

BIO-POLITICS OF THE AKP RULE: WOMEN, SEXUALITY AND REPRODUCTION

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AKP HÜKÜMETİ'NİN BİYO-POLİTİKASI: KADINLAR, CİNSELLİK VE ÜREME

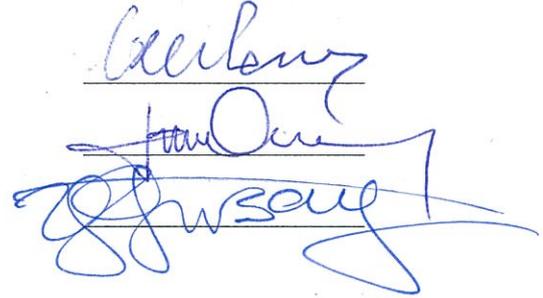
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Abstract

I intend to use this space to disclose to what extent discursive practices have an authority to shape social reality, and also to crystallize how the agents of power and knowledge regulated and controlled women's bodies, sexualities and reproduction that power has used them for subject and object of power relations. Furthermore, I will disclose how the *dispositif* (apparatus) of power and knowledge relations subordinated and dominated women. These questions, which I will answer below, will be analyzed by the theoretical and methodological supports of the twentieth century thinker Michel Foucault who is a pioneer of post-structuralism. Foucault has revealed a brilliant formula of power with his unusual investigation of reality. His definitions for power, which is *sui generis*, are that being everywhere of power, being ubiquitous, being polymorphous, and also has an explanatory power in order to reveal virtual reality related to what is going on regarding the body politics, sexuality, and reproduction in Turkey. Foucault defines this new modern forms of power as "Bio-Power," which is politics that deals with life of human species and the biological existence of the population. Unlike conventional power theories, bio-power is not a repressive power but rather productive and vitalizing, which makes it essential to look at the problems of the modern life. My primary objective is to disclose discursive and non-discursive practices, as apparatuses of power and knowledge relations, carry authority over dominant identities on the regulating, controlling and constituting women's bodies, sexualities, and reproduction. By using theoretical considerations and discourse analysis pioneered by Foucault, I will analyze the discourses of the AKP government, and their ministers and institutions' constitutive and regulative power over every sphere of women's lives in Turkey. Upon conducting discourse analysis and combining theory with practice, the findings of this thesis have provided remarkable insights into the significance of the discourses that yield to the disregard of women's sexualities, restriction to their family institutions, and so on. For instances: Women's bodies are controlled by power mechanisms, these mechanisms become visible with knowledge over ban of abortion, cesarean section, contraception as de facto regulations over body. Women are also constituted as a procreator for the civilization and the nation, caregiver, and conservative mother. These constitution principles have been brought to the agenda of Turkey by taking into consideration demography of the future and the continuity of the nation in order to regulate them by discourses. This thesis examines thoroughly the ways in which women's bodies, sexualities and reproduction became the objects that are also regulated, controlled and produced by the religious, medical, and scientific discourses of bio-power in Turkey.

Özet

Bu alanı söylemsel pratiklerin sosyal gerçekliği şekillendirmesinde ne ölçüde yetki sahibi olduğunu açığa çıkarmayı, ve diğer bir yandan iktidarın onları güç ilişkilerinin özne ve nesnesi için kullandığı, iktidar ve öznenin temsilcilerinin kadınların bedenleri, cinsellikleri ve üremesinin nasıl kontrol edip ve düzenlediklerini açıklığa kavuşturmak için kullanmayı hedefliyorum. Buna ek olarak, iktidar ve bilgi ilişkilerinin *dispositif* (düzenek) tarafından kadınların üzerinde nasıl egemenlik kurduğunu ve kadınları ikincilleştirdiğini açığa çıkaracağım. Aşağıda cevaplayacağım sorular post-yapısalcılığın bir öncüsü olan 20.yy düşünürü Michel Foucault'nun teorik ve metodolojik destekleri tarafından analiz edilecektir. Foucault, gerçekliği alışılmadık soruşturmasıyla, iktidarın dahice bir formülünü ortaya çıkarmıştır. Onun kendine özgü olan iktidar için tanımlamaları iktidarın her yerde oluşu, her yerde birden bulunması, çok biçimli olması, ve aynı zamanda Türkiye'de üreme, cinsellik ve beden politikası konusunda neler olduğuyla ilgili asıl gerçekliği ortaya çıkarmak için bir açıklayıcı güce sahiptir. Foucault bu yeni modern biçimli iktidarı, nüfusun biyolojik varoluşu ve insan türünün yaşamı ile ilgilendiği politika olan, "Biyo-İktidar" olarak tanımlar. Biyo-iktidar geleneksel iktidar teorilerinden farklı olarak baskıcı bir iktidar olmayıp, üreten ve yaşatan bir iktidar olması günümüzün sorunlarına bakmak için olmazsa olmazdır. Benim başlıca hedefim bilgi ve iktidarın düzenekleri olarak kadınların bedenleri, cinsellikleri ve üremeleri üzerinde hakim kimlikleri kurmasında, kontrol etmesinde ve düzenlemesinde yetki sahibi olan söylemsel ve söylemsel olmayan pratikleri meydana çıkarmaktır. Foucault'nun öncülük ettiği teorik değerlendirmeleri ve söylem analizini kullanarak, Türkiye'de kadınların yaşamlarının her bir alanı üzerindeki AKP hükümetinin söylemleri, ve onların milletvekilleri ve kurumlarının düzenleyici ve kurucu gücünü analiz edeceğim. Araştırma yürüttüğüm söylem analizi ve teoriyle pratiği bir araya getirmenin ardından, bu tezin bulguları kadınların cinselliğinin göz ardı edilmesine ve aile kurumlarıyla sınırlandırılmasına yol açtığını gösteren söylemlerin önemine doğru dikkate değer bir anlayış sağlamaktadır. Örneğin: Kadınların bedenleri iktidar mekanizmaları tarafından kontrol edilmekte, bu mekanizmalar kürtajın yasaklanması, sezaryen doğum, doğum kontrol yöntemleri üzerindeki bilgilerle bedenler üzerinde de facto düzenlemeler olarak görünür hale gelmektedir. Kadınlar aynı zamanda medeniyet ve millet için üreten, bakıcı ve muhafazakar anne olarak kurulur. Bu kuruluş ilkeleri söylemler tarafından onları düzenlemek için ulus devamlılığı ve geleceğin nüfus bilimi dikkate alınarak Türkiye'nin gündemine getirilmektedir. Bu tez Türkiye'de biyo-iktidarın dini, medikal ve bilimsel

söylemler tarafından üretilen, kontrol edilen ve düzenlenen kadınların bedenlerinin, cinselliklerinin ve üremesinin nesne olmasını etraflıca incelemektedir.

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Abbreviations

AKP: Justice and Development Party

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Introduction

Since being polymorphous has become a key characteristic of societies, the modern forms of explanations have lost their validity from the view of the poststructuralist approach regarding the ability to explain current problems of societies. Modernity emphasizes reason-oriented views, a scientific approach, and universality in lieu of emotions, values, and perspectives. This shift has introduced binary oppositions such as mind over body and male over female, which subjugate weaknesses to comply with to the norms, and foster power. In this regard, Michel Foucault discusses oppositions in terms of sex and power, saying that: “Power is essentially what dictates its law to sex. Which means first of all that sex is placed by power in a binary system: licit and illicit, permitted and forbidden” (Foucault 1978, p.83). The main issues are addressed by Foucault that are the constitution of sexuality, madness, delinquency, and insanity through discourses, which have binary oppositions system of the modern world at its core. This system has also constituted a normal and pathological human being to exclude inferiority and weakness in the modern forms of world.

While in modernity social reality is understood through universal knowledge and reason, the post-structuralism looks at social reality through the eyes of relativity and matter of perspectives. When considered in a continuity, 21st century problems can be understood most appropriately through a poststructuralist understanding of social reality. In this regard, Foucault asserts that “the way people really think is not adequately analyzed by the universal categories of logic” (eds. Martin et al. 1988, p. 10). Modernity privileges rationalism over the body, while the poststructuralist concern is with how the body is socially constructed and subordinated by rational thinking. The body politics reduces the body to a manipulated object from the view of dualist and essentialist approaches, and what is more it ignores the existence of the gendered body and gender (Lok Wing-Kai 2001, p. 4). That is why in this thesis, I will argue that women

are absolutely the well-fitted object of power within the body politics, and it can be understood clearly from the perspective of Michel Foucault, a fact that is easily revealed by essentialist ideologies and conservative discourses of politicians in Turkey.

In *the Security, Territory and Population* (1977-78) lectures, which were held at the College de France, Foucault has focused on the dichotomy between “normal and abnormal” as a *dispositif* (apparatus)¹ of the security in the disciplinary technique of the normalization. Foucault has argued that disciplinary normalization has posited a model or optimal model for making people to conform to these models, by claiming “normal being precisely that which can conform to this norm, and the abnormal that which is incapable of conforming to the norm,” the dichotomy between the normal and the abnormal is realized with the norms of society (Foucault 1977-78, p.85). The one, who is an incapable of conforming to the norms, is the convict to be excluded by society in the modern forms of life. Additionally, the normal and the abnormal are defined by the norms in *Madness and Civilization* (1988), in which Foucault argued that madness was constituted as mental illness at the end of the eighteenth century when mental illnesses became abnormal. Therefore, Foucault is opposed to the idea is created by universally constituted knowledge, which has binary oppositions, because it separates the individuals and accepts the individual as normal or abnormal that is specified by the norms of societies.

The scientific knowledge and its influential role define reality through enlightened reason that has led to exclude some segments of society, and defined normal and consequently abnormal and pathological, as what reason has declared it to be or as accepted by the scientific knowledge. In this regard, the question is how can we narrate women’s bodies and sexualities in Turkey, and how power is proliferated besides the objectification and constitution of women,

¹ *Dispositif* (apparatus) will be discussed below in a detailed manner.

how women's bodies are constructed by the essentialist approaches or scientific and medical knowledge. The major focus point is to disclose how women are idealized² and normalized, and also women's sexualities are ignored and became medical object, how they are used as a productive machine by power, and sexual pleasure of women are not seen an important issue for societies. This exactly resembles logically what Foucault said regarding sex "two distinct orders of discourse: a biology of reproduction and a medicine of sex" (Foucault 1978, p. 54).

In the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* (1978), the main concern is addressed as an "objectification of the self," and increasing discourse on sex (eds. Martin et al. 1988, p. 4), but also Michel Foucault introduced bio-power and its distinction from Ancient times, and he said that "...the Ancient right to take life or let live was replaced by a power to foster life or disallow it to the point of death," which is also administration and the multiplication of life for Foucault (Foucault 1978, p.138). The way in which the fostering life is corresponding to the productive forms of power, Foucault has considered a positive and the productive forms of power instead negative form of power, which is sovereign power that has right to kill and right to compel people to obey or right to live. Thus, the productive kind of power is referred by Foucault literally as "Bio-Power" and its object is "human life." Regarding this, Foucault has argued that "*threshold of modernity*" illustrated that human existence is questioned, the famous words of Foucault are that:

"For millennia, man remained what he was for Aristotle: a living animal with the additional capacity for a political existence; modern man is an animal whose politics places his existence as a living being in question" (Foucault 1978, p.143).

