

Construction of "Eugenic Ideal Woman" in Turkey between 1930- 1945 by Body and Sport Politics

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Abstract

The intensive applications of eugenic policies coincide between two World Wars in spite of the emergence of this idea has occurred for long time ago in the history. So, in this period, it is possible to see the both negative and positive sides of eugenic policies in especially the body, health, sports, and family and marriage arrangements in mostly fascist and authoritarian regimes. This study took its movement from the question which is "how feminity was constructed between 1930-1945, that is called Kemalist period, by body and sport politics?" At this point, resources like book, articles and journals which are primary sources of that period have been scanned. In this context, this article aims to describe and define "ideal woman" without ignoring external and internal dynamics and by analyzing the eugenic policies which are evident in body and sport politics

Keywords: Eugenic, woman, body politics

1. Introduction

Though the idea of eugenics emerged in the 19th century, it has appeared as a concept which became effective in the interwar period. However, studies on eugenics have concentrated mostly on Germany and Italy. On the contrary, with a little elaboration on the issue it can be seen that many countries, primarily fascist and authoritarian ones have resorted to eugenics positively, negatively or in both ways. Therefore, in what ways many countries except for the most visible Germany and Italy have actually implemented eugenics policies constitute an area of research.

In this context, the idea of addressing eugenics policies in Turkey which underwent an authoritarian modernization period between 1930 -1945, intending to increase its population in terms of quality and quantity along with westernization and building a nation-state, was born within the search for a different approach on the official ideology of the period. In this framework, it is required; to explain the concept itself, to examine different countries, especially the United States and Germany, and to analyze Turkey in particular regarding the regulations on population, healthcare, body, marriage and family. The main aim of this work is to reveal how and on what grounds eugenics policies in Turkey were formed and implemented in the period in question. Hence, it has been attempted to address both discussions in the intellectual dimension and the implementations in practice.

With a general observation, it is seen that mostly policies which can be named as positive eugenics policies were implemented in Turkey in the aforementioned period. In fact, it is possible to examine the influence of these policies in regulations regarding population, body, healthcare, marriage and family; both in practice and in the level of official discourse. Nevertheless, while "marriage prohibition" as a negative eugenics policy had its place in legal documents, many issues, especially sterilization, remained limited to the level of discussions.

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How woman was constructed based on sports and physical training, which was one of the regulations in question, and how eugenics policies were implemented in practice will be the subject of following pages.

2. Eugenics: Conceptual and Historical Framework

Eugenics, which can be defined as promoting the reproduction of the “*fit*”² in a population while preventing that of the “*unfit*”, is an idea conceptually proposed by Francis Galton in 1883 but its origin can be traced back to the Ancient Greece. In his article published in 1908, while Galton presents the aim of the eugenics as controlling the birth rate of the “*unfit*”, he suggests the second aim as providing the improvement of the race through early marriage and healthy child rearing. (Leonard, 2005:208) In this framework, the main aim of the idea of eugenics, which includes social engineering in a sense, can be stated as “providing social improvement.” Therefore, what needs to be done is to remove what looks as an “obstacle” to the improvement. While positive eugenics is promotion of the reproduction of people who are “qualified, valuable, healthy enough for social improvement” and “*fit*”, negative eugenics contains actions such as prevention of reproduction, isolation, discrimination, sterilization and extermination against the people who are “unqualified, invaluable, *unfit* and physically or mentally ill.”

The most significant differentiation in discussions regarding eugenics is between innate features and environmental effects, and it is known as nature/nurture or hereditary/environment. With a general overview, the first group in this differentiation emphasize that innate features do not change and regardless of environmental factors they claim that the “superior” always remain “superior-and vice versa of course.” The second group, though, claim that environmental factors have influence on heredity, even to the extent that their influence on individuals can change innate features at times (Darwin, 1924: 94) and therefore the environmental factors should be equalized. (Freeden 1979:651) In addition, there is also another perspective claiming that both factors should be addressed in harmony.

From the historical perspective, eugenics is the product of the 19th century. As a matter of fact, the 19th century comes forth as a time span in which rising of masses was in question all around the world, governments started to take action against this new situation, ideologies began to rise and the concept of “public” gained importance. The need for human labor due to industrial activities based on scientific and technological developments brings about social movement, migration from rural to urban areas and increase in urban population. Demands of this emerging population cause a shift in the traditional governmental roles such as conscription, taxation and security. In this context, in order to propagate its official ideology, meet the demands and “keep the masses in its hand,” the political power embarks on regulations primarily on education and healthcare, and conducts censuses.

Likewise, the French Revolution has an important role in advancement of social sciences in the 19th century. With the French Revolution, governors, politicians and intellectuals face with certain needs such as perceiving and understanding the “object” called “society,” putting it in an order, and governing and guiding in accordance with this order. (Özlem, 1998: 16) Thus, as it has more chances of controlling the society, guiding the social change and channeling social movements, science gains a new function, beyond only “to know for the sake of knowing,” as a mechanism producing and acquiring knowledge and as a tool in the hands of governors ruling the society, when they possess the legislation forming the society. (Özlem, 1998:17) At this point, biology is perceived as a tool to analyze politics, and it is turned into a device to resolve problems regarding poverty, labor and education. (Nye, 2010:688) The reason why biology has gained such importance is that the theory of evolution based on natural selection extends way back within biology. The theory of evolution, which is a part of biology, is used to explain the society.

2 While “*Fit*” generally implies an ideal condition such as having all desired psychological, physical and mental qualifications, having certain physical measures, embracing values required by the regime, being physically and psychologically healthy and even becoming member of a certain race in extreme cases, “*unfit*” is the exact opposite. However, boundaries of the content of this concept are quite ambiguous, changeable depending on time and place, and open to interpretations. In sections related to Turkey, as the distinction in literature is made as qualified/unqualified, these terms have been used rather than *fit/unfit*.

Hence, by placing the human in biological evolution, the border between natural sciences and humanities or social sciences is removed. In short, the data and laws acquired through biology are used in defining society. This situation is especially observed while the ruling class is legitimizing its position and explaining the situation of classes deemed inferior to themselves. Therefore, "governing of the ones deemed inferior and unqualified by the selected and superior" gets legitimized.

When it is compared with the pre-World War I period, it is seen that the traditional roles of the government including taxation, conscription and maintaining the order extend in a way to provide the government with a position to intervene in the social space and regulate it. In addition to this, government intervention in the private space seems to increase, as well. Governments start to implement eugenics policies within the services stated above. However, the movement, though it is very effective in the USA, remains limited, and it can only find a field of expansion in the interwar period.

