Gender in US-Led Modernization in Cold War Turkey, 1950 - 1970

By

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to focus on gender in US-led modernization in Cold War Turkey from 1950 to 1970. Relying on archival research on newspaper and magazine articles, parliamentary and Senate records, legislations, and the academic literature of the era, this research explores the gender aspect of US-led modernization through a focus on family planning policies. In doing so, it reveals that family planning constituted a sphere of US-led modernization in the Cold War period, where a variety of actors, from philanthropy foundations to the US government, operated with different levels of agency and engagement. The study further demonstrates that the gender aspects of family planning were neglected as the field of family planning was reconstructed with a focus on economic development. Finally, it stresses the role of local activism in Turkey in reframing family planning as a gender issue.

Author's declaration

I, the undersigned, **Esra Zeynep Işık**, candidate for the MA degree in International Relations declare herewith that the present thesis titled "Gender in US-led Modernization in Cold War Turkey, 1950-1970" is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright.

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1. Introduction

Gulio Cesare Montagna, Italian ambassador to Greece during the Lausanne Conference of 1922, likened Turkey to a mummy: "So long as it remains sealed in its tomb it retains its normal state, but as soon as the tomb is opened and it comes into contact with the outside air, it immediately begins to decompose and to crumble away" (Scalapino 1964, 116). Montagna's reflections on the country shared similarities with the Ottoman intelligentsia's anxiety of crumbling away and the dilemma of modernization through Westernization while preserving imperial unity. Regardless of the condescending mummy analogy, the contact was inevitable. Questions on whether the empire would indeed retain its "normal" state, and how to deal with it, were approached differently.

Decades later, Americans thought they had the answers to the questions of their Cold War ally. Following Ottoman and Kemalist modernization projects, Turkey stood out as an arena of experimentation to create the modern man of the first world, one that is superior to his communist counterpart. Although immense work has been directed to demonstrate the implications of this endeavor, his female counterpart remains rather unexplored in Turkey. Thus, in this thesis, I plan to focus on the gender aspect of US-led modernization in Cold War Turkey and approach this gap with a specific focus on family planning, an area where gender was narrated and framed in a unique way. Hence, this study aims to answer the following questions: How did Cold War concerns influence gender-related policies in Turkey? How did Cold War dynamics relate to Turkey's longer-term history of modernization, particularly issues linked to gender and family?

While this project aims to address the gap in gender in Turkish modernization, specifically US-led modernization, its focus also introduces another novelty to the literature. Even though gender in American modernization has been studied in different contexts than Turkey, previous works rather focused on female consumption shaped through

Americanization. Highlighting the role of family planning instead brings a novel perspective to study gender in US-led modernization as it is mostly pursued through female bodies and is socially related to women's emancipation through education, mobility, employment, and the social status of women.

The relevance of this study is not limited to shedding light on an unexplored American endeavor through notions of modernity and agency. This study further provides insight into how Cold War rivalry influenced the discussions of gender in Turkey, where progressive legislation began earlier than many developed countries yet lacked steadiness and sufficient social implication. It also bears significance when previous modernization attempts in Turkey are taken into consideration as the gender pillar focused more on women in the public sphere, such as clothing, education, and employment, rather than the private sphere. Finally, besides tracing the impact of American modernization and its influence on Turkey through a gender lens, this study provides further insight into the construction of modernity and the perception of modern women.

1.1 Literature Review

By focusing on gender in US-led modernization in Cold War Turkey, this research addresses the gap in two areas of scholarship, namely gender in Turkish modernization and gender in American modernity during the Cold War. Although gender in Turkish modernization has been explored in different ways for the late Ottoman and Kemalist modernization periods, a gap exists in the US-led modernization in the Cold War. Regarding gender in American modernity during the Cold War, while female consumption shaping the ideal woman in various aspects and as a housewife has been explored in gender in American modernity in different parts of the world, family planning as part of gender in American modernity remains untouched. Thus, the sections below review these bodies of literature and the gap this research addresses.

1.1.1 Gender in Turkish Modernization

When focused on the literature on gender in Turkish modernization, what stands out is the juridico-political and institutional framing (Kandiyoti 1997). Such a focus on state institutions is in parallel with the profound emphasis on the Kemalist period, following a pre and post Kemalism dichotomy at the expense of pre-Kemalist progress (Arat 1993, 121). Nevertheless, although the Kemalist republic enabled a more ambitious and radical agenda for women's emancipation, acquiring a lens of continuity in institutional and juridico-political terms is significant as the roots of republican reforms rely on prior Ottoman attempts (Zürcher 2005). Beginning with military modernization during the reign of Selim III in the late eighteenth century, Ottoman modernization shifted its attention to women in the realm of education in the mid-nineteenth century, during the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz (Abadan-Unat 1978). Following greater opportunities for formal education for women, education continued to be an arena for greater emancipation with the establishment of graduate-level institutions in the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1920) (Abadan-Unat 1978; Toprak 2015).

While similar reforms followed in other areas, this focus on institutional framing was problematized as it hindered the deeper conceptualization of modernity (Kandiyoti 1998). In that sense, attempts to gendering the term seems to enable the realization of transformations in the private realm and the family, in particular. Treating family as a sphere of identity construction and socialization unearths early contemplations on the term modernity (Kandiyoti 1998). It further reveals the dual function the family performed in line with the nationalist agenda of the Young Turk rule in the early twentieth century and the need for modernization and Westernization (Duben and Behar 1991). Providing a detailed investigation of Istanbul households and family structure from the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century, Duben and Behar (1991) demonstrate growing tendencies toward smaller families and changing roles for the patriarchal figure of the father. The authors further note a tendency toward scientific and

superstitious ways of birth control, from withdrawal to the use of amulets (179-180). Similarly, increasing media coverage of the newly popularized marital etiquette stimulates the trend toward a later age for marriage with less age gap between the husband and the wife. Further, the new perception of the family as child-centered, with modern roles for both parents further demonstrates the central role of the family as a sphere of modernity (Kandiyoti 1997, 115-116).

Besides the neglect of the transformations in the private realm, another issue regarding the uneven focus on institutional reforms is that it leaves little room for exploration of women's agency, depicting emancipation as a top-down development. Many scholars, for instance, draw attention to the intellectual discussions Ottoman women engaged on women's periodicals about the modernization of clothing, but several studies also note their practical initiatives (Çakır 2010; Toprak 2015; Yakut 2002). Preferences toward transparent fabric for veil, wearing outdoor garments without a veil in less central areas of Istanbul, or displaying disobedience against imperial regulations for the fabric type demonstrate that the women of the empire were agentic (Yakut 2002). Not only were they influential in the intellectual roots of clothing-related reforms, but their practical agency was evident in the modernization of clothing (Çakır 2010; Toprak 2015; Yakut 2002).