Since the central role attributed to sovereign power no longer exists, what is absolutely at stake for Foucault "biological existence of the population." According to Foucault, power over life changes between two poles, "anatomy-politics of the human body" and "bio-politics of the

² I mean that when I use depictions of the ideal is not difficult to reach or unreal thing, I use the word as what power dictates and constitutes on women as ideal features.

population'' (Foucault 1978, p.139). In this way, disciplining body and regulation of the population are the tools of ''the technologies of power,''³ this leads sex to become a political concern, which means the technology of sex has the power to create tactics by disciplining the body and regulation of the population. The population is the main concern of bio-power, which deals with the health of population, fertility, demographic growth for the continuity of the bio-power with life as an object. On the other hand, power needs to knowledge⁴ in issues of sexuality in order to discipline the body and to regulate the population. That is, power and knowledge are constitutive of each other for the implementation of power over life.

Foucault problematized sexuality in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he claimed that politics of sexuality has four lines: These are ''the sexualization of children, the hysterization of women, the specification of the perverted, and the regulation of populations '' (Foucault 1978, p. 114). In this regard, Foucault asserted that medical discourses have led to the hysterization of women yielding to their treatment as pathological and their organs as hysterical. That is why I will take into account women's bodies and sexualities from the perspective of Foucault⁵ regarding power of the medical discourses over women's sexualities and reproduction. My point of view will be the discursive practices of power over women's sexualities in Turkey, and these discourses are related to legitimate couple, heterosexual monogamy, and medicalization of women's bodies and sex. The investigation of how discourses caused sexuality to be used as an object and women's sexualities have reduced to

³ For Foucault, the technologies of power mean ''which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject'' (eds. Martin et al. 1988, p. 18)

⁴ In the *Will to Knowledge* (1978), knowledge is formed by power, discourse, and pleasure linkages that also maintain discourse on sexuality. Moreover, knowledge can be used changeable with Foucault's bio-power that has a similar dominance over social body.

⁵ However, some feminist scholars declared that Foucault is gender blindness (King 2004, p.29), in *The History of Sexuality* (1978), Foucault had dealt with women's reproduction and the hysterization would be synchronized with regulative and productive mode of bio-power to women's sexualities in today. Furthermore, Foucault's analysis of power and body centered politics of power identification is not simply explained by Foucault as an oppression of women by power of men. Additionally, Foucault gives an opportunity to explore how every sphere of women's lives are regulated with these power and knowledge relations, especially women's bodies and sexualities.

reproduction, how sexuality is lacking in women, and thus discourses have constituted women's bodies as a reproductive body.

Foucault has historically analyzed the transformation of sex into multiple discourses that are produced by different institutions. Sexuality is no longer repressed by power, but it is produced by bio-power through institutions in order to regulate sexuality. In other words, transgression, law, death and sovereignty are not the issues of modern world, but this bio-political sphere uses knowledge, norm, life, meaning, the discipline, and regulations (Foucault 1978, p.148). Furthermore, Foucault's method for analyzing deployment of sexuality is genealogically observed through discourses on sex are constituted by institutions, that have produced family institutions, hospitals for medicalized sexuality etc., also produced discursive practices for regulation of the population, disciplining body, and sexuality. That is why we can clearly say that Foucault's most striking explanation regarding control mechanism does not come from prohibition, but from proliferation of sexuality, which means to ease power over life in terms of their construction of the normal or the abnormal. Sexuality is deployed in the institutions of the present system, in which family stands at the center. The sexualized families find themselves in women's bodies by adapting women in conjugal and parental issues, prohibition from the economic sphere and facilitating the nurturing of children, and reproduction.

In the case of Turkey, the family as an institution is appraised by the Turkish society and the government, the family is institutionalized under the ministry, which is called the Ministry of Family and Social Policy established in 2011. Previously, the Ministry was called the Ministry of State responsible for Women and Family Affairs in 2005, we can say that women have lost their significance and visibility under the family, even if the meaning of the word has changed. In other words, words can produce things to easily manipulate them. Moreover, although this was the only ministry for the prevention of inequalities between men

and women in Turkey, the logo of the new ministry hierarchically shows as a man, woman, and child. The way in which can lead to social policies and workings of the ministry is not specifically related to women, but related to fundamentally consideration of the family as an institution. In line with the family, state policies fulfil women's bodies harmony with familial roles. Women's sexualities are legitimized only under the family as is shaped by discourses of the government officials, and sexuality is mentioned by the government and other apparatuses only in line with violence and harassment.⁶

The trajectory has begun the AKP's coming to power in 2002, and various discourses of the government will be analyzed below. What we have in mind is that women's sexualities and bodies are constituted by the institutions through discourses of the government. What is of my concern is that the omnipresent power is obvious with power over life through women's bodies, sexualities, and reproduction. The best example of bio-power realizes under the AKP government since 2002, Foucault's discourse and power analysis are the best to see regulations over women's sexualities, bodies, and reproduction in Turkey.

Context

The problem has arisen from society's depictions of the ideal features of a woman in which put the burden of responsibility on women and indicate how a woman's lifestyle should be. The creation of these ideal women, and which tools and discourses are used by whom, are some of the main concern of this research. Being a woman is defined as being emotional, vulnerable, inferior to men, and thus women's place as subordinated to men is one of the tools for the

⁶ These discourses are out of the study due to scope of my research. In this regard, knowledge over these issues based on secondary resources.

regulation of power in the contemporary world. But the question arises of what kinds of power has the authority to manipulate and regulate women's existence, their lives and their bodies.

The social sciences and philosophy have varied definitions on what power is. In the social sciences, Weber's definition of power is "the chance of a man, or a number of men to realize their own will in communal action, even against the resistance of others who are participating in action."⁷ Power is understood here as coercion. The question in the contemporary world is: Do we feel coercion anymore? These power definitions vary between the coercion and the consent theorists, actions of coercive power are actions of power over life and death. It is obvious to classify stories of power using coercion as an analytical tool has no explanatory use in the contemporary world. As we all know that we do not feel coercion and pressure in practice in the Weberian sense anymore, the way we experience power today can be explained properly through the more unusual definitions of post-structuralism. What then is power in this sense? Coercion is not the proper word for this new type of power, and our clue in the contemporary world is that power is super-individual, and exists beyond the limits of any individual person. We deal with micro social relations in which "power is everywhere and ubiquitous" (Foucault 1978, p.93). The pioneer of this power analysis⁸ was Michel Foucault who has turned upside and down the theory of power as a positive and productive force instead conceiving of it in a negative way, or a more repressive way. This new type of power can be understood as a micro-power that deals with every sphere of life, even sexuality. Furthermore, Foucault's understanding of power is understood through power and knowledge relations rather than just physical capacity or substance. Thus, what Foucault conceives as the interests of power are manufactured by the essentialist tools of power; and, in addition, the intersection of

⁷ Max Weber, "Class, Status, and Party"

<http://sites.middlebury.edu/individualandthesociety/files/2010/09/Weber-Class-Status-Party.pdf>

⁸ I will use "power analysis" because Foucault does not give us the theory of power due to his rejection of universals.

power with discourse has constructed the “identity of subject.” This trajectory is concerned with how power in the contemporary world is distinguished from centralized-coercive-sovereign power, and with how decentralization is implemented in social relations when power is exercised. This new forms of power, which Foucault calls “Bio-Power,” both constitutes and produces the identities of an individual subject.⁹ This conceptualization can help us to understand how women’s identities are constructed by bio-power. We need to investigate how power over life produces subjectivity and lifestyle for newly regulated subjects, as opposed to the centralized power over life and death.

While the problems were arising from this new forms of power, the object of this micro-social relations are life, body, and sexuality. Foucault considers power to be historically intertwined and made up of sovereign, disciplinary, and governmentality or bio-power. While the objects of disciplinary power are bodies, the objects of bio-power are the population, which has peculiar variables: “Birth and death rates, life expectancy, fertility, state of health, frequency of illnesses, patterns of diet and habitation” (Foucault 1978, p. 25). In this sense, the statistics on populations are among the new tools of bio-power to regulate the population. From this perspective, the concern of disciplinary power and bio-power are the bodies and the population, and are thus related to women as a population. Even if Foucault’s work is considered to be gender-blind regarding women’s issues, I argue that the conception of Foucault on bio-power has an explanatory power for clarifying the situation of women’s bodies and sexualities from the perspective of Foucault’s understanding of bio-politics. Moreover, Foucault has already questioned thoroughly “a hysterization of women’s bodies” (Foucault 1978, p.104), and family institutions regarding women’s roles in these spheres.

The undeniable fact of women’s bodies being seen and treated as objects has come about

⁹ The individual subject as used by Foucault has two meanings: “Subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge,” which mean the modern forms of power both subjugate and make subject to the individual (Foucault 1982, p. 781).

in Turkey by discursive practices that are used as a way to regulate women. Their bodies, sexualities, and reproduction capacities have been a political issue manipulated by the constructions of discourses through institutions and authorities. The first problematic objectification of women emerged with the headscarves-wearing, women's behaviors in public, sexual relations, family relations, reproduction, virginity, and so on. These objects of regulation are gradually varied, and women have become a main concern of new forms of power- that is, bio-power. Foucault deals with only Western societies and their "confession system" to explain sexualities in Europe, but his framework could be applied in a qualified way to the regulations over women's sexualities in the AKP government period.

I will analyze why bio-politics are more appropriate for understanding power in the contemporary world for Turkey requires us to clarify and exemplify how women have become the object of the government in the AKP period. Historical sequences and cases are better ways to analyze the period of the AKP government, taken here to mean the AKP's rise to power, four times triumph of the AKP and their reform process, what changed over the time of the party's rise and what remained same. Understanding this period is critical for crystallizing the situation of women in Turkey. Therefore, the critical point is that when the AKP came to power, that is where women become the object of the AKP government, which clearly focused on the issue of the headscarf. In this research, I will not deal with the headscarf ban and its subsequent lifting; instead my focus will be the perspectives on women regarding clothing and appearance. In that vein, depictions of the ideal women as a conservative ¹⁰ opened the doors for other regulations of women in Turkey. Though the headscarf issue became a political concern in 2000s, it was already a political issue during the Republican period but then state pressure went the contrary way. The AKP government brought forward with a different agenda to Turkey. If

¹⁰ My concern is not related to women's right to wear headscarves, I believe that lifting the ban was the right way for freedom of women and away from the Kemalist government's regulations over women. The concern I deal with here is the ideal woman as depicted by the AKP government is a conservative woman.

women wear a headscarf, some religious or powerful consider these women to be the bearers of a mission, and thus women should act according to the mission of the Islam. Behaviors are shaped by these norms, include things like not to chewing a gum in public, smoking or holding hands with men.¹¹ Although women gained the freedom to wear the headscarf, this does not result in the emancipation of women in the public sphere and other spheres of society, norms, and, discourses, as women are defined by the highest authority of Islam which restricts and regulates them in Turkey. I argue that both banning the headscarf and lifting that ban are forms of governmentality and regulations of bio-power on women's bodies.

The first phase of the AKP government, from 2002 till 2007 which included the EU accession process, is considered here as a phase of reform. In this phase women already became the object of the government via regulation regarding women's lifestyles, depictions of the ideal woman, and the sacredness of the family institutions according to conservative norms and discourses. During the second phase of the AKP government from 2007-2011, the decline of freedom was apparent and the EU process lost its momentum. During the third phase, from 2011-2015, is regarding regulations over women's lives and bodies were at a peak. The process has continued and even increased post-2015 with the AKP government's rising power. The peak has continued, with the discourses on abortion and reproduction, and the utterances of the government officials regarding women. Heterosexual marriage is promoted, childbearing is restricted to familial life, abortion is decreased because conservative families should reproduce their generation and to contribute to population growth.