In the interwar period, expectations for state intervention in social space especially in areas such as labor regulations, living space conditions and nutrition begin to increase. As the increase in the quality of the race is seen as good for the society, what is good for the society is thought to further empower the state. Therefore, reproduction of the qualified and prevention of the reproduction of the unqualified come forth as a right of the state to be achieved for its interests rather than a duty to be fulfilled. Perception of human in this period is an exclusionist and hierarchical conception which finds its meaning within the concept of race. Participation in conferences on eugenics gradually increases in this period. Yet, after the World War II, the idea of eugenics goes down to the "underground." (Barret and Kruzman, 2004: 505-511)

Ambiguity in the definition of eugenics, namely lacking of certain borders on whom to be part of which group, and obscurity in adopting one or both of positive and negative eugenics enable many governments to adopt eugenics policies on regulations especially regarding healthcare, body, family and marriage in the 20th century. Even though it reaches a peak in Germany with Hitler, eugenics is implemented in different levels ranging from discrimination against immigrants, sterilization, the Holocaust, promotion of reproduction in the middle class to forming Aryan race in many countries such as the US, England, France, China, Russia, Brazil, Sweden and Norway... In this context, as it is done in many countries within the historical process, eugenics policies are implemented in our country in articulation with ethnic nationalism and modernization, especially between 1930 and 1945 which is referred to as the period of authoritarian modernization.

3. Development of Eugenics Policies in Turkey between 1930 And 1945

3.1. Historical and Intellectual Background

Even though the republican generation embraces a struggle in favor of peace and cooperation rather than praise of warfare in its main discourse, it should be stated that the premise of "life is a struggle" has been inherited from the Ottoman Empire. What underlies the perception of power as decisive is the phenomenon which is adopted by the side deeming itself as disadvantaged in a struggle: on perceiving the struggle as an evil which should cease to exist and embracing an attitude in favor of justice by distinguishing the justice and power. (Ünder, 2002: 432) The desire for a peaceful discourse and prioritization of international peace and cooperation does not change the fact that life is a struggle "for a generation struggles to survive after the collapse of an empire," and it does not prevent acceptance of this situation as the logic of the Realpolitik. Thus, in order not to fail and disappear, being "fit" is required. In her article, "Women in Search of Peace," Belkis Halim presents meaninglessness of this situation, women gathering for peace and the statements uttered in the following way:

"The fight emerging due to the concern of grabbing a prey from the other or climbing a rough fruit tree before the other, has reached its current phase by evolving with human, but it has not lost its essence. With his/her eyes wide open with terror, cheeks sunken and bowels clung in hunger, a human certainly hates the man who sniffs at the food in abundance before him, and of course attacks him. Even a child cannot bear losing his/her toy to someone... As long as there are oppressing man and oppressed man, oppressing state and oppressed state, the fight will persist. Considering this situation as a task, decency or a matter of decency would be credulous." (Belkis Halim, 1933:7)

Although the policy of “Peace at home, peace in the world” is embraced after the National Campaign, it is seen that “in order to live in a world in which everybody can fall into struggle at any time, to be strong and to survive,” it is required to have “army and military power” and “qualified” people, which will be discussed in the section on eugenics policies. Namely, the issue in question is the militarization of society and the execution of eugenics ideal.

Another element inherited from the Ottoman Empire to the republican period is the nationalist movement which is mostly visible in the form of modernization and Pan-Turkism in particular. Within the framework of “modernization,” the cure for restoring the state has been searched within policies imitating the “West.” This period coincides with a time span in which the official ideology has evolved; masses have stepped on the stage of history and accordingly the ones holding the political power attempt to find a new legitimacy. In this context, the attempts on westernization stand out in three fundamental institutions which provide propagation of official ideology, obedience and loyalty: army, bureaucracy and education.³ (Alkan, 2001:378)

The most important period in relation to nationalism is the time when Pan-Turkism becomes dominant in the Ottoman Empire and the Committee of Union and Progress gets effective in the government after the Second Constitutional Era. This situation is actually built up by clustering of many factors. It is seen that Pan-Turkism is articulated with financial issues in this period. In this framework, either the dominant class in politics wishes to reflect its dominance on economy as well, or it attempts to legitimize the existing situation with a nationalist discourse as it could not let its dominance to fade away. All of this actually leads to the conceptions of national economy and national bourgeoisie which are inherited to the republican era as well. (İnsel, 2008, 763-739) The policies in question are in fact policies aiming at; promoting saving and simplicity, reducing the commercial life to relations among Turks, promoting consumption of domestic goods and creating a national bourgeoisie. (Öztan, 2005: 5-7)

In the first years of the republican era, execution of foreign trade rather than domestic trade in Anatolia is seen as a threat by the nationalist, therefore certain emphasis has been put on the importance of the national-market and the nationalist progressive policies which would build national bourgeoisie. In this context, while the non-Muslim are alienated because of their stance in commercial life and “better” life standards compared with the level of overall welfare, in the late 1920s emphasis on productivity and saving constitutes the core of economic progressive policies. However, the economic situation after the 1929 crisis, starting with the devaluation of Turkish Lira and followed by the decrease in national income and emerging trade deficit, causes the adoption of an economic policy to sustain development by reducing the impact of economic institutionalization and crisis. While saving and domestic goods are exalted within the conception of national economy, in the country the non-Muslim and extravagant citizens and abroad westerners coveting natural resources are alienated. (Öztan, 2005:9)

3 If a periodization is required, it can be done as Tanzimat (Reconstruction) period, Abdulhamid II period and post-Second Constitutional Era. If the first two periods are briefly covered: Reconstruction period is the time in which attempts on westernization are materialized starting with the bureaucracy in particular, the “Ottoman” identity based on loyalty to the sultan and fidelity to the country is formed without any distinction of religion or sect and as a reaction to separatist movements. Abdulhamid II period is a time in which Islam is attempted to be used as a unifying ideology in political and social space as a reaction to Ottomanism, the relationship between ideal servant and ideal subject is emphasized, and on the contrary particular attention is paid to science and progress in education in the beginning of the period. For the periodization, see: Mehmet Ö. Alkan op. cit., p.378-400. Regarding the concept of “millet,” looking at the last period of the Ottoman Empire, it is seen that there is a conceptual turmoil. In fact, in the Ottoman Empire whose legal and administrative orders depend on millet system, the decisive factor of “millet” is religion. However, with the Reconstruction, millet is used, at first partly but later completely, to define the race (ethnie). Due to the influence of the French Revolution, there is shift from the millet system based on religion to a millet system based on “nationality.” In millet definition standing for nation, while religion and Sharia are excluded, the concept of millet means group of people. However, the dominance of the religious origin of the concept prevents a sudden shift in the meaning. Concepts of Ummah, kin, descent, ethnicity and even race are among other concepts which are used to stand for nation in the late 19th century and in the early 20th century. While race is used in the meaning of nation, genetic race is not attributed to a group, and sometimes descent stands for the nation. (Ahmet Yıldız, 2010:16-18)