Yet, a more post-Kemalist approach, critical of the Kemalist modernization, stresses points of interruption in the women's agency during the early republic. Highlighting the suspension of non-Kemalist organizations in the early republican period, this approach notes the imposition of the Kemalist narrative on discussions about the woman question, which treats it as a part of the Kemalist progress. (Tekeli 1981; Tekeli 1991; Zihnioğlu 2019). Such a case is especially deemed relevant in the granting of political rights in 1935, despite long years of activism and agency in the early 1920s by non-Kemalist women's organizations (Arat 2000; Zihnioğlu 2019).

Following the early republic, the literature on women's emancipation and modernization continued with an interest in rural life and villages, with a focus on rural women, through sociological surveys and research (Arat 1993). On the other hand, later research invoked further discussions with works on family life and fertility (Timur 1981, Kağıtçıbaşı 1981). Yet, the need for framing and contextualization within the Cold War modernization remains to be addressed since the existing literature on gender's relationship with modernity engaged with notions of agency, family, and institutions. Thus, their focus remained on similar dynamics of modernization, limited to Kemalism and the late Ottoman period.

On the other hand, the literature on the Cold War modernization lacked a gender perspective. Explorations of the US-led modernization rather stressed points of break up with past projects of modernization, especially Kemalism. Begüm Adalet's investigation, for instance, suggests a line of transition from Kemalist state-led industrialization and railway constructions to American liberalism, highways, and focus on agricultural development (Adalet 2016). Conversely, works on the contextualized application of modernization theory stress the relevance of local histories. Citino (2008), for instance, highlights the influence of Kemalist modernization in shaping American designs in the Middle East, with Turkey standing out as a successful case of modernization. In addition to abrupt change and contextuality, some scholars stress malleability as the unique feature of US-led modernization in Turkey during the Cold War, designed and adjusted to operate for American interests (Danforth 2015).

Although several aspects of US-led modernization were explored, from science and education (Erken 2016; Erken 2018; Yalçınkaya 2024) to mobility and economy (Adalet 2016), its gender aspect requires investigation, relating to the broader history of gender in Turkish modernization. Thus, this study aims to address this gap in the history of Turkish modernization and gender by focusing on the family planning aspect of the US-led modernization in Cold War Turkey.

1.1.2 Gender in American Modernity in the Cold War

Besides the Turkish modernization and gender, this research further contributes to the literature on US-led modernity in the Cold War and gender. Gender roles and family order aligned with them, through which such American designs were prepared, stood out as intrinsic to Americanization, and even to Americanness itself. In that sense, a family order consisting of a breadwinner husband and his wife bearing full responsibility in the house in line with her gender roles was a profound part of being an American, whether it was imposed on the self or the migrant other (Golda 2016). This alignment with traditional roles and gendered conservative ethics acquired a hierarchical and regulatory character over time, especially during the Cold War years. An alienation from this family and gender order, sexual deviance like homosexuality, or even being a single woman in her mid-twenties turned out to be offenses with connotations of communism or the "godless" Soviets (Golda 2016; May 2017). Targeting such anomaly with a sort of "sexual containment," the maintenance of the order was reinforced with updates on the model of family and womanhood necessary for the age. Attribution of the role of maintaining the house as a safe place during the nuclear age with pantries full of stocks stood out as a major update to the roles of the ideal housewife (May 2017, 105-106.). Similarly, the increasing mobility of the women with Ford cars specifically advertised for them was an example of the adaptability of this gender order to the new age (Rosenberg 1999).

In that context, one structural part of creating the image of modern women, paradoxically sticking to traditional gender roles, was consumption as it enabled a market-approved glorification of the housewife's capital, both in material or behavioral terms, and made it the new normal. De Grazia's (2005) depiction of the "Mrs. Consumption" of the Cold War years, for instance, is marked by her consumption styled as both smart and traditional, targeting both domestic and foreign audiences. This specific type of consumption of detergents

and kitchenware was a characteristic of the new women marketed as part of Americanization in Europe and elsewhere (420-424).

The centrality of consumption in this model is accompanied by the centrality of the kitchen, a modern one with dishwashers subject to the infamous "kitchen debate" between Nixon and Khrushchev. Thus, the American(ized) woman stood in contrast with her Soviet counterpart, just as the standards they live in. The American standard of living (which Nixon claimed to be also valid for the working class) stressed abundance and "freedom of choice" over dishwashers (de Grazia 2005; Hixson 1997). Besides this capitalist reading of consumption and the modern kitchen being a characteristic of the ideal woman, the cultural aspect of this model is also quite intriguing. The image of a mobile, well-groomed woman with different outfits for different occasions and is relieved of manual/manly work had also a cultural aspect. It was instrumental in setting the worth and standard of a woman in the American civilization for foreign audiences as it stood in contrast with the perceived image of Soviet women (Rosenberg 1999).

Even though this import of the new model by American allies has been noted by several scholars in the literature, its interaction with the local culture with such characteristics also stands out. In depicting the implications of this ideal in Europe, Nolan (2018) demonstrates it as a story of hybridity rather than hegemonization or Coca-colonization (p.243-245). Arguing that the interaction was neither hegemonic nor one-way, she traces indigenous roots of modernity in Europe that emerged before the war, especially in Sweden (Nolan 2018). Thus, Nolan deems the American involvement in creating the modern housewife in line with post-war Europe's retreat to home and domesticity, which she sees as a reflection of the retreat from its problematic past (p.254).

Although implications of the model of an ideal woman in American modernity were explored in line with the Cold War dynamics with attention paid to local agency, as shown by

Nolan (2018), the focus remained on the influence of Americanization through female consumption. In that context, this research provides novelty in this body of literature as well. Besides touching on gender in Turkish modernization, this research also addresses the need to take a family planning and birth control-focused approach to gender in American modernity during the Cold War. Therefore, this thesis addresses gaps in two bodies of scholarship, both in gender and modernization in Turkey and gender in American modernity in the Cold War.

1.2 Research Design

In order to explore the gender aspect of US-led modernization in Turkey through family planning, I rely on archival research. The first pillar of this archival research comprises newspaper and magazine articles published in the period 1950-1970 in Turkey and Turkish. To access the records, I used Gaste Arşivi, a digital database for Turkish newspapers and magazines published after the alphabet reform in 1928. For this research, the conceptual keywords that I relied on are the following words: *nüfus* (i.e., population)*, doğum kontrolü* (i.e., birth control)*, and aile planlama* (i.e., family planning)*. In addition to these conceptual words and phrases, I also did additional research by searching for the following organizations, places, and figures: *Hacettepe, Rockefeller, Ford, and Pathfinder.* Going through over 800 articles, I kept relevant sources deemed useful for this research. The national newspapers from which I recorded news articles and opinion pieces are *Cumhuriyet, Vatan, Son Posta,* and *Akşam.* In addition to national ones, I also kept records from one local, Istanbul-based newspaper, *Yeni Istanbul*, along with a nationwide magazine, *Akis.*

Besides newspaper and magazine archives, my research has been complemented with the academic and policy literature of the period. Works of modernization theorists, along with demographers and anthropologists, contribute to the sources. Alongside academic papers, published records of lectures and conferences are considered within the literature category. Research published by organizations, such as the Population Council, Princeton University

Office of Population Research, Institute for Investigation of Women's Social Life (KSHTK), and Population Association of America through its academic journal Demography, constitutes another aspect of the literature-based data.

