

STATE POLICIES ON WOMEN AND FAMILY
IN THE EARLY 1990s

by
Kalan SOYARIK

A MASTER THESIS
SUBMITTED TO
THE DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE DEGREE
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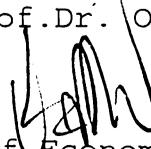
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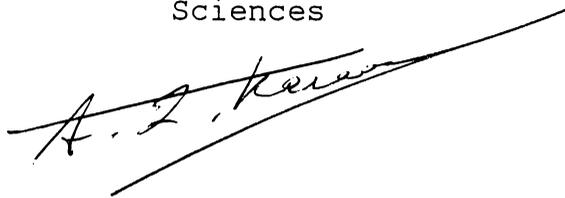


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Asst.Prof.Dr. Orhan Tekeliođlu



Approval of the Institute of Economics and Social
Sciences



ABSTRACT

STATE POLICIES ON WOMEN AND FAMILY IN THE EARLY 1990s

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In this study, the formation of state institutions in Turkey concerning women and family is analyzed. In order to understand the evolution of these state institutions, the history of the feminist movement in Turkey is taken into consideration. The objectives and activities of the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems and the Family Research Institute are compared. The purposes of the two institutions; one trying to emancipate women, while the other imposing the traditional family structure are found contradictory. Besides, the worldviews of two governments, the MP and the coalition government of SDPP and TPP, and their reflections on the functioning of the institutions are examined. Even if the policies changed in 1990s, the attitude of the state did not go beyond viewing the status of women as the "popular barometer of civilization".

ÖZ

1990'LARIN BAŞINDA DEVLETİN KADIN VE AİLE POLİTİKALARI

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Bu tezde, Türkiye'de kadın ve aile ile ilgili devlet kurumlarının kurulması incelenmiştir. Bu kurumların gelişiminin anlaşılması için Türkiye'deki feminist hareketin tarihi kullanılmıştır. Kadının bağımsızlaştırılmasını amaçlayan Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü ile geleneksel aile yapısını savunan Aile Araştırma Kurumu'nun ilkeleri ve faaliyetleri karşılaştırılmış ve birbirleriyle çelişkili oldukları görülmüştür. Diğer taraftan, bu kurumların faaliyet gösterdikleri iki hükümet dönemi, Anavatan Partisi ve Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti-Doğruyol Partisi koalisyonu, partilerin dünya görüşleri ve bu görüşlerin iki kurumun çalışmasına yansımaları incelenmiştir. 1990'ların başında her ne kadar kurumsallaşma konusunda değişiklik yapılsa da devletin genel tutumunun kadını "medeniyet göstergesi" olarak görmekten öteye gitmediği gözlenmiştir.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of
Discrimination Against Women

IYF International Year of the Family

MP Motherland Party

SDPP Social Democratic Populist Party

TPP True Path Party

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

By the end of the 1980s, Turkey had begun to experience certain changes in its policies concerning women and family. This was partly due to the rise of feminist movements in Turkey and partly because of the attempts to join the European Community. The aim of this thesis is to evaluate the state policies on women and family in Turkey especially as connected with the appointment of one of the ministries of state for those issues together with two organizations; the Family Research Institute and the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems. As, family in Turkey plays an indispensable role in the social structure and women are identified within the limits of the family, policies on family are crucial for understanding the attitude of the state towards women's issues.

1.1 Family Policy

According to Kahn, a policy is the general guide to action, the cluster of overall decisions

relevant to the achievement of the goal, the guiding principles, the standing plan (Zimmerman, 1979). Family policy on the other hand, is defined by Kamerman and Kahn as "everything the government does to, and for the families" (Kamerman and Kahn, 1978: 2). Most of the developed Western countries have begun to put emphasis on matters concerning the family in the 1980s. This is associated with increasing concerns regarding population (1) and the dissolution of families.

Family policies can be distinguished into two:

- * Explicit policies; which means institutionalized policies, that is, usually led by a minister appointed by the government for that particular issue. Explicit family policies are usually the programs and policies which are prepared in order to achieve certain explicit aims and goals concerning the family. Explicit policies view family as an institution composed of at least one of the parents with one or more children.

- * Implicit policies; which do not target family directly, but that has some consequences for the family. Implicit policies, as different from explicit policies, include the relatives and the care for elderly people.

Policies concerning women can be categorized as family policies. Similar to family policies,

women's issues had gained impetus by the beginning of the 1970s. Almost all the countries had experienced the emergence and increase of women's movements, especially between 1975-1985 which was declared as women's decade by the United Nations and due to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) that went into effect in 1981 (2).

Policies on women are distinguished as explicit and implicit, by laying emphasis on the appointment of a minister or a particular state institute on the issue; or regulating the issue through civil societal elements, or in the absence of a definite institution.

1.2 Women and Family Policies in Europe

Whether explicit or implicit, family policies focus on the welfare of the family (Dumon, 1991: 1), and policies on women focus on the betterment of the status of the women. When we examine the European countries; partly because of the internal dynamics of the countries by the late 1970s and especially on 1980s, we come across certain changes, like institutionalization, the appointment of a certain institute of state on issues of family and/or women. Tekeli, in "The Policies on Equality between Women and

Men and the State" underlines four factors for the institutionalization process as:

- i. The impact and strength of women's movement
- ii. The will of political powers

The intensification of the policies and attempts of institutionalization under leftist parties or undermining of those policies under centrist or rightist parties is given by Tekeli as an example.

- iii. International dynamics
- iv. Political culture and socio-economic context (Tekeli, 1991: 70).

In this section, I want to have a general look at the European context before focusing on Turkey which, in my point of view, will be useful for understanding the evolution of the policies on women and family in Turkey.

Most of the Scandinavian countries have experienced a strong feminist movement. However there are some divergences. In Sweden, the policies are regulated through a kind of state feminism. The evolution of institutionalization started in 1972 by the establishment of Equal Opportunity Consultation Committee, which was in 1976 transformed into a commission. Rather than appointing a ministry for women and family, an ombudsman (3) was appointed to deal with issues related to Equal Opportunity for women. Reflecting the implicit type of policies, the highest

state institution in Sweden for those matters is the Directorate for the Problems of Equality Between Men and Women which is in charge of coordination between ministries. Both Norway and Finland also have established Councils for Equality in the early 1970s. By 1980s those councils were transformed into Ombudsmans in two of the countries as; Ombud for Equal Status Between Men and Women affiliated to the Ministry for Consumer's Problems and of Public Administration in Norway, and Equality Ombudsman in Finland.