Changes in perceptions of history, religion and language in this period are important to understand range expansion of the Pan-Turkism. Studies on pre-foundation of the Ottoman Empire, perception of the Anatolia as the motherland, decline in the influence of the clergy, transformation in the concept of homeland into a more concrete state, search for pure Turkish, cultural Turkism, prevalence of Turkish language at schools and publishing articles including different opinions on Pan-Turkism in press show that this movement has a quite wide area of influence. Considering all these actions taken, this period, as Baskın Oran states, is a time in which the "full-dress rehearsal" of Atatürk nationalism is performed besides the proclamation of the republic and the abolition of the caliphate. (Oran, 1993:60) Full reflection of this legacy in question in the republican era continues in the post-National Struggle period. The National Struggle is a struggle aiming at attaining national sovereignty and implanting national consciousness into the "community of peasants who have nothing to do with national consciousness" by selling them on the concepts of homeland and nation at the same time. (Yıldız, 2004:89) For this aim, "national sovereignty" has an instrumental function, and it is used as the source of legitimacy. However, it should be noted that this source of legitimacy has undergone "required changes when necessary" (the law of Supreme Command, abolition of the sultanate and etc.). Moreover, in accordance with the increase in the authoritarian nature of the regime in the post-National Struggle period, national sovereignty starts to mean the same with the elite, or rather, with Mustafa Kemal.

The post-National Struggle period until 1930 is the time span in which the nation state is started to be built with an elitist perspective in a "top-down" fashion, grounded on secularism and republicanism, purified from religious grounds and depended on language and history.⁴ With this aim, along with the political discharges, as the prerequisite of building a homogeneous nation, a concrete identity is tried to be formed. However, the duality beginning in this period and continuing later on prevents this concretion. The duality in question constitutes the definition of a political-legal identity determined by citizenship and connection with the homeland, and an essentialist identity definition based on an ethnicist ground and sanctified by uniqueness.⁵(Bora, 1996:172-173) Even though Turkish nationalism attempts to embrace the political-legal definition, the ethnicist definition sustains its influence and becomes dominant after the 1930s. In the 1923 guidelines of the Republican People's Party, embracing Turkish "culture" comes forth as an inevitable requirement for the party.

Therefore, cultural importance of Turkishness precedes the concept of citizenship. In 1927, when the statement of "national solidarity depends on the unity of language, unity of cause and unity of idea" is added to the guidelines, advancing Turkish language and culture comes forth as one of the most important duties of the party. (Behar, 1992: 90) Adjustment of "scientific" activities in accordance with the needs of the dominant political ideology begins in this period as well. In 1925, Anthropology Study Center of Turkey is founded in Istanbul University, and in October, in the same year, publication of Turkish Anthropology Journal begins. (Aydın, 2002:356-357) This tendency to research on origin, combining with racist dimensions in the 1930s, causes an increase in studies particularly on language and history as part of "commissioned science." The years between 1930 and 1945 correspond to a period in which authoritarian qualities of the regime increases, Kemalist ideology starts to expand into every field and the authoritarian regime gets consolidated. Many institutions, especially the party, get integrated with the state, and the ones which are not get abolished.

4 Nationalization in language starts with the alphabet reform (1928). Following aims are to be achieved through replacing Arabic alphabet with Latin alphabet: breaking the influence of the clergy, building relations with the West by cutting all ties with the "old" and "other" Ottoman Empire, including masses in the concept of nation by reducing the gap between public and elite, and implanting propaganda activities more easily. The subject of history is to be covered in the section in which the 1930s are analyzed. For the assessment on the influence of the alphabet reform,(Oran, 1993).

5Likewise, Büşra Ersanlı makes a distinction of organic nationalism and voluntary nationalism. While voluntary nationalism, based on the ideals of French Revolution, depends on ideas of equality of citizens and equal rights, organic nationalism, grounded in German idealism, defines the nation as an organic reality which has a common consciousness of culture and history, and is free from public will. Additionally, dominance of the latter is emphasized. (Behar,1992:62) Ahmet Yıldız states that Republican boundaries of Turkish national identity have two dimensions, namely political and legal dimensions. According to this view, while political dimension defines Turkishness with features of culture, language and embracing a common national ideal, legal dimension is based on perceiving everyone as Turk without any distinction in terms of religion or race. Even though legal definition is included in some of the legal documents, political definition prevails in daily life and within the dominant discourse,(Yıldız, 2004: 139-154)

In this framework, main features of the Kemalist regime come up as: denial of any kind of difference, faction and opposition to the ruling party; an absolutist attitude presenting state ideology as the sole truth; decisiveness of the decisions made by the ruling elite, especially by the leader. Consequently, as the government and party turn into a body which is not open to any division, any opposition to the ideology or party is perceived as a counter revolution. (Maksudyan, 2007:47)

Considering the authoritarian and fascist regimes around the world, it is seen that essentialist, ethnicist and racist emphases increase within the perception of nationalism in this period, and studies to legitimize these ideas become more prevalent. By emphasizing that Turkish identity has “very special qualifications” from time immemorial to eternity, Turkish identity is exalted, and the conceptions such as high virtue, superior nation and the strongest nation are often emphasized in this context. Formation of Turkish identity and verification of the “sustainability” of these qualifications attributed to it can be achieved through articulation of studies on history, language and anthropology and by “reaching the same goal as a whole with different instruments,” in proving “superiority of the superior Turkish race.” The primary example for this is the Turkish History Thesis which is the symbol of official history writing. While the aforementioned thesis is grounding the Turkish history on Central Asia through elimination of the Ottoman Empire and Islam, it is written with the attempt to display the origin of Turkish race descending from the superior Alpin race and how it proves this superiority to the world. Similar emphasis on the race is visible in history congresses of the time. Hence, this situation causes the articulation of history with anthropology. Turkish race is defined as a brachycephalic race expanding from the Central Asia to the world and building a “civilization.”⁶ Excavations and anthropometric measurements for this thesis are performed on “verifying samples.” In short, science moves within the borders drawn by the ideology. This situation, when it is combined with a newly sovereign nation’s concerns for attaining supremacy, forming an identity and making comparisons, brings about an emphasis on features superior than Europeans and even a mindset which can claim that Turks have brought civilization to Europeans and so Europeans are Turks as well. Adoption of the aforementioned history is achieved by the inclusion of this thesis into the national education system.⁷(Çağatay, 2008:247-249)

A similar regulation is performed in the field of language. The language, as the “common ground” in formation of nation-state, is handled with racial features. While the foundation of the Society for Research on the Turkish Language (the name is changed as Turkish Language Association in 1936), language conventions and the Sun Language Theory are in the same line in advocating the sustainability of Turkish language and race, studies aiming at saving the Turkish language from foreign words and Islamic influence, and of course emphasizing the superiority of the Turkish language, are the most important reflections of this situation. (Çağatay, 2008:249-256)

When these developments in the country are considered within the developments in eugenics in different countries discussed in the first section, eugenics in Turkey becomes visible especially after 1930. Eugenics policies noticeably appear on population. Therefore, this relationship will be clarified, and then what eugenics means will be discussed.