Additionally, policy documents from the 1950s and 1960s further contribute to this archival research. These materials include five-year development plans, legal actions on family planning and codifications, and institutionalizations. Finally, records of the Turkish Grand Assembly and Senate, which was created after the coup d'état of 1960 and operated until 1980, are also included in the archival data. Relying on a variety of sources, this archival data aims to explore displays of agencies by diverse actors and different approaches to the population issue.

The rest of the research is structured as follows: The second chapter provides a theoretical framework in light of the modernization and demographic transition theories. The third chapter engages with the historical context of Turkish modernization from the late Ottoman period to various aspects of US-led modernization. The fourth chapter focuses on the analysis of the archival data in three sections. Firstly, it focuses on the early discussions on the relationship between population and modernity. It is then followed by a discussion of the increasing entanglement in the population issue and the display of Cold War dynamics. The fourth chapter concludes with the final section on the construction of the population issue and its relationship with gender. The thesis ends with the last chapter, the conclusion.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Early discussions on modernity and development

The modernization theory stands out as a manifestation of the Cold War, which can be approached as a rivalry of different modernities, both rooted in 19th-century Europe (Westad 2005). Yet, the broader idea of a paradigm for political development rooted in Western societies predates the ideological superpower rivalry. The notion of civilization, for instance, had been employed as a guiding principle that served both as an indicator of development and a tool for othering in the 19th century, reflected in the "standard of civilization" (Obregon Tarazona 2012). For Western European countries, it served as a point of pride and belonging, instilling a sense of superiority. It turned out to be a useful phrase as it enabled othering of the "uncivilized" in regulating international law, engaging in diplomatic initiatives, or justifying imperialism and colonialism (917-919). Such idealization of the European civilization, aided by the Enlightenment philosophy, enabled standard and unitary images of progress (Zarakol 2023a). For non-Europeans, this meant the replication of one standard path, leading to discussions over Westernization.

On the other hand, Westernization attempts by the non-European periphery and the semi-periphery legitimized this peculiar mode of progress, further reinforcing its necessity for development (Zarakol 2023a; Zarakol 2023b). In the end, this legitimation paradoxically enabled civilization's hierarchical aspect to adopt a more subtle and emancipatory disguise. Although race-based standards, for instance, had a natural exclusion, civilization implied that it could be acquired as a standard almost anywhere by anyone. This illusion of replicability, unlike race-based orders, was quite instrumental since any failure to civilize, Westernize, or modernize was a failure attributable to the non-European other (Zarakol 2023a, 40).

2.2 Modernization Theory

During the Cold War, the American sense of post-war superiority enabled a similar perception, this time revolving around the theme of modernity instead of civilization. It equipped US policymakers with a self-proclaimed duty to modernize the world, assumingly seeking their assistance and guidance, which, in certain contexts, was true (Westad 2005). The roots of this self-idealism can be detected in the notion of manifest destiny and the influence of European values revolving around the Enlightenment (Westad 2005, 14; Westad 2017, 16). Moreover, the development experience through the New Deal has also played a role in reinforcing American confidence in its perception of modernity and progress (Ekbladh 2010, 8). It was further influenced by the post-war context that equipped Americans with evidence of how societies ended up without exposure to American ideals, ways of progress, and the need for an American touch, invoking a sense of systemic responsibility (Westad 2005).

This sense of responsibility was influential in setting the Cold War as an ideological rivalry based on notions of modernity (Westad 2005). For its American version, the policy-academia collaboration was crucial. Enlightenment legacy of rationality, with occasional social Darwinist undertones, was reflected in the emphasis on social sciences in American academia (Gilman 2003). Taming politics as emotional and seeking guidance through "scientific" academic knowledge production in social sciences enabled modernization designs to be implemented as a political instrument in the Cold War rivalry (Adalet 2018, 29-32; Gilman 2003, 76-77). Walt Rostow's *Stages of Economic Development: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, for instance, was a product of the social scientific application of modernity, arguing for stages and conditions necessary for "take-off," with the economy being the main pillar of any scheme for modernization (Rostow 1991, 7-9). Further, area expertise, methods aligning with behavioralism, and comparative approaches were frequent means of adapting to this rivalry (Adalet 2018). Daniel Lerner's *The Passing of Traditional Society*, published in 1958, along

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with *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, published in 1964, edited by Dankwart A. Rustow and Robert E. Ward, constitutes such examples of contributions of the Cold War social sciences.

Born out of earlier American experience and vision and policy-academia collaboration, modernization theory was invoked as a political instrument during the Cold War and a reflection of American national identity (Latham 2000; Gilman 2003). Relying on the human capacity to exercise control over the environment, as emphasized in the political science literature of the period, the theory had several assumptions (Rustow and Ward 1965; Gilman 2003, 5). Firstly, it claimed a profound dichotomy between the traditional and the modern, arguing that the less traditional a society is, the easier the progress to reach (Latham 2000, 33). Treating progress as a form of transition, a stagist approach was adopted (Eisenstadt 1978). Walt Rostow's *Stages of Economic Development, first published in 1960,* was a clear adoption of this notion, as it approached human progress as a series of stages (Rostow 1991).

These notions of linear transition and dichotomy led to uniform images of modern and traditional societies (Eisenstadt 1978, 232-233). Moreover, it stimulated the neglect of varieties in paths to modernity (246). Further, this dichotomy enabled definitions of modernity in relation to the traditional. Mobility, cosmopolitanism, secularism, and a complex division of labor were qualities used to define modernity through this dichotomy (Rustow and Ward 1964, 3-7; Gilman 2003, p.5). Nevertheless, defining through othering was not peculiar to the traditional, as communism was the other term to compare and define through. What the Soviets did not was as instrumental as what the traditional was not (Gilman 2003, 4-6).

Additionally, this transition of stages was reflected as a natural process of human history as it attributed modernity inevitability, strengthened by the belief in linear progress (Eisenstadt 1978). Besides the dichotomy, another assumption stressed that economic, social, and political changes were interrelated and interdependent, meaning that progress in one realm would lead

to change in the other as well (Latham 2000, 79). This was complemented by the final assumption, noting that developing countries' contact with the developed ones increases the former's capacity on their path to modernity (Latham 2000, 35-36).

Nevertheless, the theory's implementation proved that there was room for contextualization and malleability. Although Western epistemology and ideological leanings were still influential in directing the design of modernization projects in areas of implementation and experimentation, the academic expertise also displayed sensitivities and awareness of the local contexts. These Orientalists, with the literal meaning of the word, who sometimes displayed Orientalism in the Saidian way, were also influenced by local histories in their knowledge production. For instance, late Ottoman legacies of land reform attempts and failures played a profound role in their treatment of land as the major issue to tackle through modernization in the Middle East (Citino 2008). Similarly, Kemalist modernization influenced the imagination of potential paths to be pursued in the region. Notions of benevolent dictatorship or tolerance against authoritarian rule were reflections of American reading of the Kemalist past (Citino 2008, 587).