As quite different from the Scandinavian countries, the central European countries have certain appointed ministers relating the issues of family and women. In Belgium, for instance, the women's issues are considered within state organizations. Like most European countries, various councils had been founded in 1970s and, in 1980, an Interministerial Committee for the Status of Women was established. Later, in 1985 a State Ministry was appointed for Social Emancipation, activating explicit policies. France was one of the first in appointing a Ministry for Women. In 1974, State Ministry Concerning Women's Position was formed and, in 1988 was transformed into a State Ministry Concerning Women's Rights. Despite being a member of the European Community, Germany had implemented late and limited institutionalization on women's policies. In 1986 the former Ministry of

Youth, Family Affairs and Health was transformed into the Ministry of Youth, Family Affairs, Women and Health by the persistence of EC. Greece is one of the countries where institutionalization evolved from a consultation bureau to a State Ministry Responsible for Equality in 1989.

England, Italy and Spain, on the other hand, carry out policies under committees or commissions, which are sometimes affiliated to a ministry, but without one appointed minister.

1.3 Policies on Women and Family in Turkey

1.3.1 A Short History

Before focusing on the late 1980s and the explicit policies in Turkey concerning women and family, it would be more appropriate to look at the history of women's movement in Turkey so as to evaluate over the four factors brought about by Tekeli for the establishment of the institutionalization process on women and family.

The history of women's movement in Turkey is usually examined in three stages (Erol, 1992: 110). The first stage is during the period of Young Ottomans when there were intense attempts for westernization, which was at that time the synonym for modernization. During that period some women's organizations were formed and

some women writers like, Fatma Aliye, started to voice their demands for equality. However, those women never challenged the position of women as wives and mothers. What they demanded were for the better fulfillment of their roles.

The Young Ottomans of that period were emphasizing the need to grant some rights to women. The position of women was seen as one of the determinants of modernization. Therefore emancipation of women from some of the restrictions put forward by Islam and traditions was viewed as a prerequisite for modernization. Education was expanded to women at middle-level schools, with teacher's and midwifery training schools (Jayawardena, 1986: 28). However, the aims for the expansion of education did not contradict with the wife-mother identity of the women. In fact, this expansion was in order to have a new generation educated by those women, who will participate in the modernization process of the country.

The "male-formulated" feminism continued and was even intensified during the early Republican period (Erol, 1992: 111). The women of that period were again regarded as wives and mothers with the mission of raising educated children, however they had another mission as "patriotic citizens", that of educating the nation and participating in the modernization process (Sirman, 1989: 9). Regarding Islam as a major

restraint on the participation of women in the public life, Mustafa Kemal and his colleagues wanted to emancipate women from Islamic and traditional boundaries, by adopting secular values, and thus acquiring a physical visibility of women in the public sphere (Göle, 1992: 63). Having those aims in mind, the Civil Code was adapted in 1926, granting almost equal rights to women. Women were given voting rights at local level in 1930 and in 1934 they voted in the general elections. However, granting equal rights to women did not aspire for the abolition of sexual discrimination, but were regarded as the necessary element for nation-building and development (cited in Çağatay and Soysal, 1993: 330). Benefiting from the political participation rights some women became members of the Parliament, but the women benefiting from those rights were the daughters of the Kemalist elite who under the patronage of their fathers viewed themselves as the missionaries of the modernization process (Göle, 1992: 70, Jayawardena, 1986: 8).

The attitude towards the issue of women in the Tanzimat period and the republican period have similarities. As mentioned above, the movement came from the male leaders who defined the boundaries of the movement, in which women were only ascribers rather than militants of change (Jayawardena cited in Erol, 1992: 111, and Tekeli, 1986: 185). Another, perhaps the most important, similarity is the leaders'

admiration for westernization and modernization. The women were regarded as a symbol in this process, and their position in the society was viewed as a sign of modernity. Therefore, women were stripped from traditional and Islamic characteristics and were encouraged for public visibility which would make the country "look" modern. Therefore, women and the position of women were used as symbols for the degree of modernity of one country, especially for the developing or nation-building countries. The following stage of women's movement differs from the previous stages in this respect.

1.3.2 1980s and the Third Stage of Feminism

The third stage in women's movement dates back to 1980s. After the coup of September 12, 1980 almost all political organizations were banned and strict restrictions were taken for the formation of political organizations. The restrictions on all forms of ideological organizations were somewhat beneficial for the rise of the feminist movement in Turkey. Being stripped away from all the restraints imposed on them by those ideological movements, women started to challenge their "given" female identity (Kadioğlu, forthcoming). In this context, women started to organize and voice their own demands, as Sibel Erol mentions "women began to speak *for* their bodies, and *from* their bodies" (Erol, 1992: 113). Even though the socialist movement

involved women within itself, it accepted women when they adapted a masculine attitude, and as sisters. The challenges from the socialist women for those identities were regarded as bourgeois deviances and women were condemned (Berktay, 1993). But, after 1980, with a political experience from before, women started forming organizations for themselves. Those feminists initiated campaigns, collected petitions in order to call the attention of the public on the inequality problem and sexual discrimination and tried to achieve a female consciousness.

Another movement which was influential on the debate over women's issues, was the Islamic fundamentalist movement. Contrary to the organization of feminists, they tried to gain ground through the state institutions (Berik, 1990: 81). Some of those Islamists demanded a total separation of women and men, and securing of women in the private realm. However, especially the university students with turban, those named as turbaned feminists, argued about a change in the present social structure and expressed their uneasiness about the present position of women within the social structure (İlyasoğlu, 1994: 30). Besides, these women demanded legal rights for wearing turban. In the first instance, they seem to have almost similar ideas with the feminists, however the new structure they suggest is within the confines of Islam. As Nilüfer Göle mentions, the turbaned feminists stress

their personality rather than sexuality and demand more opportunities for education only to be more productive within the family (Göle, 1992: 125).

In addition to demands coming from the feminist groups and Islamic fundamentalists, the international context was a determining factor for the movement towards explicit policies concerning Turkish women and family. Turkey had ratified CEDAW in 1985, which appointed the state to take certain measures in favor of women, and also the Nairobi strategies taken in the Nairobi Conference in 1985 that called for the formation of governmental organizations, like ministries and other state institutions (item 57). Therefore Turkey had made some attempts by the influence of the council of Europe and in order to fulfill the requirements for joining the European Community.

1.4 Institutionalized Policies on Women and Family

Günseli Berik mentions about three significant changes on the state's attitude towards women's issues after 1985. The first is, as mentioned above, the ratification of CEDAW in 1985. The second change is the foundation of the Family Research Institute on December 6, 1989 by a decree with the force of law. Third is the formation of the

Directorate of Women's Status and Problems by another decree on October 25, 1990.

In the light of Article 41 of 1982 Constitution which states that:

Family is the basis of Turkish society. The state takes precautions and establishes organizations in order to preserve the well being and happiness of the family, especially to protect the mother and children, and to promote family planning (my translation).

the Family Research Institute was formed. The goals of the Institute were defined in *Resmi Gazete* on December 29, 1989 as, to preserve and strengthen the unity of the Turkish family, to make research and projects for increasing social welfare and to develop a national policy for Turkish family.