3.2. The Issue of Quality-and-Quantity of the Population

Quality and quantity of a population have constituted an area of discussion in many countries attempting to build a national structure and accelerate industrialization in post-war periods.

7 In the education system of the period, these two theses are observable in the books by Afet Inan, *Vatandaş için Medeni Bilgiler* [Civil Information for the Citizen], and by Tevfik Tarık Danişman, *Yurt Bilgisi* [Homeland Information], in a racist manner and even with an emphasis on blood unity in the latter. In fact, it is presented in line with distinctive qualities of the community constituted by language-blood tie and evolving in accordance with the Turkish History Thesis. (Üstel,2004: 127-241)

In Turkey in particular, when the decrease in the population after the World War I and the National Campaign is combined with the issues such as influence of the financial crisis emerging in the 1930s, the need for labor force to participate in the process of industrialization, and the relationship between population and national force, population is demanded to increase in terms of quantity and quality. In this situation, eugenics is the "instrument" to provide required increase and to execute national development accordingly. (Tiner, 1938:31)

Population is an important factor for the strong existence of a nation. While the existence, rise, enrichment and empowerment are directly related to the population, it is emphasized that nondecrease of the population is not sufficient for the existence; on the contrary increase in population is required for empowerment. (Akalin, 1936:9) Population increase is also seen as a condition for being a part of the civilized world and "keeping up with the times." Thus, in order to render the race eternal and resistant, population should constantly be increased. (Akalin, 1936: 10) However, numeric increase in population is not enough on its own, as the pronatalism is not the only aim. The increase should be contributing to the economy. Therefore, the demand is not for an overall population increase, but for an increase in "qualifications" which can bring about ideals such as achievement, defense and rise.

Hence, individuals having required physical and mental qualifications are seen as elements of the "national wealth." It is pointed out that when this element of national wealth can be sustained and increased properly, the targets for welfare and improvement can be achieved. (Nasır, 1933: 416) The demand for an increase in the "qualified" portion of the population brings about a reverse point of view as well: reproduction of the unqualified is unwanted. Yet, it is important to know who the unqualified are, how they are perceived and why their reproduction is undesirable. While the ones perceived as qualified have all qualifications physically and mentally, the ones seen as "unqualified" are just the opposite. Therefore, from the financial point of view, protecting them is "a burden." (Uzman, 1939:3) The negativity caused by these people is not seen limited to a financial burden. By attributing the responsibility for all wrongdoings to them, this group is seen as the main source of degeneration:

"...Even this damage to money is something scary and should be thought over. In fact, there are more important issues. The roles played by these cripples in daily life. Begging, fraud, burglary, prostitution, assault and murder are mostly related with the people who are mentally sick, weak-minded and having distorted thoughts. Furthermore, the most important role is the one they play in reproduction and family life... The most innocent sin of these people, marriage, is the most unfortunate and dangerous one. Each of them will raise a few cripples like him/her, and drag his/her descent into degeneration. That is why their reproduction should be prevented..." (Uzman, 1939:5)

Who belong to this group is stated in a way open to interpretation, namely statements such as mentally ill, cripple and incapable can have different interpretations, and they are ambiguous. Furthermore, besides becoming a burden, individuals in this group are seen as a "potential threat" which can harm the healthcare, economy, social order and the future of the country as they have "potential to reproduce more." (Bırol, 1938: 3) Besides the individual harms and their burden, it is stated that the spending on the institutions for their care (constitute mainly poorhouses, prisons and courts) is wasting money, and the damage is doubled as the expense is charged on the "shoulders" of the "qualified." (Şemsi, 1933: 12) In short, these people are perceived as "parasites" having no use and sponging on other people.

3.3. Definition of Eugenics-Racial Hygiene

Eugenics, as an instrument to develop population in terms of quality and quantity, starts to be discussed particularly in the realm of medical science in Turkey in the 1930s. However, the ground of these discussions, considering the status of the people addressing the issue, is in line with the official ideology and aims at guiding it.⁸

⁸ It has to be stated that even though eugenics seems to be a topic of medical science, considering the people in discussions it is seen that these individuals have quite important, mostly administrative positions, and additionally from time to time they have seats as MPs and ministers. In this context, it makes sense to present information about the individuals whose pieces have been referred. For instance, Şükrü Hazım Tiner, as a neurologist, is among the founders of the Hospital of Mental and Neurological Diseases (present-day Bakırköy Mental Health and Neurological Diseases Hospital). Besim Ömer Akalın, as a gynecologist, opens the first birth clinic and works as dean at a medical school. In addition, Akalın participates in political arena as a member of parliament in 1935. Mahzar Osman Uzman is accepted as the founder of contemporary

While articles written on the concept of eugenics show that there is awareness on the implementations conducted in other countries, main distinctions such as nature/nurture and "fit/unfit," which evolves into qualified/unqualified, constitute the major elements shaping the discussion, and as an addition it is seen that the emphasis on "race" increases in the same period.

In one of the first articles written on eugenics, Tevfik Remzi [Kazancıgil] defines eugenics as:

"Eugenics is the information of treatments which can perfect racial qualities of a community and raise it to the highest level of maturity." (Kazancıgil, 2011:235)

Eugenics is often referred to as racial hygiene. As a matter of fact, while hygiene is a discipline working on the health of individuals, racial hygiene is defined as a discipline working on the health of a race containing individuals transmitting racial qualifications from one generation to other. (Şemsi, 1933:9) In order to achieve its goal, contrary to the assumption that individual qualifications are unalterable, the racial hygiene claims that qualifications of a race or nation can be changed, yet in this situation the "natural selection" process should be guided by an external "rational intervention." (Biol, 1938:5) In this context, actual and future interventions are accredited with legitimacy by grounding them on "rationalism."