Thus, modernization theory had earlier roots in 19th-century European Enlightenment, tailored according to American vision and interests in the Cold War. These factors were not only influential in the assumptions generated in this frame but also shaped how such approaches and assumptions emerged. Social scientific practices and their reflections on policy-academia collaboration, funded and operated by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), philanthropy organizations, and the US government, were also a product of the emphasis on rationality. With its main assumptions about and approach to development and the relationships it led, modernization theory shaped the Turkish experience of the Cold War in many aspects. One area in which it played a role was population policies, discussed in the next section.

2.3 Demographics and Modernization

Western rooted modernity or Cold War modernization theory, specifically, had several aspects and assumptions. Among them, one policy area that is often neglected stands out to be demographics and population policy. Yet, even without a conscious policy design for population control or family planning, the mere practice of census taking is an outgrowth of the modern state. For that reason, carrying out a census, coming up with a population policy, or bureaucratizing the practice constitute starting points for modernization schemes. Ottoman Empire's first census, for instance, was organized during the reign of Mahmut II, one of the fierce modernizers of the empire (Shaw 1978, 325). Besides the quantitative knowledge and authority on the inhabitants, census taking is instrumental in guiding the modernization project, as in the Ottoman sultans' intention to reform and modernize the taxation system (330).

In addition to the practice and knowledge, population policies have been a profound aspect of 20th-century modernization schemes. Although figures such as Margaret Sanger were quite influential in transnational activism, pointing out birth control as a means of women's liberty, the leading focus did not remain on women's emancipation (Connely 2008). It was coupled with racial and colonial concerns revolving around the question: "Who will inherit the Earth?" (Connelly 2008, 6-9). Reflected in the discussions about migration policies or aid to developing countries, eugenic concerns were manifesting even after the Holocaust, despite its negative reputation (Connely 2008).

Regardless of the source of concern, the need to rely on the European pattern of demographic transition was the main focus. The transition theory, formulated by researchers such as Frank Notestein, Irene Tauber, and Dudley Kirk for the Princeton University Office for Population Research in the 1940s, suggested an ideal pattern (Kirk 1996). Stressing 19th-century European transition from high fertility and high mortality to low fertility and low mortality, the concern was placed on the lack of transition in the developing world. The

transition first occurred with the decline in mortality without influencing fertility, thanks to improvements in medical technologies (Connely 2008). Following population growth, it continued with the decline in fertility, stabilizing population growth. Since previous expectations of the last stage for other parts of the world were not met, how and whether it could be changed was the subject of discussion (Kirk 1944).

In this context, the theory and discussions revolving around it constituted a sphere of intersection for modernity and population, even despite later criticism by its advocates. Many of the reasons for the developing world's failure to replicate the European pattern were perceived to be modernity-relevant, such as levels of urbanism, industrialization, or cultural differences relating to secularism and individualism (Kirk 1994). This constructed relationship with modernity explains the demographer's social scientific identity in the 1950s with considerations of social, economic, and political aspects of population growth (Hodgson 1983).

The implementation of population control policies in this frame to lower the population growth in developing countries was led by NGOs and philanthropy organizations in the early years. International organizations, such as the World Health Organization (WHO), were prevented by an alliance of Catholic and socialist countries against population and birth control (Connely 2008). The US government, on the other hand, was impeded by concerns about conservative reactions, fears of alienating post-colonial states with connotations of racism/colonialism, and potential backlash about its own population. Yet, with the Kennedy administration and the lifting of the ban on contraceptives for foreign aid, the US government had a more active role in population control/family planning (Connely 2008; Horn 2013).

At this point, a clarification on population control and family planning seems required. Although the UN World Conference on Population in Bucharest in 1974 enabled the term family planning to be adopted with connotations of women's emancipation, there were periods when both terms were used interchangeably (Horn 2013, 202). Additionally, birth control was

also another term used to address the population issue, yet terms like family planning seemed less aggressive for conservative parties like the Vatican and embraced a less individualist outlook. Thus, family planning can be considered a form of population control with coercive, manipulative, and voluntary means, although population control had stronger connotations of neo-Malthusian eugenic concerns (Connelly 2008).

Hence, global population control stands out as a policy area that was discussed and conceptualized in relation to modernity, having a link with the modernization theory. Besides stressing a Western model for replication, the transition theory also established a dialogue with the social science approach to uncover the factors that accelerated the growth rate. Hence, it constituted an aspect of US-led modernization in many areas of the world, including Turkey. Thus, Cold War interests and modernization were pursued through women's bodies (Horn 2013).

2.4 Conclusion

As this theoretical framework suggests, family planning stands out as a policy area constructed and discussed in line with the perceptions of modernization, reminiscent of modernization theory. Thus, stressing the compatibility and intersection between the two fields, I argue that population control stands out as an area of US-led modernization in Turkey, in which the Cold War agenda and modernization priorities were pursued. In addition to the origin of family planning policies in Turkey, Cold War dynamics were influential in the national narratives around such policies and the flow of development. Further, family planning constituted a sphere of interplay of a variety of actors, from philanthropy foundations to the US government, demonstrating the Cold War collaborations at different levels.

Moreover, I argue that despite earlier women's activism, gender-alienated re-framing of population growth had reflections in Turkey as well. Despite the evident focus on female bodies and the social implications of birth control policies, family planning was reconstructed in a way

that alienated it from its gendered roots. Thus, the field stood out as a means of overcoming economic concerns that seemed to have little relation with women. Nevertheless, I also argue that this neglect of gender, embedded in the population issue, was compensated by local activism as Turkish women's organizations and individual activists were influential in re-invoking narratives focusing on women's emancipation.

3. Historical Context

In this chapter, I aim to explore the Turkish history of modernization from the late Ottoman period to US-led modernization in the 1950s to provide a historical context relevant to this research. In doing so, I treat this history as a line of continuity despite frequent characterizations of the Cold War period in isolation from the Ottoman and Kemalist pasts. Besides Enlightenment sources, the idea of catching up and the inspiration from Western models, Niyazi Berkes's conceptualization of Turkish modernization as a story of secularization seems quite useful in unearthing this line.

Taking the starting point during the reign of Selim III in the late 18th century, Berkes (2023) detaches secularization from its religion-based connotation that refers to the dissociation of the religious from the political. Approaching the term as a dissociation from the traditional, which frequently acquires a religiously sacred quality, he perceives the initial military reforms in the framework of secularization (17-23). Following Sultan Selim's military reforms, modernization continued in the fields of education and clothing, along with the more ambitious schemes for the military. Further, in the reign of Mahmud II, centralization became a crucial tenet of Ottoman modernization (Zürcher 2000).

Mid-19th-century developments, however, were complemented with concerns about European interventions and immunity for the multi-ethnic structure of the empire against nationalistic movements (Berkes 2023, Zürcher 2000). Further, unlike the earlier attempts to pursue modernization through power centralization, democratization became a part of the path to modernity with the transition to constitutional monarchy. In that sense, media and print culture developments proved to be a significant aspect of modernization, hosting intellectual discussions over political liberalism and modernization, as Daniel Lerner's treatment of media as a crucial actor in modernization (Berkes 2023; Lerner 1958, 52-54).