Therefore, sexuality is the means of reproducing each, generation and women's existence is narrowed down to reproduction. However, women's sexualities and pleasures are ignored by reproduction and familial roles. That is why women's sexualities remained insignificant among family issues because roles attributed to women do not allow them to live

¹¹ This information depends on newspaper interviews with theology professors and other influential persons. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/turban-misyon-mu-5135429> (accessed in 17 February,2016).

freely in all spheres in Turkey. On the other hand, virginity also holds power for controlling and regulating women's sexualities. The AKP government's construction of the new conservative woman leads to headscarf-wearing educated Islamic women also encouraging to the removal of courtship, and sexual or intimate relationship before the marriage. Thus, normativity rises with regulations through reforms and discourses, which create norms to regulate women's lives, sexualities, and bodies through these ways. The traditional moral concerns for new conservative women have been continued and increased through norms, discourses and reforms with the constitution of conservative women.

All these things and more have prompted me to clarify what is going on regarding women's bodies and sexualities in Turkey. This is best seen by analyzing the discourses of the government, and seeing the main reasons behind women's bodies becoming regulated object of bio-power. In fact, the need has arisen to struggle to see invisible things behind these problems, and to interpret them how reality is constituted by this bio-power.

Research Question

The main research question of this thesis is set up as follows: How do the discourses of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) regulate and subjugate women's sexualities, bodies, and reproduction? The question posed as such will be answered through which discourses are uttered by the AKP government to regulate and produce women's bodies as a bio-political target over reproduction through objectifying women's sexual practices in Turkey. Even though I have not deeply answered this question, I will try to clarify to what extent the theory, which was bio-power or bio-politics, has a capacity to explain what we live in practice. It is so obvious that the contemporary world problems have varied from old problems. The innumerable human beings have varied qualities and their problems are also distinct. The conventional definitions of power do not really fit power in the contemporary world due to the fact that power has a

right “to foster life or disallow it to the point of death” (Foucault 1978, p.138), whereas what sovereign power has a right “to take life and let live” (Ibid., p.136). In line with these differences of power, I plan to focus on Foucault's analysis of power and its transformations, historical evolution of bio-power and bio-political governing tools. In this regard, in which side Foucault’s concepts have an explanatory power and contribution to explain for regulatory and productive attempts of the AKP government over women's bodies, sexualities and reproductive rights. In the meantime, I would like to consider which discourses facilitated governmentality over the population and bio-political regulation over bodies in Turkey, the tools of power will be medical and religious discourses, neoliberalism and conservative background of the AKP government. Furthermore, I will explore and question in what ways biological existence of women are made political concern in Turkey. Additionally, I will clarify how bio-political tools are intensified by economic, medical, and political discourses in the era of the AKP government.

In the thesis, I will utilize the discourses of the AKP government in order to examine how the current political environment is surrounded by the manipulation of biological existence of women. The trajectory above has been intensified by the headscarf issue, anti-abortion discourses, cesarean regulations, having at least three children discourse, regulations over behavior of women, mixed-gender student house dialogues, familial roles towards girls, virginity truth formation, sexual restrictions over women, and family institutions as a way of regulation, and so on. which means that every regulation and productive attempt towards women's bodies will be criticized and analyzed all things through the eyes of Michel Foucault.

Literature Review

It seems that 21st century is characterized with modern forms of power. What we have felt that is not conventional forms of political power, it has been fed by every sphere of human lives and

bodies in order to consolidate and continue its power. They can easily adapt its citizens to every version of power visibility with truths and norms formation. We all as human beings live like freedom¹² is in our hand. When I researched extensively about body and bio-politics, I noticed that we are not as free as like in the written law and reform processes, and the fact that every sphere of woman's life is chained by power. In Turkey, scientific, economic, medical, and religious discourses over women operate through bodies, sexualities, and reproduction. It could be said that modern forms of power are used for regulation and control of human life through power and knowledge relations.

One exactly needs to consider the bio-power and bio-politics of Michel Foucault in this research to crystallize these issues through the eyes of Foucault is the best way to disclose regulations over human life. Foucault deals with bio-power problematic mainly in *The History of Sexuality* (1978), *Discipline and Punish* (1975) *the Birth of Biopolitics* (1979), and *Society Must be Defended* (2003). These two influential books and two lectures try to explain birth of power over life and power-knowledge relations. Generally said that, the meaning of bio-politics is so clear that “the exploration of how life and politics combines in bio-politics by using apparatuses such as health, reproduction of life” (Eds. Nilsson & Wallenstein 2013, p. 73). On the other hand, in what Foucault refers as new forms of power as a bio-power, the main aim of bio-power is “the biological existence of a population,” and this modern forms of power aims “...the counterpart of a power that exerts a positive influence on life, that endeavors to administer, optimize, and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations” (Foucault 1978, p. 137). The central argument of my research is that the object is used by bio-power and inevitably the ultimate object of its control is life itself. The new regime of bio-power has normalizing elements to exercise regulations, which are emphasized by

¹² In this regard, Foucault's role is “to show people that they are much freer than they feel, that people accept as truth, as evidence, some themes which have been built up at a certain moment during history, and that this so-called evidence can be criticized and destroyed” (eds. Martin et al. 1988, p. 10), that is why all things under the sun can be criticized by Foucault's perspective.

Foucault as on “a normalizing society is the historical outcome of a technology of power centered on life” (Foucault 1978, p.144). That is why normalization has worked interchangeably in bio-politics of population with disciplinary power, the norms are the significant *apparatuses* of bio-power to manage human life.

While the main concern of the disciplinary power is “anatomy-politics of the human body,” the main focus of the bio-power is “bio-politics of the population” (Foucault 1978, p. 139). This distinction illustrates that discipline techniques have worked on monitoring the body politic of human, whereas in bio-politics of the population, there is an investment on life through, “propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity” (Foucault 1978, p. 139). According to Foucault these two poles, which are the body politics and regulation of the population, cause to power over life is deployed. It is significant to note that what Foucault conceives bio-politics or “the technology of power” as distinct from disciplinary power, this new technology of power includes numerical things such as forecasts, statistical estimates, overall measures. The scope of this new forms of power for Foucault is “a matter of taking control of life and the biological processes of man-as-species and of ensuring that they are not disciplined, but regularized,” that is called by Foucault as a “power over population” and “power of regularization” (Foucault 1975-6, p.246). These conceptual explanations will be used for disclosing the realities of women’s lives in Turkey.

As I was doing the literature review I came across remarkable ideas that support the argument of my thesis from different perspectives. First of all, what Akbulut examines headscarf ban as a governmentality and clarifies how power and discourse shaped women’s subjectivities (Akbulut 2015, p.435). I argue that the emergence of the new discourse about the headscarf and the construction of the ideal women of the AKP government can be seen as a governmentality as well. On the contrary, Kasap (2013), who analyzed bio-political sphere of abortion in Turkey, has argued that the dominance of the conservative discourses of the AKP

government has been considered as a gender myth because new conservative discourse has created conservative women and mother of a new conservative generation. Thus, when this issue came to the political agenda of Turkey, the headscarf became the political issue and symbol for some parts of the society. Actually, the real concern under the headscarf ban and its subsequent lifting from the public sphere is not the major aim to liberate women in the restricted area of the private sphere. It operated as a contrary and gradually led to subjugate women as conservative, staying at home, and women's behavior are defined by conservative way. In that vein, power dictated and constituted norms for women regarding what they do or not. This is actually other way to regulate women's bodies by creating depictions of the ideal women of the AKP government.

Additionally, Unal and Cindoglu maintained the counter-argument on abortion, criticizing the discourses of the former Prime Minister Erdogan on abortion. They argue that generally ministers criticize abortion discourses by using these tools, which are “abortion as rhetorical tool, making abortion trivial, medicalization of abortion, defending the right to abortion over rape cases and as an economic imperative” (Unal & Cindoglu 2013, p. 22). In that vein, they come to conclusion both the AKP government and oppositions do not recognize women's rights to abortion. Moreover, the AKP government is in line with the Ottoman period and the Kemalist period regulations towards right to abortion in regards to demographic policies, patriarchal attitudes, and also demographic policies have proliferated discourses on women's sexualities (Unal & Cindoglu 2013, p. 29). Therefore, discursive practices have a different kind of power to change something or to remain same. The new forms of political power have been using discursive practices in order to construct norms to regulate women.

As other researchers lay their emphasis on demographic policies, significant regulative power gives security for continuity for “man as species” is the main problem of bio-power, instead of man as the body (Foucault 2003, p. 243), and thus abortion regulations and discourses

of the former Prime Minister Erdogan reflects that fertility is the main element for continuation of the population, he said that in order to foster population growth “abortion is murder” (cited in Erhart, 2013), women’s bodies and lives are regulated by the government's specific discursive practices and norms. According to Erhart, women's bodies are normalized by bio-politics and in the Gezi protests, “Women from all walks of life raised their voices against the roles the government has assigned to them and rejected the state’s involvement with their bodies” (Erhart 2013, p. 302). In this view, after the discourses of the AKP government, Gezi was the opportunity for revolting influences of the government over women's bodies and lives. Furthermore, Erhart is obviously likeminded with bio-political target of the government over women's bodies. From the other perspective, Kasap (2013) stated that ban to abortion appears beside demographic concerns, for economic labor power, neoliberal and neoconservative discourses of the AKP government to create normal and the ideal Islamic oriented citizenship (Kasap 2013, p.21). That is why normalization process works through women's bodies, it happens with fostering maternal life, heterosexual marriage, according to conservative ideas of the government.

To put it differently, Acar and Altunok combines three spheres, which are politics of reproduction, politics of sexuality and politics of family/partnership under the politics of intimate and gender roles. They clearly take attention to patriarchal structure and its impact on women's bodies, also feminists critiques towards “...patriarchy is embedded in norms, laws, policies, economic and social relations, and that modern states play a significant role in regulating gendered bodies, sexualities and reproductive capabilities” (Acar & Altunok 2012, p.15). It is almost similar with bio-power’s additional apparatuses to regulate women’s lives in Turkey. On the other hand, they argue that neoliberal and neoconservative structure of the AKP government creates moral-political rationality to women. This moral-political rationality indicates discourses of the government over women's bodies, and thus government defines its

politics through women's roles, which are that of care-givers, mothers, pro-heterosexual marriage. That is why neoconservative rules towards women come up with lack of sexuality for women. Furthermore, Acar and Altunok has argued that government and other parties do not even say sexuality alone or health, they have been using with sexual harassment, violence (Acar & Altunok 2012, p.17). Ironically, the AKP government and other parties have an anxiety to women's sexualities and bare fact in homosexuality. On the other hand, Acar and Altunok asserted that some ministers declared that homosexuality as a disease, strangely not a sin. This actually illustrates us that neo-conservatism of the AKP government does not correspond with the Islamic understanding of homosexuality. The AKP government has a different kind of conservative policy over women contrary to what we think as a totally Islamic oriented. From this perspective, patriarchal structure of the Turkish society produces norms, with these norms regulate every sphere of women's lives, especially sexuality, reproduction and family structure, not totally with Islamic way, but with neo-conservative and neo-liberal productions and regulations of the AKP government.