As the strongest survive in the natural selection, survival and reproduction of the strongest should be ensured for the common good of the society. Likewise, the weak, the crippled and the sick should be eliminated as they cause degeneration. (Şükrü Hazım Tiner, 1938:3-5) As the promotion of protection and reproduction of the ones seen as good quality/qualified, namely the positive eugenics, is often emphasized in discussions, decrease in the number of this class, who is "to advance the civilization" on its own, is thought to end up with the decline in the level of culture because of the "simplicity" of the rest. (Kazancıgil, 2011)

Based on this framework, if there is a demand only for the increase in the number of the qualified portion of the population, it is not difficult to assume that there is to be a demand to prevent the reproduction of the portion seen as unqualified. Despite the ambiguity of the portion defined as unqualified, this situation corresponds to the negative eugenics: Negative eugenics is defined as the prevention of individuals who are hereditary sick, degenerate, ignoble and harmful to the race from reproduction. (Biol, 1938: 6)

Distinction of poor/rich is the result of placement of the poor into the group which should not reproduce because of the emphasis on the difference of living conditions (the effect of environmental conditions). Main cause of this situation is that insufficiency of financial conditions in this class causes emergence of issues harming the natural state of an individual during pregnancy or infancy such as tendency to get sick and vulnerability to "social diseases." Therefore, while decreasing the birthrate in this class is "nearly" an obligation, waging war against the low birth rate in the upper class is a patriotic duty.

psychiatry in Turkey, and he is also among the founders of the Hospital of Mental and Neurological Diseases. Ihsan Hilmi Alantar leads the Turkish National Pediatric Society in different periods, and opens the first child dispensary in 1921. Fahrettin Kerim Gökay becomes a specialist on mental diseases, and in later periods he assumes duties as Istanbul governor, MP, Minister of Health and Social Services, and Minister of Development and Housing. Ali Esat Biol works as the director of GATA (Gülhane Military Medical Academy) Gynecological Diseases and Birth Clinic in 1931. Upon his return to the country in 1924, in addition to his interests in issues such as gynecology, radium implementations and gynecological pathology, Tevfik Remzi [Kazancıgil] works as the head of the department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Istanbul University Cerrahpaşa Faculty of Medicine between 1939 and 1969. Besides working as a professor in many hospitals, Server Kamil Tokgöz becomes second director in Refik Saydam Center of Hygiene in 1933 and is assigned as the director in 1941, and he is elected as MP from Denizli in 1943. Perihan Çambel, specialized in pathology, works in Vakıf Gureba and Ankara Numune Hospitals, and conducts research on cancer in the United States. Şükrü Kaya, in addition to many other duties, assumes offices as the Minister of Foreign Affairs and as the Minister of Interior.

The fact that upper class people have few children despite their proper financial situation and environmental conditions is perceived as selfishness. (Tokgöz, 1938:7-8) In fact, the number of children to be had by these people is at least three, because:

"For a population increase, every family should have three children. When a child is raised in a family of a husband and wife, population is reduced by half; when two children are raised, population remains at the same rate. However, if three children are born and raised by two parents, it can be said that the increase begins. Hence, in order to increase the population, we need to promote having at least three children to every married couple." (Akalin, 1936:14)

What needs to be done within this framework is discussed along with positive/negative eugenics and listed as in the following statements:

- 1- *"All measures of Positive Eugenics social hygiene require positive Eugenics. Struggle against disease, regulations on migration, resignation, crossover, regulation of financial order⁹, detecting defects in family conditions through medical and social surveys and improve them, regarding marriage as a matter of biology as well as a matter of community... Consequently, these measures improve both individual and race by rendering the individual highly qualified.*
- 2- *Negative Eugenics. The essence of negative eugenics is as following. Prohibiting the individual who can be harmful to the race from reproducing through a surgery within the legal framework of a warrant provided by law."* (Kazancıgil,2011)

Marriage prohibitions and preventing the ones seen as unqualified and harmful to the race from marriage are also included in the negative eugenics. (Uzman, 1939:9) On the contrary, struggle against "bad habits" such as drugs and alcohol, and especially issues regarding child care and welfare should be considered within positive eugenics. Another focus of attention in discussions on eugenics is due to different approaches on the distinction of environment (community) /heredity. There are three different views: one emphasizing on the importance of the environment, another one claiming that heritage defines everything, and the last one suggesting that both have influence to a certain extent. The emphasis on the inalterability of the heritage is as following:

"Community has caused many discussions for a long time rather than heritage. In fact, heritage constitutes the milestone of the maturation of the humankind." (Çambel, 1946:3)

Superiority of the heritage is attempted to be scientifically grounded through the support of some statistical data: *"Heritage is the most significant factor which transmits hereditary skills and defects from one generation to another. In the studies conducted for the last 30 years, it has been stated that heritage plays the most important role in humankind."* (Biol, 1936:4)

Thus, the biological inheritance is underlined as the essence although environmental conditions can be effective to some extent as well. Even though a good community, the training it can provide and hygiene factors have important influence, it has been emphasized that biological inheritance cannot change by training. (Çambel, 1946:12) In this framework, considering biology as the main factor, training and community are interpreted as contributing factors.

Attempting to improve environmental conditions without paying attention to heritage is sometimes seen as a deficiency. In this framework "commission for the investigation of idle children" formed in the parliament in this period is criticized, because it is pointed out that despite the amount of discussions, sociology and education fronts provide a single-sided perspective, and ignoring the heritage and eugenics which investigates the actual and inborn personality of the individual is a significant fault. (Çambel, 1946:10) The idea that the heritage is unalterable no matter what is done is also used as a source of legitimacy in order to implement negative eugenics. As a matter of fact, it is claimed that protecting these individuals is meaningless as it is not possible to change nature.

⁹ Certain financial issues are discussed such as: financial support in terms of salary increase or bonus payments for the families having qualified and more than two children, taking the number of children in a family into consideration during the appointment of civil servants, and possibility of implementations on tax reduction or exemption. (Biol, 1938: 9-10)

“However, there are also views in line with the idea that social conditions and heritage are complementing each other, and a perfect eugenics cannot be achieved without providing social conditions.” (Kazancıgil, 2011) The focus on “future” is another significant point in eugenics, in fact: eugenics is not for today, but it is a step taken today for future generations.¹⁰ The aim in eugenics is “to secure the future” by gathering “all positive *the most* of today,” and to provide the selection of the ones having physical and mental qualifications while working on this aim. While the ones having these qualifications are selected passing through processes such as education, training and exercise, individuals overcoming these phases successfully by showing their qualifications come out as the ones need to be protected and to reproduce. (Şemsi,1933: 9) However, it should not be disregarded that passing through these processes, the qualified individuals are to inevitably embrace features consistent with the official ideology.