Despite a thirty-year break to the constitutional monarchy by the dictate of Sultan Abdülhamit II prior to the coup d'état by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), modernization was led with a focus on development. Similarly, CUP undertook a more ambitious and structured program for modernization although it failed to fully meet expectations of increasing democratization and political liberalism (Ahmad 2000). Erik Jan Zürcher (2005), for instance, points out this period as a source of inspiration for the Kemalist republic. Policies targeting secularization such as the codification of relatively secular family law in 1917 and the removal of *şeyhülislam* (religious authority) from the cabinet, and ideological narrative of modernization in line with nationalism had reflections in the Kemalist modernization (Zürcher 2005).

Embracing a more ambitious agenda for modernization, Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) stressed the emphasis on secularizing reforms in the initial years of the republic, with the abolishment of the caliphate. Unlike the previous schemes, however, he was keen on state-led industrialization, especially in collaboration with the Soviet Union (Boratav 2023; Ahmad 2000). Although Kemalist modernization project was extensive and ambitious with a profound aspect of centralization, Kemalism continues to be a source of discussion in Turkish history of modernization with post-1980 attacks on the grounds of radical secularism, nationalism, and authoritarianism (Tunçay 1981; Göle 1997) and a newly emerging paradigm evaluating Kemalist success in isolation from the official state narrative (Aytürk 2015).

Studies of modernization in Turkish history followed with a focus of the Cold War period after the early republic. As shown in the literature review above, it has been approached from different perspectives with focus on historical roots and contextualization (Citino 2008), economic liberalization (Danforth 2015), scientific progress and education (Erken 2018), and mobility (Adalet 2016).

Thus, points on centralization, secularization (both in a general sense and the way Berkes conceptualized it), and economy constituted the main points of discussion on Turkish modernization since the late Ottoman period. In light of this historical context, the next section continues with a discussion and analysis of the archival data based on the discussion of the theoretical framework.

4. Discussion and Analysis

4.1 Early discussions on population and modernity

4.1.1 Calls for institutional reform

Calls for institutional reform regarding population affairs were one way of claiming modernity's relationship with population. On May 20, 1950, a newspaper article addressed that relationship. Complaining about the lack of standardization in ID documents and the lack of indication of useful data, such as men's conscription status, the author argued that more attention needed to be paid to population affairs (İmset 1950). Many others stressed that possessing reliable and extensive population data was an indication of a modern state, and that reform was needed (Refik 1950; İlkmen 1950; Gökberk 1950).

This call for modernization and regulation of population administration was not a random expression. 1950 was the year for the country-wide census, organized every five years since 1935 after the first census of the republic in 1927. Yet, more importantly, 1950 was also the year that the Democrat Party (DP) won the elections on May 14, five years after the transition into multi-party democracy in Turkey. Ending the 27-year rule of the Republican People's Party (RPP) with its pledge for democracy and advocacy for a liberal economy, DP's supporters had profound expectations from the new government. In that context, calls for reform of the population administration in newspapers such as *Son Posta*, *Vatan*, and *Akşam*, either supportive of or moderate toward the new government, were the product of expectations of change and progress. Thus, the fact that such opinion articles were mostly published after May 14, despite earlier announcements of the census in January, seems to be in line with this political climate.

Yet, the idea of reform of the population administration and the census bureaucracy predates the new government. Earlier articles noting that an American expert was invited to

Turkey to assist in the organization of the census date back to January (Cumhuriyet 1950). In fact, diplomatic records suggest that the Turkish government displayed a profound interest in the census organization in Switzerland in 1950, with documents relating to its details being sent to Ankara for further review (State Archives 1950). Following the elections, American assistance in census organization and new training for its conduct was the topic in many news articles in the pro-DP or moderate newspapers (Son Posta 1950a; Son Posta 1950b; Akşam 1950). Thus, while reform and modernization of the census bureaucracy was in the government's agenda in the post-war period, there were broader calls for a holistic reform of the population administration. Such calls were in line with expectations of greater progress and modern change following the change of government.

4.1.2 Population growth and economy

As discussions on the modernization of population bureaucracy as an extension of the modern state marked the beginning of growing interest in population policies, it was not limited to bureaucratic and institutional reform. Discussions by renowned social scientists and demographers stressed the need for population growth to be proportional to economic growth for the transition from high fertility and low mortality to low fertility and low mortality. Unlike the global trend, such discussions came to Turkey in the early 1960s. Prior to that, the early problematization of population growth in the mid-1950s took place through the expressions of economic concerns.

Since the early republic, with the human loss of the long series of wars from the Balkan Wars to the Independence War in 1918, pro-natalism has been the main government policy (Tauber 1958; Shorter 1968). In fact, the sales and import of contraceptive products and dissemination of information on such methods were banned in the related legislation in 1930 (Umumi Hifzısıhha Kanunu). Similarly, abortion remained illegal until 1983. Until the transition to the anti-natalist period in the 1960s, population growth was approached in a

celebratory tone, without concerns about catching up with the economic progress. Besides the government policy, public discussions also displayed the pro-natalist narrative, treating it as the norm. While some newspaper articles celebrated that it was only Palestine that outpaced Turkey with its rate of population growth, others were expressing contention that the rate was satisfactory following the census (Ediz 1950; Selen 1950). Similarly, some argued that the population size was instrumental in acquiring significance in international status, pointing out China as an important actor in the international arena thanks to its population (Akşam 1950).

Year	Present Population (in millions)	Population Growth Rate (in %)
1945	18, 790, 174	1.06
1950	20, 947, 188	2.17
1955	24, 064, 763	2.78
1960	27, 754, 820	2.85
1965	31, 391, 421	2.46
1970	35, 605, 176	2.52

Figure 1: Turkey's population size and growth rate in 1945-1960. Source: Turkish Statistical Office Data Portal for Population Statistics.

Yet, the early problematization of population growth started to make the agenda. As shown in Figure 1, increasing population size and rate of growth led to the manifestation of problems relating to education, increasing unemployment, agriculture, and housing in migration-receiving cities. Such issues were instrumental in the problematization of population growth after years of embracement of pro-natalism. In this context, further they enabled a means of government criticism, although such discussions were limited to opposition publications,

such as Akis magazine (Akis 1956; Akis 1957; Aşçıoğlu 1957). Besides the media, government criticism by the parliamentarians of the opposition in the Grand Assembly provided early instances of critical narrative about population growth (TBMM 1957a; TBMM 1957b; TBMM 1958c). Yet, population growth also constituted a means to avoid criticism, adopted by the government as it was used to explain disruptions in economic and social development (TBMM 1958a; TBMM 1958b).