In addition to these, Ellialtı, who edited sections of Foucault in *Cogito*, deeply analyzed that pre-martial sexuality, virginity and body disciplining of women in her research. By using several liberated women in her research, she found that even liberated women are under the norms of society by saying that they live their first sexual experience only with one who they love each other. They legitimize their sexuality through “love,” these women also exclude other women who act in a contrary way. In that vein, construction of moral subjectivities via power and truth constitutively can deeply affect women's behaviors in regards to their sexualities (Foucault, 2012, p.394). In the meantime, according to Ozyegin (2009), new Islamic women construction causes to how women act in public, which is based on “fundamentalist vision of female chastity and public decorum” (Ozyegin 2009, p.107). That is why women cannot realize or constitute themselves as liberated because moral-political rationality regulates

their existence and behavior.

Limitations of the study is regarding methodology of the study, which is a Foucauldian discourse analysis without wholly historical-genealogical investigation in the period of the Ottoman and the Republican period. In order to clarify and crystallize the history of the present¹³ for Foucault, we need to go back history to find where the problems come from. The genealogy of Foucault in *The History of Sexuality* is first to examine sexual practices and proliferation of discourses on sexuality and how sexuality is deployed by analyzing Victorian age and their attitudes towards sexuality, and also Ancient Greek attitudes towards sexuality is the primary concern for understanding of sexuality. In this thesis, discourse analysis using Foucault should be supported by genealogy, which traced back to the Ottoman Empire and the Republican period in order to assert how scientific knowledge and norms came from and were produced by institutions. I could not be able to do genealogy to trace back the Ottoman and the Republican past due to scope of this thesis. That is why I will confine literature and shortly mention how knowledge is produced by discourses, and how women are regulated in the Ottoman Empire and the Republican period.

Genealogy as a methodological inquiry “concerned with telling the story of how a set of discursive and non-discursive practices come into being and interact to form a set of political, economic, moral, cultural, and social institutions which define the limits of acceptable speaking, knowing, and acting” (Anais 2013, p.125). The reciprocal constitutive dimension of discursive and non-discursive practices was emerged by which genealogy, which means that genealogy excavates minor practices and its relations to open up objects of knowledge and regime of truth about them. The aim of the genealogy is not to find “who we really are” but to tell us about “how we have come to conceive of ourselves as a subjects and how we made ourselves as political beings” (Anais 2013, p.215). Genealogy is the way of ascending analysis

¹³ Foucault explains this concept as “an excavation of and perspective on the bedrock of our modern conceptions” (eds. Martin et al. 1988, p. 5).

of power, which focuses singular events and begins to think that “infinitesimal mechanisms, which each have their own history, their own trajectory, their own techniques and tactics” (Foucault 1980, p. 99). Genealogy has been dealt in *The History of Sexuality* connection between discourses of human sciences and regulation of sexuality, also in *Discipline and Punish* (1975), discourses of human sciences and administration of punishment, which means that relationship between words (discourses) and things (practices), the process oriented and on-going character of discourses through the eyes of genealogy (cited in Anais 2013, p.126), investigation to these sphere is the best way to find the regime of truth according to Foucault.

In that vein, Turkey as a regulative power for sexuality and women’s bodies should be excavated from the nineteenth century era for understanding the history of present. In the literature, there is a research on pro-natalist policies both in the Ottoman period and the Republican period. The discursive and non discursive practices are examined in that period for understanding how knowledge or truth is produced by discursive practices and regulated human life and how life became primary concern of power. Somel and Demirci (2008) did their research on abortion policy of the Ottoman Empire and women’s bodies and demography. They argued that new scientific knowledge of the human body, which is produced by army, schools, hospitals, factories and prisons are the techniques of power for Foucault. They are applied Foucault’s disciplinary power to the Ottoman Empire. A new discourse of reproduction is the way of regulating women’s bodies as a part of demographic policies and population growth by which disciplinary function of the Ottoman Empire, by overcoming free space of the Islamic law, disciplined population by legal, medical and ideological knowledge. Educational, medical, judicial and legal policies prevented abortion and promoted maternity in the nineteenth century era of the Ottoman Empire. The way in which these policies, family and conjugal relations are considered inviolable right and private sphere. In this way, Somel and Demirci (2008) argued that anti-abortion discourses as a way of bio-politics in the Ottoman Empire, also they asserted

that midwives as an agents of centralized authority, facilitated indirect surveillance over population through creation of midwives in that centuries. They restricted sexual relations to family, and families are sexualized by power. Women are regulated by the norms, which are childbearing, mothering, and population growth is seen as a future guarantee of the nation (Somel & Demirci 2008, p.411). They argue that when Islamic law ¹⁴ provides relative free sphere for women, modernization of the Ottoman Empire led to curtail this freedom through the discourse on abortion in the nineteenth century.

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Republican period is the different kind of tools for bio-politics. In this period, political rights of women as citizens were recognized by the government, but still women were object of the government. There are social reforms regarding woman, sexuality and family (cited in Ozyegin 2009), but women are more Westernized and secular. The veil was declared as a restriction to women, the Republican women were liberated by opening their veils and entering public sphere as depiction of the ideal models in the Republican period. These ideal women were “enlightened mother in the private sphere,” and women who were desexualized under the equal policies of the state, also “virtuous, asexual and nationalist” (Ozyegin 2009, p. 106). According to Ozyegin (2009) analysis of the Republican women mostly depicted as Westernized, modern and enlightened mother, this existence of woman led to desexualize and to increase connection between familial issues, and the productivity of women’s bodies are used for growing population as a governmental tactic.

Another research on Foucault and combination with the Republican period and the Ottoman Empire, Unal and Cindaoglu has used bio-power of Foucault through this definition, “bio-power has been utilized from institutions which is family, school and medicine and their discourses are the means of disciplining body and regulate the population” (Unal & Cindaoglu

¹⁴ “The Hanafi opinion has allowed abortion it was performed within 120 days of conception, during this period the fetus was not believed to be a complete human soul” (Somel & Demirci 2008, p.383).

2013, p. 23). According to their analysis, Unal and Cindaoglu have argued that modern administrative power, which is both the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, has produced regulatory discourses on women's sexualities and bodies. At that times scientific knowledge has produced discourses on healthy marriage, good marriage, hygiene, fertility, and life expectancy. Women's sexualities are concerned as a moral domain, depictions of the ideal women have a sexual chastity and purity from the eyes of men (Unal & Cindaoglu 2013, p. 23). In the analysis of Unal and Cindaoglu, the Republican period regulatory discourse over women emerged that women who are modern but chaste and actively participate to the public sphere as a wife and mother in the familial sphere. Furthermore, abortion and contraceptives are banned by Republicans in 1930s, the abortion was legalized tenth week of the pregnancy that depends on husband consent to it in 1983. Therefore, discourses on abortion is the tool for disciplining women's bodies and regulating the population, then leads to depictions of the ideal women in every sphere of life by bio-power. That is why the genealogy of bio-power in Turkey need to be analyzed in more wide researches for best outcome regarding to disclose regulations over women.

As we see in the literature review, there are remarkable and supportive researches on power over life and how the biological existence of women is at stake. Both genealogical investigation and literature review illustrated that the AKP government can be identified appropriately as a bio-power, and their biological control over women in Turkey.

Rationale of the Study

Literature review illustrated that there is plenty of bio-political sphere of the AKP government. I assert that literature is more low-supported in regards to philosophical discussion and conceptual analysis of power. Furthermore, it is lack of intensified explanation on sexualities and subjectivities of women. In order to disclose regulations and subjugation on women's

sexualities in Turkey, I will deeply crystallize these problems by using discourses of the government, how the neoliberal governmentality evolves to bio-politics and how it controls and regulates women's bodies through the regime of truth in Turkey. I will investigate how we can combine Foucault's thought with the AKP government as a bio-power, how power and knowledge relations by using apparatuses constituted subjectivities of women and became object of the AKP government. It is also significant that changing structure of Turkey in regards to the AKP government's coming to power again illustrates that trajectory about women's bodies, sexualities, and reproduction is an on-going process and hard to solve. Mentality of neoliberalism and neo-conservatism created moral-political subjectivity as regime of truth of the AKP government. My aim is to clarify, which is narrowed to the AKP government period, how historically conservative and neoliberal subjectivities of women are constituted by the AKP government. I will clarify more deeply how women's sexualities are ignored and regulated with constitution of the ideal women and families in Turkey.

Methodology

My main research method will be a Foucauldian discourse analysis from the perspective of Siegfried Jäger methodological contribution of a critical discourse and dispositive analysis, Linda J. Graham guides discourse analysis using Foucault, mainly methodology of the study is supported by *the Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972) and genealogical period of Michel Foucault, which is *The History of Sexuality* (1978) and *Discipline and Punish* (1975). According to Jäger, Michel Foucault is most appropriate for cultural science oriented approach to a discourse analysis. The contribution of Foucault to discourse analysis is in regards to how knowledge evolves; what function it has for constitution of subjects; and how this knowledge has an impact on development of society. Furthermore, the most immanent concern is the discourses as conceived technique to legitimize and ensure government tactics and strategies.

His contribution to discourse analysis firstly questioned what *dispositive (dispositive)*¹⁵ is, and to discuss “the interplay of discursive practices (speaking and thinking on the basis of knowledge), non-discursive practices (acting on the basis of knowledge) and manifestation and materialization of knowledge (by acting and doing)” (Jager 2001, p. 33). The discourse as a whole has regulated the bodies and formed the subjects. By linking up discourses are called as a collective symbolism, which also means cultural stereotypes. Discourses produces social realities and subjects, discourse analysis revealed production of the social reality. According to Jager, the ideas are coming from Foucault, discourses exercise power, moreover discourses are super-individual that is the out of human agency.

Foucault has argued that the constitution of the subject can be analyzed by historical method, which is called as a genealogy, this method can explain constitution of knowledge, discourses, fields of objects (cited in Jager 2001, p.37). Foucauldian discourse analysis can be classified such as; discourse exercise power; then transforms to knowledge, individual and collective mind internalizes it; this emerging knowledge shapes social reality. But we have in mind not only discursive practices, but also non-discursive and manifestation/materialization, these are called as *dispositif* by Foucault. What *dispositif* is for Foucault is first a decisively heterogeneous ensemble, which includes discursive and non-discursive practices and which covers “discourses, institutions, architectural arrangements, regulations, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions, the said as much as the unsaid” (Foucault 1980, p.194) Foucault is not only dealing with texts and discourses alone, his tool comes up with discourse and dispositive; discourse and reality. What I wanted to do in my research to use Foucault within his discourse analysis to where Graham emphasized in her guide, “...the constitutive and disciplinary properties of discursive practices

¹⁵ “English translation of the *dispositif* is an apparatus, deployment, construct, alignment, and positivities, which mean that the specific totalities of discourses and practices” (Peltonen 2004, p. 206).

within socio-political relations of power is a demonstration of the postmodern concern with how language works to not only produce meaning but also particular kinds of objects and subjects upon whom and through which particular relations of power are realized'' (cited in Graham 2005, p.4). Also, dispositive analysis is used to reach well analyzed results for bio-power. To sum up, how discourse produced subject by using constitutive force of power, not only to disclose meaning of discourses, but also which subjectivities are constituted is the main concern of Foucault.