The other institution, the goals of which contradict the Family Research Institute, is the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems. It was established in line with CEDAW and item 57 of Nairobi strategies. The goals of the Directorate were expressed in *Resmi Gazete* of October 28, 1990 as; to raise the educational level of the Turkish women and increase their participation in the economic life by participating in agricultural, industrial and service sectors, safeguard their social, legal and health security and to promote equality in social, economic, cultural and political arena.

Those two institutions were established during Motherland Party government. The party claimed itself to be a liberal-conservative party, adapting a Turkish Islamic identity. The Family Research Institute's emphasis on the national and traditional family structure seems to impose women the traditional roles rather than a change in the social structure, whereas the Directorate has contradictory aims of encouraging women to participate in the public life and productive activities.

In the following chapters, those two institutions, the Family Research Institute and the Directorate on Women's Status and Problems will be analyzed. While doing so, the attitudes of the two distinct governments of Motherland Party and Social Democratic Populist Party towards the issues of women and family will be taken into consideration with the previously mentioned assumption that the right-wing parties prefer policies supportive for women as "caring mothers" and the left-wing parties prefer the model of "worker women" (Tekeli, 1991: 70 and Lovenduski, 1993).

NOTES

(1) population decrease have become a problem in some of the developed western countries.

(2) CEDAW calls for the promotion of equal rights for men and women in all area of life through the annulment of legal or traditional discriminations on women (Berik, 1990: 82).

(3) Ombudsman is a person that is peculiar to Scandinavian countries, who has authority to inquire into and pronounce upon grievances of citizens against public authorities (Oxford Dictionary).

CHAPTER II
MOTHERLAND PARTY GOVERNMENT

Both the Family Research Institute and the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems were set up during Motherland Party government in the Prime Ministry of Yıldırım Akbulut. Those institutions were planned to function under a certain ministry of state which was thought to be established in the future. The Family Research Institute, when first formed, was affiliated to the Prime Minister, who would appoint a Minister of State when found necessary. The Directorate of Women's Status and Problems was affiliated to the Ministry of Labor and Social Security. The Minister of Labor and Social Security was a woman, Ymren Aykut, who worked for the establishment of the Directorate.

In line with their goals, both institutions were charged with certain duties. By aiming the preservation and strengthening of the Turkish family, and the development of a national policy; the duties of the Family Research institute were as follows:

- a. to preserve and strengthen the family and engage in research for the

development of social welfare, and to implement those projects,

- b. to examine the existing family structure, intra-family relations and problems, the impact of economic, social and cultural factors on family, and to prepare educational programs on that issue,
- c. to examine the conflicts within the family, juvenile crime and their reasons, and to make research in order to provide solutions for those problems,
- d. to make research on the rational usage of the financial resources of the family, make coordinations with the Ministry of National Education in order to prepare programs on the issue,
- e. to study the cultural changes in the family, and the impact of internal and external migration on the structure of the family,
- f. to cooperate with voluntary organizations, associations, and foundations, and to support their activities concerning the family,
- g. to study the effects and results of family planning and population policies; and to work for the construction of a national policy,

- h. to enact certain programs and support them in order to find out the public opinion and demands on problems of family,
- i. to study the problems of Turkish migrant families (Resmi Gazete, 1989).

In order to fulfill those duties, the Institute made various activities which will be analyzed in the following pages, together with the activities of the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems. The duties of the Directorate, in order to improve and strengthen the status of women were:

- a. to put forward policies on ensuring and improving the status of women, finding solutions to the problems in accordance with the principles of Atatürk,
- b. to ensure the integration of women to the development process, and with the society through increasing participation in social, economic and political decisions,
- c. to collect the research made in Turkey and abroad on the status and problems of women,
- d. to collect statistical data broken by age and gender which would be the basis for the solution of the problems related to the status of women,
- e. to provide coordination and cooperation between organizations sharing

common interests concerning women, and supporting them,

f. to support and manipulate the educational activities, especially the local organizations, and to set up a public opinion on women's issues,

g. to participate in international studies,

h. to engage in documentation and publication concerning women (*Resmi Gazete*, 1990).

The duties of the two institutions seem contradictory. The duties of the Family Research Institute are in parallel with the preservationist intervention of the state in the lives of the citizens, which regard the preservation of the family as the ultimate goal and view citizens not as independent individuals but as members of the family (Kadioğlu, 1993: 61). In the following pages of this chapter the activities of both institutions will be analyzed both from the world view of the MP and its consideration of the issues of women and family; and by the comparison of the policies implemented by the two institutions.

2.1 Cemil Çiçek and His Views on Women and Family

According to Günseli Berik, the activities of the Family Research Institute since its establishment

represent a concrete example of the strategy of Islamic fundamentalist-nationalist groups which advocate the gradual transformation of the secular nature of the Turkish state from within (Berik, 1990: 93). She also claims that the goals of both the Family Research Institute and The Directorate of Women's Status and Problems laying emphasis on "national vision" are reminiscent of the nationalist-fundamentalist right wing ideology called the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis.

The Minister of State appointed for the issues of family and women; and who would be in charge of the state institutions on those issues, especially the Family Research Institute, was Cemil Çiçek. In order to understand whether Çiçek views family and women from a Turkish-Islamic synthesis perspective I shall focus on his notions of family.

2.1.1 Family

Çiçek wrote the forewords of many publications of the Institute. In those forewords he declares his views on family and the Institute. In the foreword of "I. Aile Şurası Bildirileri" and in his speech in "Aile Haftası" he regards family as "the basic social institution of every society regardless of the distinct characteristics of the societies and time (Çiçek, 1990a :i, and 1990b :298). Most of the sociologists share the same view that the family is the smallest social

unit. However, Çiçek regards family in some other respects. He claims that the family is sacred, not only because it is the institution where the children are born into and are raised, but because it provides a society with a means for resurrecting its tradition and because it gives the people a national identity (Çiçek, undated: 10).

Both the Family Research Institute and Cemil Çiçek, in the publications of the Institute, stress the collapse of modern nuclear family in Western societies. Cemil Çiçek criticizes the famous feminists of the 1960s who demanded emancipation of women from housework and who called for sexual freedom for women. It is claimed, in the statements of Çiçek and the publications of the Institute, that Talcott Parsons' modern nuclear family model had been destroyed (1). Industrialization, urbanization, and increasing communication facilities together with extra-marital relations changed the behavioral patterns and demands of people. However, that "personal freedom" resulted in the dissolution of the family, feeling of loneliness, stress, drug addiction and suicides. It is stated that, because of the collapse of those lifestyles, there is a trend of focusing on family all around the world. In both Çiçek's statements and in other papers Ronald Reagan's electoral campaign and most of the European countries' return to family and population policies are given as examples.

2.1.2 Turkish Family

For the Turkish case, Çiçek states that the present inclinations in the Turkish society are dangerous, because people try to imitate Western countries. Çiçek points out the return to familial values in Western countries, and claims that the Turks imitate the earlier situation of Western countries which had turned out to be wrong. He claims that the reintegration of the family is essential and this could only be done through Turkish customs and tradition. Çiçek, in his speech in "Aile Haftası" meeting regards family within the boundaries of wedlock. Family is sacred because of wedlock and any attempt against marriage is considered as a threat to the Turkish family (Çiçek, 1990b: 298).