In parallel to domestic developments, discussions of the population issue at the global level were also making the agenda. News articles titled "Yellow Peril," reporting on the growth of the Chinese population introduced Turkish reader the potential threat resulting from uncontrolled population (Akşam 1955). Similarly, pieces reporting on the Vatican's stance about birth control and the World Population Conference of 1954, were reflections of the emerging interest in the international discussions of the population issue (Cumhuriyet 1954). Besides this almost passive, neutral observation of the global developments in population control, Cold War dynamics enabled Turkish academia to engage more closely with the topic of population growth. One of those instances was a lecture series named "Lectures on Economic Development." The series was funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, to be given at Ankara University in 1957 by renowned academics. Such initiatives provided an opportunity for American philanthropy organizations to engage with topics relating to population in Turkey without breaching the law with policy-focused endeavors, such as funding for contraceptives.

In this lecture series, consisting of nine lectures given by five academics, the two stand out with their focus on population growth. John Habakkuk, lecturing on "Population Growth and Economic Development," mainly argued that the demographic transition that Europe went through did not apply to underdeveloped countries. Arguing that this was mostly due to the differences in the family structure, he questioned whether population growth constituted an economic stimulus (Habakkuk 1958). He refuted Keynesian and Ricardian hypotheses, arguing

that population growth could stimulate further development (Habakkuk 1958). Without further elaboration on varying family structures in developing countries, hindering transition, he concluded with the need to address the issue in underdeveloped countries (Habakkuk 1958). In addition to Habakkuk, Alfred Sauvy, lecturing on the population of the developing countries, conceptualized the root of the problem and its relationship with the economy. Unlike the Turkish press reporting that Sauvy denied the existence of a population problem (Akis 1957), he rather stressed that further action needed to be taken as population growth had not caught up with economic growth (Sauvy 1958). Thus, he concluded with further problematization of the population growth in the developing countries and called for redirection of military spending to more aid to the developing by the Cold War superpowers (Sauvy 1958).

Thus, the mid and late 1950s marked the early increase in awareness about global population trends and concerns. Although domestic concerns and reflections were not yet framed in line with the global trends stressing demographic transition and economic growth, this period witnessed the initial problematization of population growth. Regardless of whether embraced as a means of government criticism or a useful excuse for failure by the government itself, it marked the transition from pro-natalist discourse to anti-natalism. Further, even though it seems as a passive observation, familiarization with the global approaches and trends constituted a preparatory stage for Turkey in its more active engagement with the population issue.

4.2 Increasing entanglement

4.2.1 Institutional and legal transition to anti-natalism

Following the periods of early engagement with the population and modernization, more concrete actions were taken in the early 1960s. The institutional and legal transition to an anti-natalist policy in Turkey took place in the early 1960s. It was shaped by Cold War dynamics, influenced by the needs of US-led modernization and Cold War interests. The first stage of this

transition in Turkey was marked by the First Five-Year Development Plan, drafted in 1962 to be implemented by the State Planning Organization (SPO) for 1963-1967. Despite a lack of elaboration as to the major outcomes of increasing population, the plan aimed for a legal change by abolishing the legislation that prevents the sale and import of contraceptive products and the dissemination of information on them (Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1963). While abortion was not a part of the discussion and remained illegal until 1983, the Law on Population Planning passed in 1965, a few years after the adoption of the development plan (Resmi Gazete 1965).

Yet, with the absence of strong motivation following the post-coup d'état political climate of 1960, the plan drew criticism for the delay in the overseen legislation (Candan 1962a; Candan 1962b). Such factors, from the delay in legislation to the non-ambitious goals, could explain the increasing population growth rate in 1965, as shown in Figure 1. In this context, the plan mostly provided a frame for institutional exploration of population control. Although it was not clearly stated in the plan, the parliamentary discussions revealed that the goal was to keep the population growth rate at 2-2.5% (Millet Meclisi 1964b). According to the parliamentary commission report prepared for the second development plan and reviewed the first, between 1965 and 1968, 114,763 IUD insertions were performed, leading to an acceptance rate of 2.2% married women in the age group of 15-45 (Cunhuriyet Senatosu 1967).

These modest results, however, do not necessarily translate as the lack of public interest in population planning programs. In fact, the commission report suggests that by the end of 1966, 45% of the applicants to family clinics were from rural areas, with a 42% literacy rate (Cumhuriyet Senatosu 1967). This was also emphasized by Shoter and Özbay's research in 1970, highlighting that the most successful clinics were in Ankara and received patients from central Anatolian towns in 1963-1968. Moreover, their research suggests that a general trend

toward smaller families already predated the family planning initiatives by the government, making such policies fit the existing needs and motivation (Özbay and Shorter 1970).

Yet, this motivation relied highly on government promotion and incentives. Berelson's survey, dated 1964, inquiring about potential actors that influence citizens' motivation in rural areas, demonstrated that the central government was the first among a variety of actors, from village-level administrators to religious authorities. Moreover, the data on the price of contraceptive methods in Turkey also emphasizes the need for government promotion. Standing at $ 1.10, one IUD insertion cost a Turkish woman around 27 Turkish liras in 1967 (Berelson 1964). Relying on the commission report stating the average household income of patients from rural areas as 500 liras at the end of 1966, one insertion cost around 4% of the average household income when income increase is equated with the inflation level (Cumhuriyet Senatosu 1967).

This reliance on government promotion and incentives had been stressed in the public discussions by activists in the early years of the discussion, calling for consciousness-raising initiatives and free access to contraceptive products and procedures in rural areas (Candan 1962a; Candan 1962c). The implication of this reliance combined with lack of an ambitious government program is also evident in the preferred methods for birth control. Despite the increase in the preference and use of other methods increased, withdrawal remained the most preferred method (Özbay and Shorter 1970). These findings were also confirmed by Berelson's (1964) survey, noting relatively high rates of existing interest and motivation in urban areas both by the husband and the wife, with a greater tendency of the latter, despite the lack of information.

This broader transition into an anti-natalist framework can be explained by the Cold War dynamics. As the developing countries proved expectations of a decline in fertility wrong, pressures on governments to engage in family planning schemes increased. Such a need to reduce the population growth rate to fit the frame of US-led modernization was also felt by

Turkey. Arguments put forth by pro-plan politicians were stressing that population growth was hindering economic growth, creating an economic pressure. Claiming population's relationship with economic development, so central to the idea of modernization, they tried to problematize the 3% growth in the Turkish population (Cumhuriyet Senatosu 1962a). Similarly, Turhan Feyzioğlu, the Minister of State during the drafting of the Law on Population Control, acknowledged that the government was being pressured by international organizations to take action about population growth, especially on foreign aid (Cumhuriyet Senatosu 1962b). Possibly not contemplating about potential reaction he would receive, the minister even admitted that population growth was the first thing that the NATO delegation asked about during their visit to Turkey (Cumhuriyet Senatosu 1962c).

Although Feyzioğlu was successful in eliminating the concerns about the socialist attributions to the idea of population planning by citing opposite examples like China, he was not able to deter nationalist reactions (Cumhuriyet Senatosu 1962a). Besides accusations of Malthusianism (Cumhuriyet Senatosu 1962a), some parliamentarians gave examples from Hungary, a Turkic country, being stuck in the Slavic world with its shrinking population due to such interventions (Millet Meclisi 1964). Similarly, some senators emphasized that Turkey did not need such a birth control mechanism, unlike India whose population was indeed alarming (Cumhuriyet Senatosu 1962c). Thus, while Cold War concerns and interests dictated the adoption of population planning policies, they were also influential in triggering the pro-natalist discourse of the earlier decade.