Graham (2011), has given us guideline for how we can use discourse analysis using Foucault, by examining how Foucault in *the Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972) clarified importance of the statements and its functions, furthermore description, recognition and classification is the best way to analyze discourses for disclosing how discourse constituted subjects and objects, then passing to genealogy in *Discipline and Punish* (1975) to analyze how power regulated the human body by using discourses by which scientific knowledge as a normal and abnormal. Clearly, how discourse techniques have produced objects and subjects by using disciplinary and constitutive tools through using language within the technology of power, and how institutions produced knowledge about specific things, and regulated subject by transforming them to object are the questions will be answered through discourses analysis. Thus, in my research, I will take into account as an object that are women's sexualities, bodies, and reproduction and how these are regulated will be clarified by doing discourse analysis using Foucault.

For discourse and dispositive analysis, I selected the speeches of key political figures from the AKP, which mostly caused polemics in the newspapers, through using archive of the *Daily Hurriyet*. I also analyzed the party program of the AKP government and the relevant texts of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. The polemical news are chronologically found

and there is a sharp increase regarding political interventions over women, which have been changeably used for the purpose of the sections.

Scope of the Study

In this thesis, my scope of analysis will be the era of the AKP government coming to power in 2002 and the conditions for women's bodies, sexualities, and reproduction in the years that followed. The remarkable discourse effects to women will be selected from the discourses of head of the AKP government, ministers and institutions will be material to analyze discourses light on Foucault's bio-power. My main concern will be speeches, texts, verbal performances, statements, non-discursive practices¹⁶ and institutions of the AKP government to clarify how possible to regulate women's bodies, sexualities, and reproduction, how women's lives become the primary object of the government.

In the first chapter, I will concentrate on what bio-power is for Foucault and how it is distinguished from sovereign and disciplinary power. After remarkable distinctions are clarified regarding what bio-power is for Foucault, I will take into consideration what are the apparatuses of bio-power in order to regulate, foster and control human life, and which apparatuses subjugated women's bodies in this chapter. My basis will be *The History of Sexuality, Discipline and Punish* book, and Society Must be Defended lecture to understand Foucault's power analysis over life, and power-knowledge relations. Furthermore, how power and knowledge interdependency produces regime of truth for body, sexuality and reproduction for Foucault, and why birth rates, fertility, death rates become the primary concern of bio-power, that is statistics of population will be investigated. Then, I will focus on objectification of

¹⁶ In *the Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), Foucault describes non-discursive practices as "institutions, political events, economic practices and processes" (p.162).

women, sexuality, body and reproduction by using Discipline and Punish book of Foucault. I will try to reflect how the objectification and subjectification occurs at the same time, how woman is objectified by power apparatuses and subjected to the processes. In this regard, I will specifically focus on in which side of the AKP government objectified and subjected woman. I will investigate how the headscarf issue, conservative, religious and neoliberal policies objected woman and how woman internalized knowledge, which is related to these areas, subjected woman at the same time, how moral and political rationality constituted women according to what dominant knowledge created as truth. Conservative woman constitution, freedom paradox regarding the headscarf etc. will be my concern in this chapter to illustrate how Foucault's concepts have a sufficient explanatory power regarding what is going on in the sphere of the AKP government period in Turkey.

In the second chapter, I will firstly explain how we can utilize from Foucault regarding discourse analysis, to define what discourse is for Foucault, I will take into consideration the *the Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), discourse is perceived not only meaning but also as function and constitutive force over human life. My main focus will be the genealogical side of the discourses, which is how women's bodies, sexualities and reproduction capabilities are constituted and regulated by the discourses with supports of scientific, medical and administrative knowledge, and how power and knowledge relations produced subject and object of the processes in order to regulate according to what they see as regime of truth. Genealogy deals with constitution of knowledge and discourse in a historical period, my point of view will be how dispositive, which can be discursive and non-discursive, constituted and regulated women in the context of Foucault. Then, I analyze discourses of the AKP government, ministers and institutions' statements over women's sexualities, reproduction and familial relations. I disclose in this area how women are produced and regulated by power with discursive and non-discursive practices, that is specifically family institution is in the

foreground, such as women are subordinated in every sphere of life, women as procreator, conservative mother and their behavior are defined by the government, women's sexualities and unproductive relations are ignored, every woman need to marry, give birth for population growth and nation's welfare, women's right over their choice on giving birth or not are indicated by what scientific knowledge says. Also ban to abortion, regulations over cesarean section and contraception etc. will be emerged by analyzing discourses of the government in order to clarify how bio-power intervenes every sphere of women's lives and normalizes them according to what dominant discourse indicates.

Chapter 1

State of the Art: Bio-Politics and the AKP

This chapter investigates how power is analyzed in an unusual way and how we can combine this power analysis with the AKP government's power over human lives and species in Turkey. Not only the body but also how the population became a regulation object in bio-political sphere will be clarified in a detailed manner. Then, I will specifically focus on women's becoming object of power. Then, I will clarify which tools are utilized by power, and how objectification is varied with body, sexuality, and reproduction. My conceptual framework will be Foucault's two sided effects of power as objectification and subjectification over every sphere of women's lives, I will implement power analysis of Foucault to women's question in Turkey. Then, the main policy tools of the AKP government, which are conservative and neoliberal policies, will be my basis to clarify how women are regulated and controlled by these policies; which are the constitution of family as an institution, mother as a caregiver, giving birth for economic and national welfare with entrepreneurial spirit will be analyzed in this chapter.

1.1. Michel Foucault: Bio-Politics and Bio-Power

In this thesis, bio-power and bio-politics of Michel Foucault, which I will draw from definitions coming up to the period of 1970s and onwards lectures and books of Foucault. What I entirely concern on how power over life and power-knowledge *apparatuses* are explained by Foucault, and what bio-politics is for Foucault, will be defined using first volume *The History of Sexuality* (1978) and *Society Must be Defended* (2003) lectures.

Over the years, Foucault has problematized power in a different way, which is idiosyncrasy or *sui generis*, and in a sense that correlates with knowledge. Every power

produces knowledge and every knowledge reveals power relations, this interdependent relation is explained by Foucault with these words:

“Power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations” (Foucault 1995, p.27).

Production of knowledge extends effects of power, and produced knowledge can build scientific knowledge and moral framework for humanity, these are actually the construction material of the modern forms of power. In that vein, according to Foucault, power and knowledge relations constitute subject by turning it to object by investing bodies and subjugating them. Having said that the body-politic emerges with power and knowledge relations, then bio-power exercises its power over life.

In Foucauldian sense, bio-power means that “the technology of power” exercises its power over bodies and lives in depth, also politics that deal with life of human species. Accordingly, bio-power has access even to the bodies of people and their day to day existence. Human bodies exactly are replaced with their biological existence, that is politics has access to biological life in order to manage, control, multiply, foster and regulate human life through their biological existence. The significant point is how Foucault comes up with bio-power in this way and what he means when he uses it for the sake of modern forms of power.

The first crucial distinction of Foucault is bio-power from the juridical forms of sovereign power, he has made explanation on sovereign power, which emphasized right to decide life and death of sovereign power in *The History of Sexuality*. The distinction is sovereign power’s right to live only occurs with refraining from killing, but on the contrary, life is especially fostered by modern forms of power, saying that; “exerts a positive influence

on life, that endeavors to administer, optimize, and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations” (Foucault 1978, p.137). Which means for Foucault, power in the contemporary world can be explained only by the positive type of power. The existence of sovereign power is no longer questioned, the main focus point is the biological existence of the population. In this regard, Foucault asserted two poles as regulation objects; first pole is *anatomo-politics of human body* that disciplines body, and second pole is *bio-politics of the population*; according to Foucault, these are the objects for the deployment of power over life, and thus the modern forms of power no longer have right to kill, but “invest life through and through” (Foucault 1978, p. 139). Bio-power produces techniques to intervene in human life by controlling birth rates, public health, and longevity in order to subjugate the body and regulate the population. Furthermore, this new kind of the technology of power has sexuality as a political issue and object in order to subjugate the body and to regulate the population as well. That is why we can clearly say that sexuality and health concerns are the object of the technology of power, its aim is to regulate the population through knowledge productions of the institutions and other tools.

For Foucault, the order of power and knowledge can be separated into knowledge’s control and power’s intervention over life and body, these are the key mechanisms and tactics of bio-power. Clearly, if I would like to crystallize Foucault’s words about what bio-power reveals “to designate what brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge-power an agent of transformation of human life” (Foucault 1978, p. 143). In that vein, the law, which juridical power has used to repress people, is not anymore acting as a law, but it is kind of norm cooperates with apparatuses or mechanisms of the government, which are the institution, such as medical and administrative. The juridical institution is the continuation of the medical or administrative institutions, the main purpose of

these institutions is producing regulations by which society is normalized with life-centered policies and norms of the technology of power (Foucault 1978, p. 144).

Life and sex is the political object of the technology of power, these are more appropriate objects to control the human body. Sex is the tool to reach the life of the body and the life of the species, the technology of sex produced varied tactics by using disciplinary tactics with regulative methods of bio-power. The field of occupation of the technology of sex is the health of society, and solidarity of the family institution, these spheres normalized, disciplined and regulated the individual by using knowledge formation. Thus, we have seen that the major deal of micro-power is day to day life and continuity of the population by regulating the sexuality of human species. The possibility of the administration of life and sex is realized with good marriages, desired fertilities, health of generation and longevity of children. These anxieties have demonstrated that the focus of bio-power is the biological existence of the population. In this line, Foucault has laid down the condition of women in this bio-political sphere, by which example of the hysterization of women in the nineteenth century. Bio-power constituted women's sexuality as is lacking for women, reproduction function is in the foreground. Power over life is realized over women's bodies, sexualities that are deployed by the discourses of power with the emblazonment of reproduction in order to regulate the population by institutions, *apparatuses*, and through agents of knowledge and power. Clearly, sexuality is used in discursive practices in order to produce accepted knowledge and to regulate the population, when power has discipline and surveillance with supports of medical and administrative institutions. These are the power *apparatuses* to control human life with biological existence of the population. Surveillance is a new phenomenon of the disciplinary side of power, which can be called as gazing for Foucault, discipline produces "docile bodies," this happens with internalization of knowledge that is observed by the government and then observation of themselves turns their existence to a "docile position" (Foucault 1995). Clearly,

subjects internalize what knowledge created as truth, then this disciplinary power uses surveillance methods to hold them compliant. It can be medical discourses for internalization to produce knowledge on medicine for compliance with what they constructed, and thus observe to hold them as docile.

In the lecture held in 1975-76, which is called as *Society Must be Defended*, Foucault has dealt with state racism, state control over life and power over life. Additionally, Foucault emphasized passage to power over life from sovereign power. The point where Foucault draws attention is related to sovereign power's intervention in life only comes up with killing of sovereign power. The new technology of power is the new form of power exercise "make live and to let die" instead "to take life or let live" (Foucault 2003, p. 241). The emergence of this new technology of power is not disciplinary power or excludes disciplinary power, but it dovetails into it, the new forms of power exercises its power, contrary to disciplinary power, over man as species rather than man as body. It is no longer anatomo-politics of human body, but it is a bio-political regulation over population, which is ratio of birth rates, reproduction, fertility and mortality, this is called as bio-power. Thus, bio-power has gained its knowledge from these birth rates and so on for power's intervention to these areas.