Turkish family is considered by most of the writers in the publications of the Family Research Institute and by Çiçek himself, as the most notable institution. The traditional patriarchal family is viewed as an educational institute where there is harmony between generations. Çiçek does not state his views on women explicitly, but the role of women as mothers working inside rather than outside home is considered as more acceptable and respectable. Those views were also shared by the State Planning Organization in its report "The Turkish Family Structure", calling for the preservation of traditional

gender roles which identifies policies necessary for achieving this goal, as Berik cites in her article. Here Berik points out the "national vision" on women's status; referring to a model of the family in which the man is the head of household, and in which a rigid gender division of rights and responsibilities prevails, whereby the women's activities are confined to the domestic domain (Berik, 1990: 91).

Çiçek suggests that the Turkish family should be preserved from the erosion caused by the changing living conditions. He also rejects the universality of the "nuclear family" and suggests that every culture should continue to live by their own cultural family structures. The Turkish family, in Çiçek's words, is continuing to follow its cultural heritage and adds that the "nationality" of the family is taken for granted. He states that, like education, the family should carry national characteristics (2).

However, Çiçek considers the nationality of the Turkish family as a corollary of religion. In most of the publications of the Institute and in some statements of Çiçek, the famous religious leaders of Islam, like Mohammed and Mevlana, are quoted. Some religious habits and laws are regarded within the Turkish tradition, and their reinforcement is encouraged.

2.1.3 The Family Research Institute

On family policies and the Institute, Çiçek, first of all, stresses that the government of Motherland Party is the first government in the Republican history to focus on family policies. He also mentions the Turkish constitutions, like Article 41 of the 1982 Constitution saying that "family is the basis of the Turkish society", being influential on their decision to focus on family policies. The international agenda is also mentioned by the growing interest for family policies. Çiçek mentions the declaration of 1994 as the Year of Family by the United Nations in 1989. He claims that family is taken into consideration more after the declaration of the United Nations. United Nations stressed the importance and necessity of the family, thus suggested the construction of a collective consciousness of family.

Çiçek, in his speech in "Aile Haftası" meeting talks about *Altıncı Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı* where a section is prepared for family issues. It was during the formation of that plan that the establishment of a ministry for the Turkish family was thought of. Çiçek believes in the necessity of a Ministry of Family. He declares that those institutions and directorates are not sufficient to fulfill the policies (Salman, 1990: 32). Because family is the essential basis of a society it needs more than those institutions. The

existence of ministries concerning family in some other countries is mentioned, and for Turkey it is stressed that a Ministry should be set up.

According to Çiçek, the Family Research Institute is established in order to focus on familial problems, to clarify the basic policies and in order to make researches on family. In his speech, Çiçek states that the economic and infrastructural problems cannot be solved without taking humans and society into consideration. Therefore the Institute is expected to play a significant role in the solution of these problems. One feature of the Ministry is the establishment of a national family policy and to work on constructing socio-economic and cultural programs.

2.2 Activities and Changes During the Government of MP

2.2.1 Legal Amendments

The Civil Code, which was regarded as modern for the time of its adoption, was considered in the 1980s as out of date. Both in the Civil Code and the Criminal Code there are some articles which were against equality between men and women. One significant example for those articles was the Article 438 of the Criminal Code which prescribed a two thirds decrease in punishment for sexual harassment toward prostitutes. After the declaration of the

Constitutional Court that article 438 was not against the constitution in January 1989, for nearly two years there were excessive protests and discussions against the article and the decision of the Constitutional Court. Finally on November 1990, article 438 of the Criminal Code was annulled because it was found contradictory with the basic rights and liberties, modern thought, CEDAW, and articles 10 and 12 of the constitution (3). The decision was regarded by Stella Ovadia as "the first legal achievement" (Ovadia, 1994: 57).

Another legal change was made in May 3, 1990 during a Council of Ministers meeting, as, accepting the cohabitation without wedlock equal with marriage, and granting same rights to the children born into these relationships as those of marriage in the eyes of law. Article 159 of the Civil Code which necessitated the permission of the husband for a wife to work outside home, was annulled in 1990 by the Constitutional Court. The decision was put into action when it was published in *Resmi Gazete* on July 2, 1992.

Those legal changes can be considered as granting certain rights to women and accepting their demands for equal status and non-discrimination. However, it is doubtful to relate those changes to the egalitarian and emancipatory view of government towards women. Those changes, in my point of view, do

not seem to reflect the real intention or attitude of those institutions. Rather; those changes seem quite in parallel with the changes brought about during the Tanzimat and the early Republican period which were implemented for a more modern outlook. Also during that period, pressure coming from women's organizations and intellectuals for equality for women coincided with the requirements of the international arrangements, which was influential on the decisions of the government.

2.2.2 Activities of the Family Research

Institute

a. The First Council of Family

The First Council of Family in Turkey was held between 17 - 20 of December 1990, in Ankara. It was the first council in the Turkish history concerning family. In the foreword of "I. Aile Şurası Bildirileri", Cemil Çiçek expresses the reasons from which the Council grew out of as; to foresee the social reality of the country, and to ascertain the social problems, bring about suggestions and solutions to those issues by cooperation between state administrators and scholars (Çiçek, 1990a: i). The Director of the Family Research Institute, Dr. Necmettin Turinay, said in his foreword that the First Council of Family grew out of the need to collect the

knowledge on family so far, and to benefit from them to develop the characteristics peculiar to Turkish family.

Many scholars from diverse disciplines such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, and social security participated in the Council. Seven commissions were formed, which presented papers on their subjects. Those commissions were; Commission of Social Structure, Commission of Family and Law, Commission of Socio-cultural Development and Change, Commission of Family Health and Social Service, Commission of Family Education, Commission for Social Security and Strengthening of the Family, Commission of Family Research and Publications. Those commissions' members presented their reports and the whole commission delineated certain topics for research and concluded with suggestions on those issues.

I shall not go into the detail of those reports and suggestions, but I shall note their common features concerning family and women. In the reports and suggestions of all commissions there is an emphasis on women's rights. The reports called for non-discrimination on sexual basis, equal pay for equal work, increase in the status of women and more educational opportunities. Therefore we can claim that those reports respected the equality of women. However, the same reports demanded the continuity of the traditional Turkish family structure and its preservation. The two

views seem contradictory since; while demanding the emancipation of women, traditional Turkish family is supported which reinforces the authority of males in the family.

b. Social Policies

The Institute provided financial resources for families and for Social Service Institutions. They had opened Family Consultation Centers and bureaus for homeless children. The Institute cooperated with Institute for Social Service and the Protection of Children in order to provide service for children, old people and families.