In that sense, re-framing the issue of population planning and the needed legislation stood out as a frequent, and occasionally useful, means of avoiding the Cold War dynamics involved in the issue. Pro-legislation parliamentarians and senators narrated the need for the legislation as access to contraceptives or population planning methods constituted a case of individual liberty and a way of preventing of medical disasters (Millet Meclisi 1964). IN line

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with this framing, some emphasized that there was no need to approach population growth as an alarming threat (Millet Meclisi 1964b) and stated that the plan was far away from being an artificial intervention in Turkish population trends to avoid nationalist reactions (Cumhuriyet Senatosu 1962a). Besides trying to eliminate socialist or capitalist readings of the scheme, depending on one's party, pro-plan politicians attempted to narrate the issue in isolation from Cold War concerns, and the imposition of foreign actors on the path to modernity and development. Such discussions revealed how Cold War modernity and dynamics were influential in the design, implementation, and narration of population planning in Turkey as they shaped the direction of policies while also triggering the critical reaction against population planning.

The Second Five-Year Development Plan for 1968-1972, however, addressed the issue with the term "family planning" and presented a more elaborate scheme with more ambitious targets (Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1968). In fact, the commission created for the review of the earlier plan reported that the new target was introducing and providing family planning methods to 2 million women (Cumhuriyet Senatosu 1967). Moreover, as the variety of methods increased with the introduction of the oral pill in 1966 and vaginal creams and tablets in 1967, the emphasis on voluntarism was reinforced with the option for preference over the method (Fişek and Shorter 1968). Based on the previous plan's data, the focus on the rural areas through mobile teams increased (Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1968). The paradox of being accessible mostly to urban women whose fertility was already low despite the rural interest can be deemed influential (Schnaiberg 1971).

The second plan led to the creation of 561 family planning clinics by 1972, with 872 health units in provinces and 4 mobile teams for rural areas (Fişek 1973). The yearly number of IUD insertions during the implementation of the plan reached 50,000 (Fişek 1973). Although

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the second plan was seemed more successful in comparison with the first plan that served more of an exploratory purpose, it still failed to meet the targets (Fişek 1973).

This increase in engagement with the issue, despite the failure to meet the target, could be read in parallel with increasing US involvement, leading to more opportunities for funding. With the lifting of the ban on contraceptive products for foreign aid in 1965, Cold War dynamics reflected themselves once more in the national sphere of Turkish population policies. Additionally, new themes such as the dependent population was also constituting a point of problematization (Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1968). Claimed to be the burden on economy, addressing the dependency through family planning seemed essential (Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1968). Thus, in addition to the increasing rate of population growth in 1960-1965 and new concerns, more US engagement and involvement can be deemed influential in the direction of greater embracement of population planning measures, despite the Cold War modernity's alienation of nationalist voices.

4.2.2 Philanthropy and government collaboration

The pursuit of Cold War interests and US-led modernization through population control constituted a playground for various actors, especially philanthropy and government collaboration. In particular, the period until the creation of USAID and the lifting of the ban on contraceptives in 1965 marks philanthropic and NGO compensation for the US's absence. Visits and conferences by organizations such as Pathfinder International in collaboration with the Turkish Ministry of Health constitute such examples (Candan 1963a). Besides engaging in policy discussions, such organizations further provided funds for the implementation of the population and family planning objectives in the five-year plans. Even after USAID's involvement, the Population Council, founded by John D. Rockefeller, provided the second largest funding for family planning programs (Fişek 1973).

Similarly, this collaboration and profound involvement a variety of actors had reflections in Turkish academia. In particular, with the establishment of the Population Studies Institute at the newly created Hacettepe University in 1967, academic and policy-related collaboration was facilitated (Resmi Gazete 1971). Presided over by Nusret Fişek, the institute had an extensive network in international academia. It was enabled especially by Frederic C. Shorter, who worked as the social sciences advisor to the Ford Foundation and whose interest in the Turkish population dated back to the 1930s (Özbay 2012). As Fişek and Shorter's works on Turkish population policies contributed to the interplay of international and national organizations from policy, academia, and civil society, they led the emergence of a new field in Turkish academia. Their collaborations with Turkish students and researchers in platforms, such as the Population Council and the Princeton University Office for Population Research, provided new paths for dialogue. Further, this Cold War network was maintained with the student quality at the institute's graduate program, which was ensured with scholarships provided by the Rockefeller Foundation (Özbay 2012). Thus, the pursuit of American interests and concerns shaping US-led modernization enabled a sphere of collaboration for a variety of international and national actors.

4.3 Gender Aspect of Population Policies

4.3.1 Missing Gender

Besides its historical roots with the lead of women activists such as Margaret Sanger, population planning is a field with profound links to and connotations of gender. In the physical and medical sense, the focus mostly remained on women's bodies as most of the preferred methods and contraceptive inventions targeted women's bodies. Moreover, in the social sense, birth control had a profound relationship with women's emancipation through its influence on women's education, employment, and mobility, although one can also argue for reverse causality. Regardless of how the causality is established, fertility practices were also analyzed

in light of variations in culture and family structure in the initial discussions of demographic transition theory (Kirk 1996). Nevertheless, despite the evident gender aspects of population planning, its relation to women was overlooked in most cases. This is especially the case at the governmental and institutional levels. The global approaches that framed population planning with references to urbanization, economic progress, and industrialization were reflected in Turkey as Turkish policymakers felt the pressure to engage with population planning more closely.

In the early period of problematization of population growth, the absence of women in the discussions from the health-oriented perspective is indeed understandable. As the existing legislation, prior to the change in law in 1965, prohibited the dissemination of information on contraceptive methods, discussions about variety of methods and their accessibility could be blocked. In the 1960s, this obstacle was eliminated. Yet, the neglect of women in the latter sense, as int eh 1950s, continued in the 1960s as well. This neglect is evident in the narratives in the Assembly and the Senate discussions. Considering the incredibly low numbers of female members, the discussions were mostly held by male members of the Assembly and the Senate. Pro-planning politicians reflected economic concerns as the way population planning was imported from the Cold War network without attention to the social status of women (Cumhuriyet Senatosu 1962a; Cumhuriyet Senatosu 1962b; Millet Meclisi 1965). Similarly, tendencies, and even proposals, to limit population planning to maternal health also stood out, although they were mostly instrumentalized as a means of opposition against the proposed plans on population policies (Millet Meclisi 1964b; Cumhuriyet Senatosu 1967).