The main objects of new forms of power are population and its regularity instead of individual body's training as so what disciplinary power did. That is why human is not disciplined or their death is decided by sovereign power, on the other hand, bio-power controls statistics, which is mortality or fertility. Additionally, according to Foucault, disciplinary power and bio-power can articulate each other, we see this at the level of "health-insurance systems, old-age pensions; rules on hygiene that guarantee the optimal longevity of the population; the pressures that the very organization of the town brings to bear on sexuality and therefore procreation; child care, education" (Foucault 2003, p. 251). Power can be categorized with body-organism-discipline and institutions series vs. population-biological process-regulatory

mechanism and state (Ibid., 251). Furthermore, what Foucault asserted that it is important to note that the body and the population interacts in sexuality regarding pro-creation, which means medicine is a way of knowledge-power can be applied to the body and the population at the same time. The interaction of disciplinary power and bio-power facilitated norms and normality as most influential tool to regulate the body and the population for bio-politics of Foucault. In that vein, Foucault has used bio-politics regarding racism and racist elimination of the abnormal by power effects of political discourse in scientific clothing. This theoretical clarification will be used to explain current power situation for women in the AKP government period in Turkey.

1.2. Women as an Object of Bio-Power

In the first volume of *The History of Sexuality (1978)*, Foucault mentioned the four privileged objects of knowledge: “The hysterical woman, the masturbating child, the Malthusian couple, and the perverse adult” (Ibid., p.105). Foucault asserts that the discourse on sex and objectification operates over women’s bodies in that period. Foucault has also approached the issue of objectification in *Discipline and Punish (1975)*, by focusing on institutions’ creation of the docile bodies and power effects over bodies and lives of human beings, discourses of human sciences over punishment. His consideration on these issues regarding investment on human bodies and subjugation of them by which becoming object of knowledge, he asserted that man can be as normal and abnormal for object of power techniques, he has investigated “in what way a specific mode of subjection was able to give birth to man as an object of knowledge for a discourse with a ‘scientific’ status” (Foucault 1995, p. 24). The main concern is how the body can become an object and a target of power for subjection, according to my overall readings of Foucault, objectification is not restricted to only man, women’s rights over their bodies can be fitted into Foucault’s formation of the technology of power’s objectification on women’s bodies.

Foucault seeing disciplinary power exercises its controlling mechanism through two sided methods, which are “the subjection of those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those who are subjected” (Foucault 1995, p. 185). It is important to emphasize that how Foucault explains that the individuals, both have lived subjection and objectification mechanisms of power, these could become object or subject of these processes. Foucault has used the discipline as the technology of power, which is no longer repressive, produces domains of objects, truth and reality for human beings, he argued that the multiplication of power apparatuses of objectification and as such is used in subjectification realizes through formation of new types of knowledge in the sphere of medicine and administration (Foucault 1995, p.227). Especially, the mind is used by power in order to subjugate the body by controlling ideas is the principle of the disciplinary power rather than repression (Ibid., p. 102), modern subject as an object is controlled by reason for subordinating and regulating of the human body.

As I mentioned above power and knowledge relations form subject in an interdependency, then reveal dispositive for Foucault. What dispositive reveals for Foucault, saying that:

“Madness, disease, delinquency, sexuality, and what I am talking about now, is to show how the coupling of a set of practices and a regime of truth form an apparatus (*dispositif*) of knowledge-power that effectively marks out in reality that which does not exist and legitimately submits it to the division between true and false” (Foucault 2004, p. 19).

Dispositive creates social reality depending on sexuality, and also it is kind of in-depth analysis history of *episteme*, which is analyzed in the Order of Things (1966). *Episteme* is like a discursive and non-discursive practices and important to emphasize that where we need dispositive in power and knowledge relations are when dispositive has a role both

subjectification and objectification¹⁷ of human life.

Following these theoretical considerations, I will try to reveal in what sense women become object of the government, such as the areas are procreation, caregiver, family roles, ideal depictions, abortion, virginity and so on. What I have proposed regarding objectification and subjection of women by questioning how women's sexualities, bodies, and reproduction become the object in the field of knowledge. In that vein, women's bodies are regulated as submissive through the discourse of science and other administrative things, which are called as the body-politic will be my concern in this thesis.

Bio-power together with the body politic "as a set of material elements and techniques that serve as weapons, relays, communication routes and supports for the power and knowledge relations that invest human bodies and subjugate them by turning them into objects of knowledge" (Foucault 1995, p.28). Then, other categories appear with objectification of sexuality in discourses are not censored, what bio-power has implemented that it is "regulated and a polymorphous incitement to discourse" (Foucault 1978, p. 34). Sexuality is the sphere a lot to talk about on it. After all what we have regarding objectification is the body and sexuality that mainly primary concern of bio-power and disciplinary power for Foucault. The object, which is sexuality, is the way to constitute apparatuses of subjectification process. Thus, according to Foucault, objectification is a tool of new forms of power to constitute apparatuses of subjectification (Foucault 1972-7, p.219). Thus, sexuality has been becoming the medical object of the modern forms of power for subjectification through knowledge-truth production.

Then, for Foucault, the object of scientific area has been the population, which is used by bio-power, the economic and political problem of population was sex, bio-power which deals with these issues by monitoring and regulating such as "the birthrate, the age of marriage,

¹⁷ "Subjection and objectification is called as an overlapping new techniques and new procedure for individualization of power and knowledge relations." Also, for Foucault, body becomes useful when it is productive and subjected body (Foucault 1975, p. 305). That is why bio-power needs to subjected body for contribution to labor force and economy.

the legitimate and illegitimate births, the precocity and frequency of sexual relations, the ways of making them fertile or sterile, the effects of unmarried life or of the prohibitions, the impact of contraceptive practices” (Foucault 1978, p.26). That is why we can clearly say that objectified things, which are population, sexuality or women, are the way of constituted subjects, which mean that these policies promote people to comply with these, then women are subjugated by bio-power with these policies after objectification realized. Additionally, sexual conduct of the population has become intervention area of bio-power, according to Foucault actually “moral and religious exhortations, fiscal measures tried to transform the sexual conduct of couples into a concerted economic and political behavior” (Foucault 1978, p. 26), and thus sexuality became economic and political object of bio-power. According to calculations of Foucault, the objectification of sex occurred in discourses, we can say that with proliferation of discourses, sexuality is excluded if its aim is not procreation, which means sexuality is seen as a serving to family and economy for future of nation.

While Foucault was clarifying objects of knowledge, he firstly took into account the hysterical women, which have illustrated that Foucault has dealt with woman as an other and object in his works. He has specifically dealt with women’s sexualities and its constitution with discourses. Hence, my main aim is to reveal how women’s sexualities, bodies, and reproduction both objectified and subjected, how norms are internalized by societies as truth and how women compliance with these norms, which is depicted by bio-power. Or how this objectification, which is produced by moral and religious spheres, excluded incompatible women, how they constituted ideal women in Turkey will be problematized in the discourse analysis of the AKP government.

1.3. The AKP as a Bio-power: Bio-political Regulations over Women's bodies as an object in Turkey

In this part, it will be intending to clarify that how women's bodies, sexualities and reproductive rights become primary object of the AKP government, what I called as bio-power, that is supported by Foucault's book *The History of Sexuality* and *Society Must be Defended* lectures will be my basis to analyze case of Turkey regarding the regulations over women. What is more, how women are an object of the AKP government is questioned by intertwining of objectification and subjectification where Foucault explained in *Discipline and Punish* (1975). I would like to combine bio-politics with women's situation in Turkey.

Foucault's interview with Lucette Finas has illustrated that the question is directed to Foucault, regarding can *The History of Sexuality* be used in women's question? Foucault has answered this question in this way; after the clarification each volume, it is "up to the reader what book should be used" (Foucault 1980, p.192). Therefore, I preferred to use this book, lecture, interview and methodology regarding Foucault's bio-power and discourse over specifically women's bodies, sexualities and their reproduction.

When Foucault has compared women's liberation movement with homosexual's liberation movement, he has distinguished sexual specificity of movements, which are weaker than homosexuals in women's movements, furthermore the objective of women is specifically economic and political issues (Foucault 1980, p. 220). We can argue that women do not focus on their sexuality due to their limited rights in the economic and political area. However, it can be argued that if women have right over their bodies, they can achieve whatever they face in their lives. That is, restrictive regulations over women's lives can result in political and economic emancipation of women. Additionally, Foucault has mentioned in the *Subject and Power* (1982) "power of men over women and medicine over the population, administration over the ways of people live" (Ibid., p. 780), in order to clarify power relations among these

oppositions, which means power is everywhere in every social relation, especially over women. That is why while Foucault was explaining power relations, he emphasized domination relations; how women are subordinated and dominated by men.

In this way, since the AKP coming to power in 2002, the major problem of the AKP government period in Turkey was regulations towards women, and their becoming primary object of bio-power. As we mentioned above, the primary concern of bio-power is biological existence of the body and the population, sovereign power no longer exists in the contemporary world. The reason behind being women as primary object of bio-power is due to women's reproductive abilities by the conservative and neoliberal policies of the AKP after coming to power, and thus women have more regulative bodies and sexualities through the *apparatuses* of the government. When I come to how women became object or regulative object, it is bio-power conception of Foucault illustrates that complementary position of subjectification with objectification, Foucault asserted this in *Discipline and Punish* (1995), "it manifests the subjection of those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those who are subjected" (Ibid., p. 185). Together with the multiple effects of power and new forms of knowledge, Foucault has argued that *apparatuses*, which are schools and hospitals lead to "mechanism of objection could be used in them as an instrument of subjection" (Foucault 1995, p.224). Thus, the overlapping effects of the objectification and subjectification produces new procedures for individualization. From these perspectives, I argued that when objectification is compelled by the government in Turkey, women can gain subjectivities via objectification of the government. That's what we have been living in Turkey, the AKP government has facilitated reforms and given right to women by becoming object of the government, then they have gained subjectivity to live freely in Turkey. But what kind of subjectivity is established by the AKP government, which is obviously legitimate couple under the family institution, heterosexual intercourse, marriage with virginity, becoming a mother, is

idealized by the AKP government as conservative family in Turkey. In that vein, women have disclosed their existence only through internalizing these objectifications elements of the idealized conservative family in Turkey. In other words, bio-power has continued its weight in order to regulate women as mother and gives their subjectivities through the objectification of bio-power.

When considered in a continuity, the main objectification tool is women's sexualities. Since sexuality became object of the government in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, sexuality, power, knowledge and discourses are analyzed under the repressive hypothesis and Victorian Bourgeoisie ages; what Foucault asserted afterwards these are that repression over sexuality in the Victorian Age caused to increase in interest and discourse on sexuality. The repressive hypothesis is implemented by Victorians for retrained, mute and hypocritical sexuality and intercourses. In the modern societies, Foucault argued that increasing sexual hypothesis must be abandoned, this led to "proliferation of specific pleasure and the multiplication of disparate sexualities" (Foucault 1978, p. 49). In the Victorian age, silence became rule, also caused sexuality reduced to home, confined to family and private sphere for reproducing children (Ibid., p.4). But with the Christian confession system revealed confessing pervert sexualities, and thus this confession system caused incitement to talk about sex more. On the other hand, the sexualized family became the object for manipulation and regulation of women, which means that if women act like what government wants as legitimate couple intercourse, clearly, then they can have subjectivity and self-realization by acting what the AKP government wants. We combine this scenario with Foucault's consideration on sexuality is narrowed down to marriage and heterosexual couple by the discourses of the government and its construction of family institution as sacred place in Turkey.