It is possible to cover the implementations conducted in line with this aim within the framework of eugenics policies. Even though the description is not directly made in the same way, it is seen that regulations on physical training, healthcare, sports, family and marriage are made consistent with the eugenics ideal. In this context, though mostly positive eugenics is preferred, particularly prohibitions on marriage can be interpreted as negative eugenics.

3.4. Eugenics in Sports and Body Policies

When population decrease in Turkey after the World War I and National Campaign, emerging financial crisis in 1930s and the demand for labor force to participate in the industrialization process are combined with the relationship between population and national force, population increase in terms of quantity and quality becomes a necessity. In this context, eugenics comes out as an “instrument” to provide this increase and bring about national development and modernization. Sports and physical training constitute an area to increase the quality and quantity of the population, namely the main area of positive eugenics policies. In the period of 1930-1945, sports and physical training come forth as the phenomena under state supervision through which the state aims at raising individuals consistent with its regime.¹¹ Becoming a healthy “Turk” is closely associated with the training of body, soul and manners, and sports and physical training are established into an important place in an individual's life. “Raising a man” who is consistent with the regime of the society or the state is possible through making the appropriate mold for the body. (Yalın, 1938:8)

In this framework, “man” of the Kemalist revolutionary regime: “... is made up of a good-looking body, strong reasoning, bravery, dignity, defending his rights and ideas, being cheerful and serious.” (Kaya, 1941:5) In order to create this personality, besides physical training manners and mind training should be provided as well. In short, no distinction is made between strong head and strong body. Considering that the period in question coincides with the attempts on westernization and modernization, the essence of these policies becomes clear.

¹⁰ With this emphasis, it can be said that there is an attempt to prevent the discontent which might be caused by the problems of “today.” In fact, in a condition in which “future” prevails, the idea that even though today's problems have no end in short term, they are to bear fruit in the long run is dominant. Therefore, every sacrifice made “today” can be seen as a step taken for a better future.

¹¹ The years between 1930 and 1945 correspond to a period in which authoritarian qualities of the regime increases, official ideology starts to expand into every field and the authoritarian regime gets consolidated. In this framework, main features of the regime come up as: denial of any kind of difference, faction and opposition to the ruling party; an absolutist attitude presenting state ideology as the sole truth; decisiveness of the decisions made by the ruling elite, especially by the leader. (Maksudyan, 2007:44)

Considering the authoritarian and fascist regimes around the world, it is seen that essentialist, ethnicist and racist emphases increase within the perception of nationalism in this period, and studies to legitimize these ideas become more prevalent. By emphasizing that Turkish identity has “very special qualifications” from time immemorial to eternity, Turkish identity is exalted, and the conceptions such as high virtue, superior nation and the strongest nation are often emphasized in this context. Formation of Turkish identity and verification of the “sustainability” of these qualifications attributed to it can be achieved through articulation of studies on history, language and anthropology and by “reaching the same goal as a whole with different instruments,” in proving “superiority of the superior Turkish race.”

In fact, for a nation aiming at westernization and reaching the contemporary civilization, presence of the idea of state authority in physical training can be counted as a sign of the will to gain a superior rank in all aspects among the "contemporary civilizations." (Alpman, 1933:9) This situation actually depends on the subjection of every "Turk" to this authority. (Alpman, 1933: 8-9) Yet, in the same period it is seen that all states which are referred to as "contemporary" follow similar policies. In addition, when they are conducted in a collective and compulsory manner, physical training and sports are used as an instrument to provide obedience and loyalty to the regime. Furthermore, there is an attempt to increase financial productivity by holding individuals taking part in production activities liable for sports and physical training. It can be said that prevalence of the idea on "that life is a struggle and only the strong can survive" and increasing militarist tendencies in the pre-World War II period pave the way for the emphasis on physical training and sports.

It should be stated that physical training and sports policies within the framework of eugenics propose different regulations regarding man and woman. Regarding the woman, "ideal" woman of the period within the framework of eugenics policies is a woman who: embraces the values of the regime and transfers them to her children; complies with her responsibility for sports and physical training; is an ideal mother and ideal wife in private sphere, and visible in public sphere within certain boundaries; adopts westernization and modernization; is also in conformity with moral and conservative values of the society, educated and obedient. In order to achieve this goal, sports and physical training are perceived as an instrument, and while woman is rendered visible in public sphere, she is also kept under supervision.

3.4.1 Sports and Physical Training in Creation of the Young Lady of Today and Mother of Tomorrow

Woman profile which eugenics sports and physical training policies attempts to build is designed largely based on the main values of the regime. At this point, woman is both compressed in certain moulds as representative of a nation in its modernization process, and her body is kept under supervision as a "mother" through regulations on her health and body. The first step of this process is taken by including women in the overall liability system. According to this system: *"From the age of 12(included) to the age of 30(included), every girl and woman citizen is included in the physical training liability."*¹²

Considering the main aim of the regime, which is to create the "ideal woman", it can be stated that first steps are taken in the maidenhood. In this framework, it should be stated that without any distinction of female child-young lady-woman, all are perceived as the mothers of future generations and trained accordingly. In this way, while woman is forced to become a mother, maternity is regulated in a way to include all phases of child-rearing, not only limited to giving birth, and woman is rendered dependent on her child.

Consequently, by imposing all household chores on woman this dependency causes woman to leave her space as the "ideal woman" as a spectacle in public sphere in order to become a housewife and mother. The woman having required qualifications regarding body and health is important for the nation of which she is the "representative," and more significantly for the child she is to give birth. In this context, body of woman is attempted to be designed properly under supervision, and certain interventions are made on female body in compliance with social gender roles and eugenics implementations. In this framework, certain importance is attributed to physical training in raising a young lady. In order to raise an "ideal" young lady, moral, personality, manners and physical training are addressed together. (Oksal, 1940:92) At this point, the "ideal" young lady is a young girl, who has good manners, is pure and in a relationship with the nature, and is raised to become a "mother of tomorrow."