Such neglect is further interesting when looked at the conferences organized by the Institute for the Investigation of Women's Social Life. Founded in 1953, the institute organized monthly conferences aimed to host discussions around various aspects of women's social life, from education to health, mostly led by Turkish feminists such as Afet İnan. The first

publication, covering some conferences from 1953-1964, evaluated the status of Turkish women and updated the readers on the dialogue with foreign institutes on women's rights and potential areas for further development (Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu 1967). Yet, no engagement regarding population growth and its problematization as an obstacle to women's emancipation exists. It is further intriguing when the period of conferences considered, as the initial institutional-legal attempts were taken in the early 1960s. Nevertheless, in the second publication, covering conferences held in 1966-1972, a discussion of family planning stands out (Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu 1973). Still, even this section, a conference given by Dr. Lewis S. Anderson of the Population Council in 1968, seems restricted to revealing the gender aspect only in the medical sense (Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu 1973). Further analysis of its social implications remains untouched.

Such a lack of contemplation of the relationship between fertility and women's emancipation was also reflected in academia, although with less neglect. As research conducted by scholars from the Hacettepe University relied on field work and surveys, more emphasis on women in the physical sense was put. Their preferences for birth control methods, and their broader interest in family planning, constituted the subject of many studies, although implications of literacy, urbanization and comparison with their husbands existed (Berelson 1964; Fişek and Shorter 1968; Özbay and Shorter 1970).

Ironically, when the social implications of the gender aspect became a part of the discussion in the assembly and Senate, it was in the form of reactionary responses to population policy proposals. One instance of this was about the name and focus of the legislation and the related section of the First Five-Year Plan. Both in the plan and the legislation, population planning was defined as individuals having the ability to have children whenever and as many as they wish (Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1963; Resmi Gazete 1965). Such focus on the individual triggered concerns over moral erosion, receiving backlash from conservative

parties such as the Justice Party (JP) and the Republican Peasants' Nation Party (RPNP) (Millet Meclisi 1964b). Stressing that an individual is not a family and implying that sexual intercourse belonged to families, not individuals, conservative members ironically revealed the hidden gender in population planning. Concerns over female sexuality, although only with the implication that it was female sexuality, were expressed by pointing out pregnancy as a barrier against moral erosion (of women) (Cumhuriyet Senatosu 1962c; Millet Meclisi 1964a). As a result, even pro-population planning politicians from the government party, the RPP, felt the need to "refute" the unpleasant impression the term had. Many of them, including the Minister of State, had to stress that the barrier against moral erosion cannot be the fear of pregnancy and that they needed to rely on more solid moral values (Millet Meclisi 1964b). Although the proposal for the change of the name was rejected by the commission, the next five-year plan for 1968-1972 addressed the issue as family planning, possibly due to the change in the government with the election victory of the right-wing JP (Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1968).

This alienation of population planning from its gendered roots was a reflection of Cold War dynamics and concerns. As Turkish policymakers were pressured to take action in population planning with justification on economic grounds, they imported the narrative and frame into the national discussion. Even when the medical aspect in relation to women came up, it was either instrumentalized by the government to evade Cold War connotations. In other cases, it was adopted by the opposition to pose questions about medical risks in a critical manner. Hence, the social aspect of gender was limited to the conservative paranoia over female sexuality that could be more "threatening" when the policies were tailored for individuals instead of families. It was only in the Third Five-Year Development Plan for 1973-1977 that women's education and employment were mentioned as factors that would lower population growth (Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1973). Yet, the plan demonstrated less interest

in the family planning issue, compared to the previous ones, admitting that population growth had been lowered despite further need (Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1973). Overall, the social aspect of gender in family planning was neglected with the application of the Cold War frame.

4.3.2 Local Actors and Women's Agency

Although Cold War dynamics and national concerns were influential in the isolation of the issue from women, NGO activism was an arena where both local and female agencies intersected. Organizations such as the Union of Turkish Women and the Union of Turkish Women in Universities were quite influential in pursuing activism and introducing contraceptive methods to Turkish women (Candan 1962c; Candan 1963b). In addition to organizing seminar-type events, they further engaged in international collaborations to draw further attention.

Besides such organizations, individual figures such as Nermin Abadan, Demet Işık, and Jale Candan displayed profound activism in taking the issue to the public agenda and engaging with calls pushing for more government involvement. In particular, Jale Candan, the head of the women's branch of RPP for a period in the 1960s, was an influential figure who discussed population planning in relation to women's emancipation in her section of the magazine *Akis*. Moreover, she displayed awareness of the intersectionality of the rural women faced with greater challenges in larger families, engaging in calls for more attention to rural areas in government policies (Candan 1962b). Besides informing her readers on potential options, medical risks, and the necessity of birth control, she further provided a perspective on developments on a global scale, such as the scientific progress in the development of the oral contraceptive pill or India's growing concern about the cost of family planning methods (Candan 1962a).

Further, addressing conservative concerns also constituted a significant aspect of Candan's activism. She was able to do so by joining the Minister of State in stressing that pregnancy could not be the sole barrier against the moral erosion of young girls (through sexuality) (Candan 1962b; Candan 1963b). Similarly, reifications of the voluntary nature of the implemented policies and assuring that no one will be forced to abortion were points that she felt the need to emphasize for her readers (Candan 1963a; Candan 1963b). Toward the end of the decade, she even introduced aspects that could be seen as more of a taboo, addressing the lack of sexual satisfaction many women go through due to the anxiety of pregnancy and stress (Candan 1967b).

Thus, although the gender aspect of family planning was neglected, local activism was influential in taking the matter back to its roots despite global and national framing. Addressing the topic from various perspectives, such as education, employment, health, and women's liberty, these women displayed agency in a field where gender, fertility, and Cold War modernity intersected.

5. Conclusion

Exploration of gender in US-led modernization in Turkey reveals the unique interplay of narratives and actors revolving around population, economic progress, and women's emancipation. It points out the influence of Cold War dynamics in setting the broader frame of population planning in line with US-led modernization. This focus further draws attention to the complex network of actors from academia to the philanthropy world, engaging in the pursuit of Cold War interests and modernity in various ways and levels of agency with complex webs of relations. Moreover, this research notes the influence of the Cold War frame in shaping gender-related narratives, leading fields such as family planning to lose their bond with gendered roots. Despite the Cold War hierarchies, however, this research further highlights the local agencies by women activists and NGOs in reframing family planning in line with its gendered aspects.

Relying on the framework of modernization theory and demographic transition, this thesis provides a significant contribution to two bodies of scholarship. Firstly, it addresses the gap in Turkish modernization, especially during the Cold War period, as it uncovers the narration and construction of a gender issue in a unique way, in line with American modernity and contextual differences. Secondly, it also contributes to the scholarship on gender and American modernity in the Cold War as this topic has been explored with a focus on female consumption. Thus, stressing the family planning aspect introduces a significant novelty to the literature.

Further research should address the implementation and outcomes of the family planning endeavors in Cold War Turkey with respect to women's emancipation. As this research covers how these attempts were framed and narrated, future research can point out its potential and unintentional impact on women. Similarly, the growing trend of authoritarian political Islam with Erdoğan's calls for more children could be analyzed in relation to the past

practices of family planning. Moreover, explorations of gender in US-led modernization could be followed with a focus on the image of an ideal woman and its reflections in Turkey with respect to fashion.

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