To put it differently, women's nature-given abilities became object of the AKP government regarding demographic and religious concern. In 2012, the AKP government had claimed "Reproduction Health Bill" as the name for women's health in reproduction, not in sexuality, on the contrary it turned to be a tool to ban abortion in Turkey. Although this bill was not accepted, but de facto regulations and controls has continued in Turkey. When we think of why government has an attempt to ban abortion, it is so obvious that the AKP government's strategy to normalize women as married, having at least three children, restricting of pre-marital intercourse, virgins, contributing population growth, religious and especially "conservative" are constructed by the AKP government. Especially, the main aim of the anti-abortion discourses is the future concern of the population, birth and death rates to regulate population easily. It is the key element for power over life for Foucault. Furthermore, it targets to foster conservative family structure and to multiply it with these policies of the government.

The AKP government objectified various spheres of related to women in order to subjugate women in Turkey. The first, which I take into account, is the headscarf issue that is asserted by the AKP government after coming to power in 2002. The AKP government objectifies women in order to sustain their norms over them and normalize them according to what they have constituted. These norms are defined by what prerequisites require in order to become acceptable or good citizens through the eyes of the AKP government. It is the act to liberate women to wear headscarf in public is the emancipatory movement for the AKP government, which means women need to have a right to wear headscarf in public and should have a right to work, these rights are already gained by women. But when debates continued, discourses worked in a different way, which is more related to regulative and exclusive mode of the government over women. The AKP government defined that if women wear headscarves, they need to act in public properly and their behaviors are defined by the government and religious institution. This is where I criticize the headscarf issue in Turkey, clearly women are

constituted according to depiction of the AKP government of women as an “ideal conservative mother.” Or if women wear headscarves, their behaviors are determined by the conservative values of the AKP government. It seems to me while women are objectified by the AKP government in the issue of the headscarf, at the same time, they are subjected to the policies and norms of the AKP government. Which means both objectification and subjectification work at the same time. If women do not internalize these constituted norms of the ideal conservative women, they face exclusion from society and become marginalized with the discourses of the AKP government. Women’s all behaviors are regulated and produced by the government through creation norms and discourses. Furthermore, women’s life goals can be organized first serving to your family as girl, making house works, then marrying at ideal age, no contraception, no abortion, having at least three children, being a good mother, giving birth to serve nation as a good citizen, serving for economic and demographic concerns of the government. These are actually what bio-power applied with discourses and norms to women by objectifying and subjectifying them.

The objectification of women creates a room for intervention to every sphere of life by bio-power, especially over sexuality and the body. Sexuality is restricted to give birth, besides women’s pleasures are ignored. Women’s bodies are seen as procreator and their life is restricted to home. Banning abortion and birth regulations has opened up new phase to intervention to women’s bodies and lives for demographic concern of the government. Thus, population becomes the object of the government to regulate them easily, this is the main function of bio-power for Foucault, this is what Foucault called bio-politics of the population. Furthermore, the objectification is made by the institutions of state to create *apparatuses* of the government, to regulate the population with discursive and non-discursive practices. Supporting with scientific knowledge, institutions produce knowledge on whatever they dream,

especially regarding women and family issues in order to regulate and manipulate women in Turkey.

1.4. The Conservative and Neoliberal Strategies of the AKP Government

The undeniable rising of the neoliberalism has gradually surrounded what actually do to entail Turkey to unsatisfied ambition of the government in regards to regulate women's bodies with neoliberal governmentality. According to Foucault, neoliberalism is not laissez-faire, but it is "permanent vigilance, activity and intervention" (Foucault 2004, p. 132). Neoliberalism is return to *homo economicus*¹⁸ as a clear cut explanation. While Foucault historically analyzed rise of the neoliberalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries era, the rise of the neoliberalism can be analyzed from near past in Turkey. The period is 1980s and afterwards, it is especially the AKP government period in Turkey at peak.

Neoliberalism can be identified as transformation of classical liberalism, it is kind of free space for market without state intervention. However, no regulation or intervention turned to regulation over every sphere of life in the contemporary world. After the AKP Government coming to power in 2002, Turkey adopted neoliberal strategies intertwining with conservative, religion-inspired roots, nationalistic and new type of patriarchal system (Cosar & Yegenoglu 2011; Acar & Altunok 2012). Alliance between neoliberalism and conservatism has revealed to adapt women to synchronize with open market economy, which have relations with women's motherhood and wifehood in familial relations. While conservative mindset constructs women as caregiver, wife in heterosexual marriage constitution with the AKP's ideal familial relations, neoliberalism both declares free market and entrepreneurship to everyone and women can enter

¹⁸ *Homo economicus* is an economic man and the theory of utility who is an entrepreneur of himself with these new individuals become 'governmentalizable,' and able to regulation of power over human life (Foucault 2004, p. 252-3)

to labor force also need to stay at home with normalized wifhood and motherhood roles have created paradox in women's situation.

According to Cosar and Yegenoglu (2011), what exactly intertwining of neoliberalism and conservatism is "...the prioritisation of the individual as *homo economicus* was smoothly merged with familial politics through the moralisation of private property" (Ibid., 2011). Family has become moral pillar of society in order to create ideal women under the moral concerns of society. When neoliberal and neoconservative tools come together, that is, market rationality and morality can be called as a "moral-political rationality" (cited in Acar & Altunok, 2012). This new forms of governmentality concern of moral-political rationality is economic and moral purposes instead of rule of law, equality and freedom (Acar & Altunok 2012). Gender equality is a political concern for government, what exactly gender equality means for the conservative side of the AKP government is that gender equality is emphasized by the ideal family institutions and traditional roles of motherhood (Acar & Altunok, 2012). Family has become the sacred sphere of the government, it is significant to note that discourse on women's sexualities do not only come from morality, but also from rationality (Foucault 1978, p. 24), this is what we have neoliberal-conservative tools on regulating sexuality in Turkey.

According to article, which dealt with Islamization of Turkey, Kaya (2015) argued that the AKP had transformed Turkey with the neoliberal policies and Islamization since 2002 by empowering family institutions, revitalizing conservative values, community, Islam and faith-based organizations (Kaya 2015, p. 20). These ideologies and policies illustrate that women are already ignored and got lost under the family and religious institutions by emblazoning these policies. That is why family becomes instrument to conceal women's existence as self-sufficient and autonomous body.

In regards to freedom, while new governmental reason has produced freedom, meanwhile following that it has consumed freedom (Foucault 1978-9, p. 63). The way in which Foucault emphasizes on liberalism and its effects to freedom, but we can find some similarities between the AKP government neoliberal policies towards women. Liberated women through wearing headscarves in public sphere feel free to wear whatever they want and “their visibility expanded economically in public sphere women’s role as mother and wives” (Dedeoglu 2013, p.7), this freedom is both produced by the government and it consumed through trapped women to home in order to take care children, having at least three children, wifehood, motherhood roles by the ideal family depiction of the AKP government and the ideal traditional women construction in Turkey. This scenario has also supported by intertwining of neoliberalism and neo-conservatism of the AKP government.

That is why we can clearly say that conservative and neoliberal policies of the AKP government is the most important instrument of bio-power to regulate and produce women in Turkey. Together with this objectification and subjectification, women’s lives, sexualities and reproduction are determined by economic and political welfare, and scientific knowledge is produced by these neoliberal and conservative concerns to create ideal society and individual by the AKP government. Women’s procreation abilities are used to foster population and to progress in economy and to create beneficial individuals to society with an entrepreneur spirit. Consequently, moral-political rationality of the government begins to regulate and produce women in the contemporary world.

To recapitulate, bio-power distinctions between sovereign and disciplinary power is arranged in order to combine in which side of the AKP government resembles with Foucault’s bio-power. Which means power is no longer repressive, modern forms of power should be understood as productive over life of human species, especially regulative over population for

Foucault. The instruments of this power are birth rates, the age of marriage, death, mortality, life expectancy, insurance and security for human life rather than what sovereign power's right over life and death. According to my research, this type of power can be combined with the AKP government regulations over women through knowledge productions. Another concern is regarding how women became both object and subject of power, and lived these processes at the same time. Actually, the main objectification occurred in women's sexualities in order to subject to them according to what they see as suitable for them. I argued that subjectivities, which are given by the government is not emancipatory attempt for women. Objectification occurs at the same time for subjectification of women according to what bio-power constituted regime of truth in Turkey. This led to trapped of women in the freedom paradox. I then argued that conservative and neoliberal policies of the AKP government is the way of constitution of the ideal women and entrepreneur spirit for nation's welfare, also family as an institution is a way of constraining women to the home and procreator for nation's future generations. Also, I argued that women have been living freedom paradox under the neoliberal system that both gives freedom and consumes freedom at the same time for every sphere of women's lives. Moral and political rationality of the government also indicates women according to what moral norms or reason say on right way for good citizenship as woman in Turkey. When I do power analysis of Foucault, as concepts illustrated that women are trapped and regulated, and are not emancipated in the issue of sexuality and self-realization of the bodies. However, if I illustrate these regulations over women by doing discourse analysis, it will produce remarkable outcome for to what extent women are regulated and controlled by discourses and supports with power and knowledge in Turkey. We will see below how discourse of the government indicated what is true or false based on scientific, religious and medical knowledge, which created norms in order to constitute normality and abnormality for woman in Turkey.

Chapter 2

The AKP's Discourse on Women

This chapter is an analysis section will carefully clarify how the AKP's discourses constituted regime of truth by supports of scientific, medical, religious or institutional knowledge on women, how discursive and non-discursive practices have power to intervene and regulate human life. Firstly, I will explain in which side of methodological consideration of Foucault is sufficient for my analysis, what I mean that how discourse analysis is done by Foucault, then the archaeological and genealogical period will be used as intertwined. I will explain that how discourses with institutions constituted norms by using scientific knowledge and power relations for women, how these discourses regulated and controlled women's lifestyles, sexualities, and reproduction, also how biological existence of women are the primary object of bio-power. Finally, the main objective of bio-power, which is fertility, mortality, population growth and statistical things will be crystallized in this chapter to illustrate bio-power's problem is not health of human life rather it is a future generation, welfare of state, maintenance of the nation. The fostering and multiplying human life traps women to the sphere of what they consider as an appropriate by improving surveillance methods and regulations apparatuses.

2.1. A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

“There is nothing to be gained from describing this autonomous layer of discourses unless one can relate it to other layers, practices, institutions, social relations, political relations, and so on. It is that relationship which has always intrigued me”¹⁹ (p.284).

¹⁹ Foucault, Michel 1967, On the ways of writing history. In the Aesthetics, Method and Epistemology the Essential Works of Michel Foucault, volume 2, J. D. Faubion. (Ed.). Tr. Robert Hurley and others. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Allen Lane, Penguin, (1998).