"...Mother of tomorrow's generation to whose hands we are to commend the whole country can only be a lively, cheerful young girl who knows how to walk, run and jump. She hates having a pile of tangled hair like a bunch of dirty wool, and polishing lips or nails. Inconvenient flamboyance has no meaning for her. She is a sportsperson only enjoying sun, fresh air and the beauty of nature. Her life goes on in a pure and natural manner till she becomes a mother. We have to create this type of young girl with a strong body and hating pointless flamboyance as soon as possible." (Kanok, 1935:2)

12 Decree on Physical Training and Sports Liability stated in the 9th clause of the regulation and in the 4th clause of the law numbered 3530, clause 1, 1940. (Beden Terbiyesi Mevzuatı ,1941:60)

As it is clearly seen, the type of ideal young girl is addressed as the mother of tomorrow and described in a way that she gets perceived as “healthy” in public space. When the focus on purity is examined in detail, it is seen that another “woman type” is criticized. Namely, considering the dressing and outlook, the woman who is described as “dressy, following the fashion and wearing makeup” is perceived as the “other” who misunderstands the modernization and performs it only in appearance. Woman type presented in contrast with this one is “modest,” pure, well-mannered and physically mature. In fact, what is expected from the ideal woman is to embrace the identity of a desexualized sportsperson by leaving her feminine features aside in sports and physical training activities in public space.

The regime which constructs woman by substantially prioritizing her biology due to her quality to become a “mother,” attributes certain value to young girls as they are potential mothers. Hence, the form of their bodies shaped through sports and physical training is important as the print of next generation. In this context, while the sports is handled as the “daily matter of young girls who are to generate Turkish race,” bodies of the young girls in question are idealized with respect to the future by reminding the “strong generation with steel bodies and willpower to be provided to the Turkish land” (Ankaralı, 1939: 23) by these young girls.

While the frequently mentioned dichotomy of “Strong man/weak woman” constitutes the ground for the necessity to empower woman physically and mentally, it also brings about the understanding that woman should attend to “light” sports due to her “weakness” compared to man. The understanding supporting that woman and man should attend to different sports based on the biological differences is observable in legal regulations as well: “any kind of individual or collective sports activity between male and female students” gets prohibited. (Beden Terbiyesi Mevzuatı: 1941:606) In addition, even though there are some compulsory exercises¹³ which should be done by both men and women, only some of optional exercises are evaluated as appropriate for women. These are “tennis, fencing, rowing and skiing”. (Beden Terbiyesi Mevzuatı: 1941:607) Among gymnastic exercises it is claimed that rhythmic gymnastics can attract women’s attention. (Baba, 1933:68) Actually, this understanding is very meaningful because it contains the idea that rhythmic gymnastics with background music is not appropriate for the “nature of man” and “harder” exercises are more suitable for man, and it reflects the fear of “feminization of man.”

Sometimes a “complementary” function is attributed to sports by emphasizing on the idea that physical training and sports complete some features which are “deficient” in women compared to men. Thus, physical training is important for woman to fulfill her duties completely in life as well. It is pointed out that woman can only be successful in life as long as she is strong, brave and cheerful and she can only gain this mood through physical training. Therefore, physical training is interpreted as an instrument which provides woman with features such as health, strength, self-confidence, altruism and bravery. (Taylan, 1941:11)

Sports deemed beneficial for woman, generally and with little variance, are listed as swimming, water sports, tennis, trekking, light athleticism, acrobatic exercises and horse-riding. (Baba, 1933:12) However, it should be stated that there is much more emphasis on swimming and water sports, because the swimsuit used in these sports show the body smooth and agile, and it is also coherent with the image of modern woman getting rid of veil and burqa. Recommendation for women to stay away from competition depending on the assumption of “weakness of their nerves” is yet another point to be considered. In short, woman should do sports and show her body, but she should leave the field of competition and struggle to man. In compliance with the understanding of austerity and national economy in the period and as a reflection of women’s resort to saving and domestic goods, certain emphasis is put on the idea that sports and physical training, which are to be a part of the daily routine, can be done with “simple” devices and do not require much money and time. In this context, how gymnastic exercises can be conducted with stick and rope or free hand is also addressed.

13 Compulsory exercises in clause 22 are as following: handball, volleyball, basketball (one out of three), athleticism, swimming, trekking, scouting, climbing and skiing in appropriate season. For information, see: “Maarif Vekâleti Okulların Spor Yurdları Talimatnamesi” [Regulations on Sports Centres at Schools by Ministry of Education] madde 22 [clause 22], 1941 (Beden Terbiyesi Mevzuatı ,1941.:607)

3.4.2. Sports and Woman Subjected to Moral Supervision

Female body and behavior are kept under supervision by often voicing the necessity for woman to refrain from certain behaviors while doing sports. The main point is that woman should not forget the roles "peculiar to her gender." Namely woman should do sports "without compromising her role as a woman." At this point, distinction between genders is sustained through advising woman to avoid sports which can bring masculine manners in her (Baba, 1933:11) just as telling man to refrain from sports which can attribute "feminine" features to him. In this context, it can be claimed that fear of man to lose his authority on woman comes to the surface as a result of woman's intervention in "male sports."

In any occasion woman and man do sports together, behaviors and dressing of woman get restricted but not that of man. Woman is particularly expected to "hide" her features which can awaken "lust" in man. Therefore, it is seen that the proposition that woman should protect her feminine qualities is actually problematic, because woman has to hide her "physical qualities featuring her sexuality." Likewise, in the republican period woman's participation in the labor force together, and hand in hand, with man is displayed as the indication of "modernization" and "development," but regarding sports, largely in public space, it is seen that moral restrictions mostly target woman:

"... But while coming to this new field, in which they work with their still crawling sportsman friends, it is required for our daughters to have natural colors of their lips and faces and to wear loose and modest garments. In this way, they are to gain well-deserved respect and praise of the society only by actually presenting the capability and power of the maidenhood raised by the new regime." (Kanok 1934:1)

Articulation of attempts on promoting birth and increasing population with healthy children with the aforementioned issues cause increasing attention to process of preparation for maternity within the physical training policies. Sports is thought to have an instrumental function in the struggle against infant mortality, so that reducing the infant mortality gets associated with strengthening of the mother. In fact, it is pointed out that child of a qualified, namely strong and lively, mother is to be strong and lively considering the influence of the inheritance, and consequently the country is to get stronger and full with strong and lively individuals. (Pura 1939: 26) In short, woman who cannot become a soldier contributes to "homeland defence" and "empowerment of the country" by raising the strong soldiers of the future.