The Institute also granted certain scholarships. One of them reflects the importance given to marriage. The young married university students were granted 150000 TL scholarship monthly for metropolises, and 100000 TL for other provinces. Also 5000 university students -orphans or poor- were granted a 100000 TL scholarship monthly, depending on their success.

Since one aim of the Institute was making research or having research made, they supported the graduate students. For 1990-91 term they granted scholarship to graduate students who prepare thesis on family issues; the scholarship for a MA student was

200000 TL monthly, for a Ph.D. student it was 300000 TL. Apart from these scholarships, the Institute stated that it would help families to take credits for marriage or for financial support from *Vakıflar Bankası* or *Halk Bankası*. For the financial help of the Institute, one significant policy which can be regarded as a determining factor for the implementation of "Turkish Islamic Synthesis" is the financial help that was designed for the non-working spouse. Also the Institute moved to facilitate the extension of credit through *Halk Bankası* to women engaged in income-generating activities in the home. The objective is to facilitate women's participation in paid work by minimizing conflict with their domestic responsibilities (Berik, 1990: 94). According to Berik, providing credit for working at home rather than expanding the availability of child care facilities for women to work outside, reflects the Islamic fundamentalist-nationalist view of confining women to the household.

c. The Visual and Written Materials

After its establishment, the Family Research Institute published many books on the research made and on the role of family in the Turkish society. It had published yearbooks in which certain reports of scholars and the activities of the Institute were included. The reports of the First Council of Family

were also published. There were some other research made on local settlements and their tradition. One book issued by the support of the Institute was *Örf ve Adetlerimiz* which represented a Turkish-Islamic way of life.

Moreover, there were films broadcasted on television, which were sponsored by the Institute. In 1990 a serial "Yuva" and a cartoon "Dede Korkut Hikayeleri" were sponsored and broadcasted. "Yuva" pictured a traditional Turkish family with strong emphasis on religious practices. In 1991, the films prepared for television were; "Kuş Sayfaları", "Çiçekler Açmak İster", and "Hata Kimde ?" for children which aimed at raising them according to Turkish family structure. "21. Yüzyıl Eşiğinde Türk Ailesi" was a documentary which "reflected the rapid transformation of the Turkish society and its reflections on the family" (Muhsin, 1991: 149). All those films, as I have mentioned above, relied on a Turkish-Islamic identity of the family. The head of the household was pictured as the husband, to whom both the wife and the children were obedient. The families pictured were closely tied to their religious beliefs and the old people were living together with them. Those films portrayed educated women as detrimental to the harmony and happiness of the family and the society, as cited from a weekly newsmagazine, *Nokta* (Berik, 1990: 94). One serial, "Osman Hamdi Bey Ailesi", which was

sponsored by the Institute, was banned by a committee, because it portrayed women who were obedient to their fathers or husbands, and who acted as the males ordered. The film was regarded as degrading women and reinforcing inequality and discrimination against women.

2.3 Conclusion

It seems that the Family Research Institute during Çiçek's ministry tried to reinforce a typical Turkish-Islamic model for the families. Marriage was praised and Çiçek regarded flirting as a kind of prostitution, because of which he was extremely criticized by feminists, media and intellectuals. As the statements of Çiçek and the policies implemented by the Institution reflect, traditions were taken as basis for the new policy suggestions of the Institute.

The Directorate of Women's Status and Problems was affiliated to the Prime Ministry on June 24, 1991. The Directorate did not engage in any activity or make any publications during the government of the Motherland Party. This may be due to the failure in the formation of the staff. However, the contradictory goals of the two institutions, of which the government favored the traditional one, makes one to think on the possible obstacles brought about by the government for the activities of the Directorate.

To sum up, the beginning of 1990s experienced for the first time, institutions affiliated to a certain ministry, concerned with family and women. However, those institutions seem for the preservation of the existing value systems or reinforcing them rather than being liberating. Even though there had been some changes in the legal system, it is debatable that they have reached, or desired to reach the stated goals of the institutions.

NOTES

(1) The nuclear family, according to Talcott Parsons, is composed of a working father, a homemaker mother and their children. Here Çiçek seems to misconceptualize the nuclear family of Talcott Parsons.

(2) In the second half of the 1980s some courses of the secondary school curriculum acquired "national" characteristics such as; national history or national geography.

(3) Article 10: Every individual is equal before law without consideration of language, race, color, sex, political ideas, philosophical beliefs, religion, sect, or any other. No individual, family or class can benefit from privileges. The state institutions should safeguard the principle of equality before law.

Article 12: Every individual has untouchable, untransferable, and unforetakable basic rights and liberties. Those basic rights and liberties include the duties and responsibilities of the individual towards the society, his/her family or other institutions (1982 Constitution, my translation).

CHAPTER III
THE COALITION GOVERNMENT

In the autumn of 1991, the Social Democratic Populist Party and the True Path Party have formed a coalition government. That government, like the previous one, continued to implement explicit policies concerning family and women. The Minister of State, who was responsible for the issues of family and women was appointed by SDPP. That party was the first party to stress the inequality between women and men in its program (Çelik, 1993: 26). It has also exercised a positive quota system in 1991 elections in order to increase the participation of women in the political and parliamentary life. The governmental programme of the 49th government of Turkey, that was formed in November 1991, summarized the issues that were anticipated to be undertaken as:

Policies related to women will be formed by the evaluation of the studies of the local administrations, non-governmental and governmental organizations, with coordination and cooperation. Amendments in the laws and regulations will be made, and the reservations that were put by Turkey on the international agreements will be eliminated in line with the requirements of CEDAW, and with the decisions of the Council of Europe,

ILO, OECD, and the European Council of Security and Cooperation.

A Ministry of State concerned of women is established to meet the requirements of the governmental programme, and the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems continued to function as affiliated to the Prime Ministry, but under the responsibility of that particular Ministry of State.

3.1 The Undersecretariat of Women and Social Service

On August 8, 1993, by the decision of the Council of Ministers, both the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems, and the Family Research Institute have experienced a restructuration. By a decree with the force of law that was issued in the *Resmi Gazete* of September 13, 1993; the Undersecretariat of Women and Social Service was established to which the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems and the Directorate of Family and Social Research (previously the Family Research Institute), together with a Bureau of External Relations, were affiliated.

The goals of the Undersecretariat were to preserve and improve women's rights; to strengthen the function of women in social, economic, cultural, and political life; and to ensure women's benefits from development through increased participation in the

process; to preserve and support family; and to exercise social service in line with the plans and policies of the state. The duties of the Undersecretariat were:

- a. to eliminate all kinds of discrimination against women; to improve women's rights; to encourage women's participation in every areas of social life, and make them benefit from development; and to engage in research on those issues,
- b. to develop and implement policies for the preservation of the family,
- c. to regulate the social services that will be granted to the individuals in need of protection and help,

Also preparation of educational programmes. support for the voluntary organizations and improvement of policies for women parallel to the requirements of international agreements; are the duties of the Undersecretariat.

