although women gained their official rights with the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, they continued to be perceived as objects of local customs, social norms, and patriarchal laws and regulations (Z. Arat 1998). Etiquette literature came down on the side of the law, trying to enforce the lower status of women and at the same time enhanced the prestige (class standing) of male citizens.

Etiquette books became a particularly popular form of writing in the early Republican period. They were published for the newly ascendant class who were inexperienced as to how to dress and behave in society. Bourdieu's theory on "distinction" provided an essential framework for the present study. It highlighted the fact that social groups were grounded not only on the possession of economic capital but also on cultural and symbolic capital. In the early Republican period, when social stratification was not strongly determined by economic capital, the new etiquette became a kind of cultural capital which provided status to the modern elite of the Republic. The new elites of the Republic aimed to make modern etiquette a precondition for becoming a person of distinction within the social circle determined by the Republican regime. Indeed, the genre was reformulated to help the individuals of this class manage the application of the rules of conduct for purposes of social advancement. Thus, in order to distinguish themselves from both the earlier elites of the Ottoman period and the Republican non-elites, they adapted Western etiquette to the conditions of Republican society. In the Republican era, Western etiquette became the norm and exclusive, while the etiquette of the Ottoman period was denigrated as no longer acceptable.

Elias' study on "the civilizing process" of the West was useful in understanding the function of good manners and proper behavior, as well as the role of self-control, in the establishment of modern societies. In the early Republican period, social status required self-control and obedience to the collective norms formalized in etiquette literature. Here, the Foucauldian notion of "bio-power" and "discipline" also helped elucidate how self-control, as dictated by Republican etiquette books, could be read as the reproduction of modern power or as the discipline of the modern individual. Republican etiquette functioned as a control mechanism in the process of creating ideal citizens conversant in modern ways. Thus, both the public and private spheres, and particularly the family life of the new citizens, were regulated by modern etiquette adapted from Western sources. It was seen as essential that the body of the ideal citizen be disciplined and controlled in accordance with Republican norms. Thus, etiquette played an important role in imposing certain "civic duties" on the citizens. Not only were their deportment, dress, and behavior to be renovated but also their physiology and bodily needs were to be completely reconstructed. While such advice theoretically applied to both men and women, the new definitions of the

citizen in the Republican era had important gender implications which were laid out in the etiquette literature.

Republican etiquette books defined “good citizenship” on a Western model, and female citizens were taken as an important measure of compliance. Thus, as the symbols of the new, modern life, women’s appearance and manners and all feminine pursuits became signifiers of the social status of their men. Indeed, a man could achieve this status in part through the efforts of his wife or daughters. Having a modern woman who had been reconstructed in accordance with Republican discourse provided the man with “prestige” and distinguished him from non-elites. Having such an ideal Republican woman was also strategically important in order to construct a male’s citizenship status as “acceptable”. He was thereby bound to complete the reformation of social life. If his wife did not suit the norms, he could lose his social status or authority.

In etiquette books, men were also addressed during discussions about civilized manners in everyday life. However, they were only expected to pay attention to whether their manners were sufficiently civilized in social circles. In addition, they merely had to be careful about their physical appearance, such as their attire, and their genteel attitude towards women. On the other hand, Republican-era etiquette books were full of new warnings to the new middle class women about protecting their moral values. Indeed, the ideal women were expected to demonstrate a certain respectability, decorum, and modesty in both the private and public spheres. In other words, women were asked to exercise self-control over their own sexuality. They therefore had to perform a difficult task, balancing themselves between conventional and modern images of womanhood. While maintaining the chastity of traditionalism, they had to be modern, but not so modern as to assert their sexuality. They were also advised to conceal their femininity and sexuality particularly as they stepped into society. Since chastity was important to the etiquette authors, they enjoined women to act according to social norms and so as to safeguard family honor. On the other hand, to protect their chastity, women had to have control over their relations with the opposite sex.

The principle goals of the female citizens were to work for the fulfillment of domestic duties. Before all else, women were portrayed as modern mothers, wives,

and daughters. Women who were modernized became also strategically important for the nationalist discourse. Since they were seen as the biological and cultural producers of the nation-state, “the ideal woman” was regarded as an important “symbol” of the civilizing of social life. She was responsible for transmitting the desired cultural values to her family, and thus to the whole society. Republican etiquette books thus expected women to support this social project chiefly from the private sphere. They were advised to prioritize family and domestic life rather than developing a career, and the books did not encourage women’s employment.

Yet, while the ideal female citizen’s first duty and position was to the home, she also had a place in high bourgeois social life. Books desired women to behave and dress ideally in social settings in order to be “worthy” of the status of their modern husband or father or brother. The ideal woman had to be well informed in all the rules of etiquette in order to function properly in high society. She had to embody the necessary cultural capital and demonstrate taste and refinement in her dress and manners in both the public and private spheres. She was also expected to be proficient in the complicated protocol of balls, and know the etiquette of formal dances. And she had to be knowledgeable about the rules for arranging visits, and governing the dinner table.

The discourse of early Republican etiquette books demonstrated that class and gender were not two independent axes, and that there was an interaction between them. Analysis only of the creation of class or only of the construction of womanhood in accordance with the gender requirements of the regime would not be sufficient to explain the real aim of etiquette literature. The intersections of these two concepts presented the gendered intentions of Republican discourse in its construction of the new citizens. Therefore, Republican etiquette books are important sources which provided an understanding of how early Republican society was structured in terms of relations between the classes and genders.

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