What woman needs to do before and after becoming a mother, as an individual producing "next generations," is discussed in detail. As the body of woman carries the child, and later it is to feed, protect and raise the child, there is an emphasis on certain exercises and behaviors in order to meet the needs of the child truly. In addition, as the woman's health is closely associated with the child's health, woman is educated on how to protect her health in pre-and-post delivery periods. As a part of health protection, besides suggestions on nutrition in pre-delivery period, exercises which are to be avoided and to be certainly done are often stated. (Ataer, 1945:6-23) At this point, a sport has an instrumental value. The most significant example of this situation takes place within the period referred to as preparation of the young girl for the motherhood. Hence, certain attention is paid to improve body parts which are "to be needed more" when the woman becomes a "mother":

"The aim of body exercises for young girl is to make woman especially capable of her motherhood duty and to maintain her role as the guard of the race and beauty. Therefore, it is required to work on the improvement of the chest. Then diaphragm and abdominal muscles come next." (Oksal, 1940: 101-102)

Women doing sports, showing their bodies in fields, and consequently visibility of the modern women are in a sense perceived as the indication of the rights gained by women. In this framework, one way for women to show that they "deserve rights" can be seen as outshining in physical training and sports activities by having perfect bodies. A deficiency of sportswomen who turn into symbols in the field is also pointed out. This deficiency is caused by their lacking in fulfillment of the "primary duty" of women. In fact, not giving birth or giving few births cause flaws in exemplary states of these women who are seen as "exemplar." Therefore, woman who has an important position in the public space is away from reaching the desired level in the society unless she fulfills the "primary" duty expected by the state. (Akin, 2004: 118)

3.5. Search for a Synthesis in the Construction of Ideal Woman: Urban Woman, Rural Woman, Western Woman

Making differentiation among women is also observable within the idealization in question, and this situation is typically seen with the distinction of rural/urban woman. With regard to sports and physical training, rural woman who already works in "field, vineyard," naturally behaves in compliance with the sports and physical training. Her only deficiency is "mind training" through which she should embrace the values of the regime. On the contrary, as it is often emphasized that "modern" life of urban woman causes her to be overcome by laziness and drawn away from the ideal body, it is underlined that this situation has a bad influence on the "image" of the country:

"Even though Turkish woman plays a significant role in current revolutions, in the West stereotype of Turkish woman is "a fat baby lying on a couch"... Let us put aside the reasons for that and the arguments of false propaganda. Most of our urban dwellers deserve it..." (Cemal, 1993:117)

Besides the distinction and comparison above, another woman type used in idealization is the image of "western woman." In the atmosphere of modernization targeting the west, "women," who are the symbols of the geography in question, are seen as ideal in terms of sports and physical training, and to what extent "Turkish women" are similar to them is turned into a matter of discussion. Furthermore, modern nations are pictured as nations which have discovered the importance of physical training and sports, and included women in it. (Pura, 1939:26) It is stated that woman is channeled to physical training and sports at early ages in these countries, and in this way she can reach the high aim she desires. (Pura, 1939:26) On the contrary, Turkish woman is pictured as a woman who is not doing sports adequately. Hence, this woman who is away from sports is portrayed as someone who cannot resist even the smallest things.

"Whenever I encounter groups of travelers unloaded to Istanbul by transatlantic ships, women catch my eyes right away. They walk through the streets of Istanbul with lively and quick steps. It is as if these women come from Kadıköy not from the other end of the world... Our women cannot go to Kadıköy without nausea or before the layer of powder on their face turns into plaster... They must be gaining this strength through sports. Boys and girls, they all do sports for hours at early ages... The reason why our women have low resistance and are weak despite their large size is the absence of sports in family." (Coşkun, 1934:13)

Means of communication are extensively used in making the west an exemplar. At this point, even though cinema is seen as "harmful"¹⁴ for various reasons, how popular actresses integrate sports in their life and how the sports they do reflect on their "beauties" are among the issues often discussed. In this framework, photos of famous actresses taken while doing sports can be found in magazines.

3.6. The Relationship between Sports and Beauty

The relationship between sport and beauty is another issue in question. In fact, sports are often at the top of the topics covered to protect beauty. The most striking example of this situation is seen in evaluations on women participating in beauty contests like movie stars. As a result of accepting these individuals as "ideal" or "exemplar," attempts are initiated to prove that "they owe their beauty to sports." For instance, when Keriman Halis is elected as the "Miss World," it is pointed out that she also represents the "beauty of the race and nation." In addition, by organizing a trophy match in the name of Keriman Halis, she is defined as the "sportive beauty." (Türk Spor, 1932:4-5) It is emphasized that her interest in sports such as volleyball, tennis and swimming has a significant role in her beauty. Likewise, beauty of Mübaccel Namık, beauty contest winner in 1930, gets associated with regular physical exercise. (Akın, 2004:120)

¹⁴ Cinema is perceived as inconsistent with the ideals of sports. According to this idea, cinema halls are seen as places which are "poisoning and paralyzing the nerves." On the contrary, sports fields are seen as places abundant in "health, joy, happiness and sunlight."(K.İ. Kanok,1934:1)Likewise, Oksal who describes cinema as a trap against health and youth, by decorating his emphasis on fresh air with romantic elements, states that as a source of youth and beauty, fields wait for the young girls in order to provide them with both physical and mental wellness. (Oksal, 1940:99)

A reason why beauty is perceived as ideal is that female body looks in good shape only within certain measures. According to this perception, female bodies out of this mould or form are tried to put in a state in compliance with the ideal measures, and a "homogeneous" appearance is targeted. The path followed at this point is to make thin women gain weight and to make overweight women lose weight. Based on this idea, "body proportion" of woman makes sense only in accordance with the beauty and physical health of the nation. (R.İ.E, 1939:4-5) In this context, another issue in question is on diet lists in order to adjust female body to ideal measures. The main aim of these lists stating which food is to be eaten in what amount within a long program is described as making women happy: "even though they are hungry at the end of the first day, they are to reach a wellness by getting accustomed to eating less and well in time." (Ev Kadını, 1945:24)

4. Assessment

If we are to make an assessment in the light of all the information provided, we can see that while constructing the ideal woman between 1930 and 1945, the regime largely attempts to dominate female body. Therefore, physical training and sports policies implemented extensively in public space have significant influence on emergence of a woman ideal in this space. However, unlike the republican discourse on "liberated woman" in public space, a woman ideal; in which women are supervised in terms of bodies, fear of future, quality of population and modernity, kept within certain boundaries and attempted to be put in certain moulds, is presented.

In conclusion, features underlined most while constructing woman within eugenics physical training and sports policies are female body and fertility. In this framework, the ideal woman is a woman who: is raised from maidenhood by acquiring the training of body, mind and morals at the same time; cares about body proportion; represents the healthy and beautiful race; can generate strong children with all these qualifications; and is in compliance with the modern western conception of beauty and body as well.

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