As a result of the restructuration, there have been some changes in the previously mentioned duties of the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems. To secure the participation of women in the decision making in every areas of public life and make them participate in the development process; training them in order to become economically independent individuals and to have a permanent income, are the major duties of

the Directorate. Besides, changes in the legislation in order to eliminate the reservations on the international agreements; enlarging the number of women benefiting from their legal right; and finally providing consultancy for the familial problems are among the duties of the Directorate. As before, the Directorate is appointed for the collection of statistics and data and for the formation of archives and a documentation center.

The Directorate of Family and Social Research's previous duties of the development of a national policy were changed. Research on various types of families, transformations in the functions of the family, its formation or disintegration, and all types of problems related to family are to be the concern of the Directorate of Family and Social Research. Cooperation with the universities, and chambers of art and culture in order to analyze the social problems related to development, and the need for domestic and international comparative research are emphasized. Replacement of the emphasis on the specific "national" characteristics of the Turkish family (according to which a policy was planned to be constructed) with a concern on much broader types of families and its relation with other social institutions is worth mentioning.

The Bureau of External Relations is concerned with the relations of the Undersecretariat and international or domestic organizations.

In this chapter, the activities of the Undersecretariat -The Directorate of Women's Status and Problems, and the Directorate of Family and Social Research- during the coalition government are analyzed together with the views of the ministers on those issues. As previously mentioned, the State Ministry concerned with Women was appointed by SDPP, however appointment of the minister has been a problem for the party. At first. Güler İleri was appointed as the Minister of State, but because of the accusations of misuse of power she resigned. After long debates, Türkan Akyol replaced her. Akyol had served as the first female minister in Turkey during the government of Nihat Erim in 1972. She was also the first female rector of a university, Ankara University in the Turkish history. However, during the cabinet change of July 1994, another female member of the party from SDPP, Öney Alpago was appointed instead of Türkan Akyol.

3.2 Views on Women and Family

The most striking change during the coalition government is the emphasis given to some specific dates

by the ministers. On December 5, 1991, just short after the formation of the government, Güler İleri made a speech about the anniversary of the granting of voting rights to females in 1934.

Güler İleri lay most emphasis on the role of the women in the development process of Turkey. The major aim of development, according to İleri, is furthering the accessibility of the advancing facilities to all individuals. She also suggested that development was a tool for advancing the equality between men and women and for the restoration of peace. Women should be the target group in the development process; they should participate in political life by having an equal say for the strategies of development. İleri also emphasized the economic independence of women through which they could achieve self-realization. According to İleri, women's participation in public life is of great importance, and the equal exercise of constitutional rights is a must (İleri, 1991: 352-356).

İleri demanded focusing on education, health, and employment issues of women. Those have to be restructured so that women could enjoy economic independence and her own personal income. İleri suggested the discarding of all judicial and traditional obstacles; the necessity of having a

constitutional change; and the addition of an article on the equality of women and men were given importance. Also the need to annul the discriminatory articles of the Civil Code is mentioned.

On the 67th anniversary of the adoption of the Civil Code, many women's organizations marched to Ankara and by visiting the Parliament they had voiced their demands on the reformation of the Civil Code, liberation of women and equality. Therefore, Türkan Akyol; then the Minister of State, made a speech in the Parliament. She, also stressed the need for a reformation of the Civil Code. The latest Minister of State concerned with women declared her views just after her appointment. Like the previous ministers; Öney Alpago emphasized the participation of women in the public life in a daily newspaper *Sabah* as:

"Women make up the half of the society as men, therefore we demand equality or seemliness of participation in the decisions which would serve for the whole society..... Believing that cooperation of women and men leads to civilization, our aim is to serve for the cooperation between women and men in order to solve the problems.
(July 30, 1994)

When Alpago was asked of her views on feminism she pointed that the -ism she favored most was Kemalism rather than feminism.

It seems that İleri, Akyol and Alpago share common views with the second stage feminists of Turkey. Kemalist feminism called for the extension of education for women so that they could participate in the development process, and for the public visibility of women, especially by their participation in political life (Erol, 1992: 110-111 and Göle, 1992: 70). The ministers all mention the unrepresentativeness of the female members of the Parliament of the female population of Turkey. When women first participated in the general election of 1935, the elected female members of the Parliament were 18; 4.5 % of the whole Parliamentary seats (Tekeli, 1981: 299). This was the highest percentage in the Turkish political history. However, in 1991 that had fallen to 1.8% with 8 female members of the Parliament, which makes Turkey one of the last countries of the world in the proportion of representation in the parliament.

The Directorate of Women's Status and Problems have prepared a report that was required by the article 18 of CEDAW to be presented to the Committee for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women which also carry the features of Kemalist feminism. Like the statements of the ministers, the report depicts the number of women in professions as an indicator of the participation of women in public life.

Another feature that made me think of second stage feminism of the ministers is the emphasis on secularism. On a journal issued on March 1994, Akyol stressed the status of Turkey as the only Muslim country that had adopted secularism and the equality of men and women. By saying " We, women are the secular women of the Turkish Republic" she pointed to the crucial role of secularism for the well-being of the Turkish women. The women in the countries that are ruled according to *şeriat* are excluded from the public sphere and the production process, and as Akyol claimed, they are restrained from acquiring an individualistic consciousness. Therefore, Akyol remarked that the Turkish women should defend secularism by saying "only when secularism prevails, then we can create societies that regard women as an individual" (Akyol, 1994: 3).

Akyol also demanded the expansion of education and employment opportunities for women, together with the spreading of health and social security services for women. All ministers desired the participation of women in the public sphere and in the production process. Emancipation of women from housework and child care is one of the major goals. Therefore they demand the opening of more centers for child care in order to have more women in the public sphere.

Even though the Ministry is concerned both with family and women, there are no substantial expressions of views on family by the ministers. Only in one of her speeches Akyol expressed that the family is the smallest democratic unit in the society; therefore it has an undeniable value and importance. She also explained that, as the whole world realized the need to protect the family institution, the year 1994 is proclaimed to be the International Year of the Family.

The booklet issued for the International Year of the Family by the Directorate of Family and Social Research might be taken as expressive of the Ministry's views on family. The booklet regards the family as the basic unit of the society. The functions of raising children and care for the elderly are still provided by the family together with the continuation of cultural values. The ability of the family of raising, motivating and educating its members, is regarded as a source for furthering the development process.

The booklet consists of the principles, goals and programme of the IYF . The principles of the IYF stress the necessity of the implementation of policies according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, CEDAW and other international arrangements so that the families can function properly. Promotion of equality

of women and men, and equal share of domestic responsibilities together with equal employment opportunities within the family is also emphasized. The programme also points to the expansion of education and employment opportunities for women. Implementation of policies for women in accordance with Nairobi strategies of 1985 is stressed.

3.3 Activities During the Coalition Government

The major goal of this period was to transform the Ministry of State into a Ministry of Women. The coalition partners agreed on the transformation, yet no development has been achieved. The second most important goal was to change the articles of the Civil Code that reinforce inequality. Those are:

article 152: Husband is the decision maker and the provider of the well-being of his wife and children.

article 153: Woman should carry the name of her husband, and she is the assistant and consultant of the husband.

article 154: Husband is the representative of the family, and he is in charge of the belongings of the family.

article 155: Woman can be the representative of the family for the daily needs, however, the husband is in charge of the belongings of his wife.

article 156: Husband can take away the representation rights of his wife if she abuses or misuses them.

Articles 200 and 263 also stress husband's leadership in the family. The Criminal Law also has some discriminatory characteristics; like sentencing women for adultery is much easier than man. By referring to the ratification of CEDAW which called for the elimination of any kind of discrimination against women, the ministers point the need to change all discriminatory codes and grant women equal rights.

3.3.1 Activities of the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems

The goal of the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems is the improvement and preservation of the status of Turkish women, by increasing their educational attainment, and participation in agricultural, industrial and service sectors, safeguarding their social, judicial and health security and to promote equality in social, economic, cultural, and political arena. In trying to achieve those goals, the Directorate activated some projects, cooperated with some women's organizations and held some meetings.

a. Projects with United Nations Development
Program

One of the programs on which the Directorate works is the Encouragement of Women's Participation in Development by cooperation between the Turkish government and UNDP. It was put in action by the time it was published in *Resmî Gazete* on February 18, 1993. The program was formed in order to strengthen the national mechanism for the coordination of programs and projects for women's participation in the development process. The National Program tries to find solution to the problems of women. Those are:

- a. The integration of women's issues to the developmental and sectoral plans.
- b. To establish and institutionalize a database system related to women, to collect statistics related to sexual differences.
- c. To develop activities for the betterment of the status of women in judicial, economic and social matters, and to develop national mechanisms in order to strengthen women.
- d. To support governmental and non-governmental organizations in their studies and activities concerning women.
- e. To develop skilled human power and to encourage educational studies that are supported by the research on the betterment

of women.

The project has the subtitles; education, construction of a database, formation of policies, support for research, and support for projects. In 1993 some of those projects have been put into practice. A computer network had been established in order to collect data and statistics on women. In addition, some educational programs were prepared. The educational programs can be divided into two as short term educational programs and long term educational programs. In the short term education program five different courses were given. Education of female entrepreneurship; two different programs on violence against women; women in labor; group formation and advancement.

Long term education aims at forming cadres that are skilled on issues of women, who would raise human resources for a successful development process. Under the long term project five researches were supported. The World Bank also supported some projects on the expansion of women's employment; female entrepreneurship; and child care. Those projects aim at providing opportunities for women to join productive employment outside of the household, to eliminate poverty, and to bring child care facilities especially to the settlements of low income groups.

b. The Congress on the Identity of Women

The Congress was held between December 5-8, 1993 with the cooperation of the Directorate and Ankara University Center for Research on the Problems of Women. The aim of the Congress is to gain discussion grounds for women of diverse social groups on women's identity, in order to voice problems and to construct concrete demands. A final report was issued after the Congress. The report was composed of six topics.

1. Women's labor called for the visibility of the value of women's labor in the society. Other demands were the initiation of social security especially for women in the agricultural and informal sector, encouragement of female entrepreneurship, education of women for an individual consciousness, policies for female employment and a judicial reformation against the discriminatory laws for working women.

2. Women and the Media; criticized the masculine view of the media. Certain changes on the law for radio and TV are demanded together with women's participation in the Council of Radio and Television.

3. Women and Organization called for cooperation among women for peace, trade union rights and for the activation of CEDAW.

4. Women and Politics, is concerned with the political participation of women, not only at parliamentary but at every level. Change in the traditional identity of woman was regarded necessary for female participation.

5. Women and the Arts focus on the reflection of women's issues in the arts and the governmental guarantees for artists.

6. Body of the Women rejects the portrayal of women as a reflection of the societal norms, and calls for the imposition of punishment for intra-marriage rape and incest.

3.3.2 Activities of the Directorate of Family and Social Research

a. Publications

During the period of the coalition government, it seems that much emphasis was given to women's issues. But the Directorate of Family and Social Research continued to function. One of their activities was publishing a two volume collective study of certain scholars on the Turkish Family in the Process of Socio-cultural Change. Being published in December 1992, the goal of *Sosyo-kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi* was to portray the Turkish family in historical perspective until now, together

with the changes and the structural features in a scientific manner.

Quite similar to the views of the previous Family Research Institute, those books emphasize the continuation of the traditional characteristics of the Turkish family throughout time and despite the modernization process, and the positive implications of them on the Turkish family. Quite contrary to the aims and demands of the Directorate, the study of the Institute claims that the head of the household is the husband but the woman is not suppressed. By giving reference to *Communist Manifesto* and the bourgeois society with polygyny, the study suggests that women represent the honor of the family.

Another publication of a research made by the Directorate of Family and Social Research on, family and business relations of women who own their working place. The research indicates that those businesswomen have families in which a division of labor prevails. The families are mostly nuclear families and the husbands of those businesswomen supported their wives in the formation of the working place. When businesswomen were asked on who first thought of going into business, a high proportion responded as themselves (61.8%) which contradicts with the traditional family structure. But once again the

researchers admit that the Turkish women consider the attitude and opinions of her husband while making decisions.

b. International Year of the Family

As I have mentioned above, 1994 was proclaimed to be the International Year of the Family. The theme of the year is " Family: Resources and Responsibility in a Changing World". Bayburtluoğlu, in his article mentions the aim of the Year as "raising the consciousness on family and going through a national institutionalization in order to implement policies that would solve problems" (Bayburtluoğlu, 1993: 109). The goal of the year is to raise the governmental consciousness of family structure, to give attention on the crucial role of the family, the rights and duties of the family members and the problems they face.

Article 16/3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights say that family is a natural unit of the society and it is safeguarded by the society and the state. The Directorate of Family and Social Research has prepared some programs in accordance with the demands of the United Nations. It functions as the National Coordinator of the Family Year in Turkey. A national celebration committee was formed together with

local committees. The National Committee of Celebration initiated the formation of some commissions on education, economics, law, cultural values and social change, family planning and health, and state policies. The researches to be undertaken by those commissions are planned to be collected in a book to be published in 1994. TRT and The Directorate have agreed on the propaganda, news and programs concerning the year. Some short interviews with some celebrities are started to be broadcasted nowadays. Also a booklet was published on the goals and principles of the IYF from which some parts were cited above. A festival for family was held in May 15, 1994 in Altınpark in Ankara.

3.4 Conclusion

During the period of the coalition government which continues today, despite the attempts, a total reformation of the Civil Code is not accomplished. Besides, there have been debates on which ministry would work on the proposal as, both the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of State were preparing proposals. After analyzing the speeches of the ministers of their aims and desires for judicial change, it is striking to come across no legal proposals or suggestions that were given to the Parliament. Apart from some particular dates we cannot

see any debate on the issue of family or women in the Parliament.

Also the Directorate of Family and Social Research and the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems display two contradictory views. On the one hand, the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems points to the necessity of the change of the law that husband is the head of the household; the study of the Directorate of Family and Social Research claims it as a characteristic of the Turkish family.

The Directorate of Family and Social Research display contradictions within itself during the coalition government. Some of its publications remark the importance of the role of women as mothers; whereas some, like the booklet of IYF emphasize the need to activate the requirements of CEDAW and the enlargement of educational facilities so that women could join the work force.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Both the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems, and the Family Research Institute (later the Directorate of Family and Social Research) were the outcomes of the institutionalization process in Turkey. Those institutions were first of their kind in Turkey that were appointed for the particular issues of family and women. However, as previously mentioned, the two institutions had contradictory goals and implemented contradictory policies.

The Family Research Institute's main objective was the preservation and strengthening of the unity of the Turkish family, improvement of its well-being and development of a national policy on family (Berik, 1990: 93). The policies implemented were in line with the "national vision" that portrayed the family as, in which the man was the head of the household and the women's activities were limited in the domestic sphere. The Islamic identity of the Turkish family was emphasized in the broadcasted films and publications, Islam was regarded as an inseparable feature of the Turkish tradition and the Turkish society. The

feminists who called for the emancipation of women and the nuclear family structure were criticized as being detrimental to the Turkish traditions and the traditional family. However, while the nuclear family was criticized (Çiçek, 1990) in some publications of the Institute it is claimed that Turks have always lived in nuclear families throughout history (1992). Even though, later the Directorate of Family and Social Research displays on more liberal view towards women's issues in the booklet of IYF, it is debatable that they share the ideas that were published in the booklet, or if it is only a lip service.

The Directorate of Women's Status and Problems on the other hand, aims at the improvement of the status of women in accordance with the principles of Atatürk, and the integration of women to the development process. These goals seem contradictory with the goals of the Family Research Institute. Those goals remind the characteristics of Kemalist feminists who stressed the crucial role of secularism as emancipating women from the restraints of Islam, therefore making women equal with men and giving them the opportunity for participation in public life. The emphasis on the integration of women to the development process seems parallel to the women of the early Republican period as patriotic citizens devoted to the modernization and development of the country. While

the Directorate encourages women to join public life, the Family Research Institute tries to secure them in the domestic sphere.

Tekeli, in "The Policies on Equality Between determining the institutionalization process as:

- i. the impact and strength of women's movement
- ii. the will of political powers
- iii. international dynamics
- iv. political culture and socio-economic context (Tekeli, 1991: 70)

While analyzing those four factors Tekeli suggested that under the governments of the leftist parties the policies regarding women were intensified and some state institutions formed in order to implement those policies, whereas under right-wing parties' governance those policies were undermined and Family institution is emphasized more.

The policies of the two parties, Motherland Party and Social Democratic Populist Party, and the activities of the two institutions during their governance seem to be reflecting that proposition. It is stated by the then party president Yıldırım Akbulut in the party programme of MP that the party is, "nationalist, conservative, for social justice, and for market economy based on competition" (p.3). The family is considered as the basis of the nation and the

programme proposed the redefinition of the order of responsibilities of the family institution concerning the harmonious continuity of social life, of raising the children, and the preservation of ethics, national and spiritual values. Even though both institutions were established during the government of MP, the emphasis was given on the Family Research Institute which put emphasis on the "national" or "Turkish-Islamic" identity of the family excessively. The modern nuclear family was criticized and revitalization of the traditional values was found necessary. The attitude towards women, in that period, was far from being emancipatory. Women as mothers and wives were favored and their role in the raising of the children is found crucial. The Family Research Institute, during that period, encouraged women to engage in income generating activities within the house, so that they could fulfill their roles at home. By being a conservative party, MP favored family related policies and women as mother-wife, as expected from a right-wing party. The amendments in the discriminatory codes during that period were due to the sanctions brought about by the international agreements or because of the intensive protests of the feminist organizations in the country.

Social Democratic Populist Party, on the other hand, was the first party to stress the inequality

between women and men in its programme. The party has adapted a 25% positive quota for women in the party. SDPP, according to its programme is a party that believes in the achievement of an independent and egalitarian society only when women and men benefit from the legal rights equally. The party believes in the need for the abolition of sex-related problems of women. Working women's problems; as unpaid labor in agriculture; as low status workers in industry, or as victims of unjust recruitment in the public sector, were pointed and the need for equality emphasized. SDPP has promised the formation of a "Ministry of Women" if it came to power. The statements of the ministers and the policies during the coalition government stress the need to emancipate women from housework and make them participate in the production process. The need for more child care facilities that would help women join public life was stressed in the publications of the Directorate of Women's Status and Problems. Contrary to the MP government and the Family Research Institute of MP government, secularism and its importance for the emancipation of women is stressed by the ministers. Women were regarded not as mothers or wives but as individuals. All the ministers lay emphasis on the role of women in the development process, which is parallel to the proposition of Tekeli that left-wing parties favor policies viewing women as "workers".

The policies of the two parties concerning women and family are, as expected, in line with notions of family and women in their programme. Besides, those policies fit to the general proposition mentioned above. However, even the parties and the institutions -The Directorate of Women's Status and Problems, and the Directorate of Family and Social Research- have contradictory goals and implemented conflicting policies, from the factors mentioned by Tekeli, they are influenced mostly by the international context while making policies. Formation of institutions for family was, as mentioned in the first chapter, the general trend in the 1980s. As for women, item 57 of Nairobi strategies, imposed on the states which ratified it, the formation of a particular state institution for the issues of women. Berik points the establishment of a women's office or bureau affiliated to a ministry or to the prime minister, as the significant typical state intervention, especially during the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985), which does not go beyond being symbolic gestures (Berik, 1990: 90).

To sum up, the formation of state institutions for the issues of women or family is not different from the approach of the first stage feminists of Tanzimat or second stage feminists of the early Republican

period. The issues of women is still regarded as the sign of modernity of a country. As Durakbaşı suggested, women are still viewed as the focal point for backwardness, a problem which should be solved for the development of a country (Durakbaşı, 1988: 167). The attempts for the "solution" of the problem of women, as before, come from the male political leaders who define the boundaries of the movement, and impose those on women. The Directorate of Women's Status and Problems' goal of "coordinating, directing, and supporting" non-governmental organizations seems to prove that argument, as this goal is an apparent attempt to control and regulate the activities of autonomous women's organizations (Berik, 1990: 91). The encouragement of women for participation in the development process is no more than the desire for public visibility of women, for a more modern appearance.

Finally, even change takes place; like the formation of new state institutions or ministries, the male political leaders devoted to modernization view the issue like Tevfik Fikret who said "when women are debased, humanity is degraded" (cited in Jayawardena, 1986: 12) and the status of women continue to be the "popular barometer of civilization", now through these state institutions.

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