Foucault did not prefer to use prescriptive method, which means that Foucault does not propose “how things should be,” universality²⁰ or a priori existence of things, he emphasized in *The Birth of Biopolitics* “let’s suppose that universals do not exist” (Foucault 1978-9, p. 3). Therefore, he spoke of “sexuality as if sex did not exist” (Foucault 1978, p. 151). When universals do not exist, the question has been risen by Foucault regarding madness, saying that “how history can make different events and practices which are apparently around something that is supposed to be madness” (Foucault 1978-9, p.3). His method questions universals and constitutions by using history as critical method, and thus he had used genealogy as critical method in his analysis. The main method of Foucault can be arranged as follows archaeology, genealogy and ethics. In that vein, genealogical investigation is the best method to disclose problems among the methods of Foucault, my research is restricted regarding time and scope not to focus historical regulations of bio-power over women, that is why I do my analysis using Foucault as a theoretical base and genealogy for the AKP government period in order to do discourse analysis by which investigating how subjectivities of women are constructed and regulated by power and knowledge combination in the AKP government period.

In *the Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), Foucault has explained theoretical method for discourse analysis, according to his definition, “discourse is constituted by a group of sequences of signs, in so far as they are statements, that is, in so far as they can be assigned particular modalities of existence” (Ibid., p. 107). We can clearly say that the constitution of the objects is emerged by verbal statements, clearly, discourse means for Foucault is the groups of verbal performances that is produced by groups of signs. In addition, the post-structural discourse analysis for Foucault has exactly dealt with statements, which are ‘the atom of discourse’ (Foucault 1972, p.80), that has seen discourse as a function, constitutive force and

²⁰ According to Foucault, universals are “the arbitrariness of institutions” (eds. Martin et al. 1988 p. 11).

political effects, instead of grammar, linguistic and text (Graham 2011, p.667). While subject is discursively constructed by human sciences, which are mainly concern of genealogy, on the contrary, the main concern of the *Archaeology of Knowledge* that deals with constitutive sides of the discourses. *Discipline and Punish (1975)* facilitated transition to a 'genealogy' from archaeological investigation, which is discourse as the constitutive force, then in genealogical investigation, objects and subjects were produced by the effects of power–knowledge relations (Armstrong 2015, p. 31). I will use these nuances as an attentively and as a tool for discourse analysis using Foucault.

On the other hand, archaeological descriptions have not dealt with unity, but aim is to disclose differences and to analyze the relations between the discursive practices and non-discursive practices, which are institutions, political events and economic practices. Thus, discourse analysis will be supported by *dispositif* (apparatus), which Foucault has thoroughly examined non-discursive practices as a powerful regulative method of bio-power. Then, I analyzed some authors who offered for discourse analysis using Foucault, who is Jager (2001), illustrated that discourse exercises power; then transforms to knowledge, individual and collective mind internalizes it; this emerging knowledge shapes social reality. Jager (2001) has proposed methodological way to pursue in order to do discourse analysis using Foucault's dispositive. Foucault's concept of the 'dispositive' as a shell which envelops both discursive and non-discursive practices and materializations. Non-discursive societal practices which have a duty in forming objects/manifestations, materialization of the discursive practices are realized with non-discursive practices as well. This dispositive covers discourses, institutions and scientific statements, these are the apparatuses of power in order to regulate every sphere of human life.

The main feature of discourse analysis of Foucault is to clarify how discursive practices have produced knowledge as a world-view and regime of truth, which are accepted by scientific

community and institutions. Additionally, Graham (2011), who has guided people who want to do discourse analysis using Foucault, has clarified how Foucault's *the Archeology of Knowledge* (1972) can be a guideline for discourse analysis, then she crystallized how the parts of Foucault's books, which is description, recognition and classification as a guide for discourse analysis using Foucault. The description is the first attempt to discourse analysis that, "the object of discourse is defined and shaped by mechanism which the words we use to describe things" (Graham 2011, p. 668). In this regard, Foucauldian discourse analysis is the relationship between words and things, to disclose the way in which how words have produced the things. Thus, statements in Foucauldian sense have described functions of discourses. The functional statement has theorized as a discourse with intertwined words and things, then invested relations of power (Graham 2011, p. 668), in order to regulate that whatever they choose by these discourse creation processes. The statement as a function produces people who are not validated by the dominant discourse that locates excluded people with the pathways of the words and things.

The construction of categories or pathologies by the statements are the way of "to enable rules and forms to become manifest" (Foucault 1972, p.99), by describing statements. The object of these statements has been recognizable via "enunciative function of statement" (Graham 2011, p. 670). The validated statement has passed to the discourses which regulate and produce through the problematic of power and knowledge, the crucial step in this regulation is to analyze how the words become things. On the other hand, classification ensures the one who is excluded by dominant discourses, and by which gives a name and create binary opposition to maintain what dominant discourse depicts as a validated features of constituted object are. Thus, Foucault asserts that identities, beliefs are shaped by dominant discourses, beside this object and subject produced discourses (cited in Graham 2011, p. 671). When the constitution of subject is the primary concern of Foucault, he dealt with how constitutive and

disciplinary attitudes were object of the discursive practices by problematic of power/knowledge and discourse which could produce a subject and object rather than just meaning production. Discursive practices are seen by Foucault as a productive and regulative function of the statements as well.

When I clearly explain how discourse is analyzed by using Foucault's approach is illustrated step by step in order to see how individuals are both objectified and subjugated by discursive practices which depend on knowledge production of power, scientific or other type of knowledge as accepted by dominant discourses. As a way that while objectification has continued, at the same time subjugation has emerged that led to internalization of knowledge by the individuals, which are offered by what they see as compliance with dominant discourse. My argument is that women are the object of power, the new forms of power subjugated women by discursive practices through objectifying. Then, women have been gaining their subjectivities by what knowledge is specified by power. The regime of truth, which is gained by knowledge production of power, is internalized by women while they are gaining their subjectivities. Women's becoming object are disclosed by analyzing discourses of the government using Foucault, and how they are constructed and regulated by the government through discourse as a truth. By using pathways of discourse analysis, I will explain how women's bodies, sexualities and reproduction rights are subjugated and objectified by the government, and regulated women's bodies according to what they depicted as an ideal.

Following these guidelines for my discourse analysis using Foucault reveals interplay between discursive and non-discursive practices, how discourses constituted identities through statements, and how discourses are used in order to regulate and subjugate women in my context. I will disclose how women's sexualities, bodies and reproduction become the object of the government and how women are discursively constituted by scientific, medical,

conservative and economic concerns, which produced and controlled women's lives and regulated sexuality and body. The main aim of this research is to disclose bio-power's regulations with discourses of the government.

2.2. The AKP Government and its Discourses on Women in Turkey

After the triumph of the AKP government by taking majority of the votes in election in 2002, political sphere changed through different types policies and strategies of the party, which are more conservative democratic and neoliberal as they declared in the first program of the party. Furthermore, the discourses of the government and its members have remarkable effects regarding how they see society from the language they use. Discourses of the government can be counted such as speech acts, statements, verbal performances, program announcements, press statements, and in addition, non-discursive elements of it can be analyzed from the perspective of Foucault. It is so explicit that discourses of the government have a productive, regulative and constitutive authority over people by which norms of the government declared as a statement that is supported by policies and institutions. I will analyze discourses of the government and some institutions' discourses on women will be counted my focus point to analyze and to clarify what happens, and in addition constitutive, regulatory effects of discourses in Turkey on women's bodies, sexualities and reproduction. In this discourse analysis, I will utilize family-centered discourses, religious discourses, medical discourses, scientific discourses and moral values in discourses for analysis in this thesis.

2.2.1. Family-Centered Discourses of the AKP Government and Population Concerns

Analysis of the discourses from the beginning of the AKP government, there is a clue from 59th party program, is declared by the former Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan regarding politics of family in 2003. The 59th party program is firstly stated their roots as a conservative democrat in nature, this conservative identity is used as a tool for holding individuals together

as a family. This is actually first declaration of the government that family as an institution for unity. As well as in that times, the former Prime Minister Erdogan stated on family as a socialization, saying that:

“Family is a significant institution which has a role to consist of social solidarity and basis of the society... our government will give a priority to family-centered policies.”²¹

When I analyze what Prime Minister Erdogan targeting by putting forward family as an institution, which is an apparatus (*dispositif*) of the government in order to regulate and control women by fostering family as a main building block of the government. The knowledge on family is constituted by conservative discourses of the AKP government can be seen as a functional statements and recognized by the society as a regime of truth. That is why I can say that construction of the ideal family institution is produced by the interplay of the discursive and non-discursive practices, which are institutional support to knowledge formation with discourses. The scenario can be depicted by words, which are the statements by power is used as a function and being recognizable by society to construct family as an institution in order to constitute people who are suitable to what power indicates as an accepted truth by institutions. The family institution can produce knowledge on how the ideal family would be beneficial for society, and thus family has become an object of the government to produce and regulate women’s bodies, sexualities and reproduction.

Another influential speech of the Prime Minister Erdogan in International Family and Social Policies Summit, he stated that:

²¹ All statements are translated by me, which is from the AKP’s 59th government program, original is ‘‘Aile, toplumun temeli ve toplumsal dayanışmanın oluşmasında rol oynayan önemli bir kurumdur... Hükümetimiz aile merkezli politikalara öncelik verecektir.’’ <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HP59.htm> (accessed in 7 March, 2016).

“Strong families together with having at least three children...the road rendering strength of our family gets through from here. If we want to strong family, it requires to happen. We need to young and dynamic population.”²²

Pro-family discourses and the population concern of the AKP government overlapped with bio-power regulation and neoliberal governmentality’s attempt to create labor force for competitive open market economy. Neo-liberal and conservative policies regarding strengthening family institutions lead to use as an *apparatus* of the government in order to regulate women’s bodies, sexualities and procreation. The declining birth rates became the tool to regulate women’s reproduction for welfare of the nation.

2.2.2. Religious Discourses of the AKP Government

While family institutions were gaining strength, women have felt trapped under the frame of the family and women’s sexualities restricted to reproduction, I argue that being political object of women have emerged with the headscarf issue in Turkey. After the AKP government coming to power in 2002, the nature of the debate changed through neoconservative policies of the government.

When the agenda of the government is the full of the headscarf issue, Prime Minister Erdogan gave a speech on headscarf freedom of women in 2005, regarding European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) decision on lifting the ban of the headscarf, saying that: He did not recognize decision of this court regarding freedom of women, then he stated that:

“Right to speech belongs to the Ulema.”²³

²² “En az üç çocukla beraber güçlü aileler... Ailelerimizi güçlü kılmanın yolu buradan geçiyor. Güçlü aile istiyorsak bunun olması lazım. Bizim genç ve dinamik nüfusa ihtiyacımız var.” <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/erdogan-neden-3-cocuk-istedigini-acikladi/siyaset/siyasetdetay/02.01.2013/1650260/default.htm>

²³ “Söz söyleme hakkı din Ulemasınındır” <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/erdogan-turbanda-soz-hakki-ulemanindir-3527074> (accessed in 14 March, 2016).

The knowledge of the religious institution merged with power strategies to control and constitute subjectivities. Statement illustrated that the only highest authority of the religion can have an opinion on the headscarf issue, and thus religious knowledge can be seen as an apparatus of the government in order to constitute subjectivities by objectifying women. The former Prime Minister Erdogan used the strategies of religious knowledge and institutions in order to justify his regulation tools over women's lifestyles in the Muslim World. The institutions are constructed to create knowledge, which needs to be accepted by overall society that leads to internalization of knowledge production, because it is moral and religious knowledge. In this regard, discursive and non-discursive practices, which are religious institution and religious knowledge, work together as a dispositive (apparatus) of the government to interfere every sphere of women's lives in Turkey. It is possible to say that they have seen women as a chaste who have compliance with moral and religious rationality. They included women as an object of the government that have a target to liberate women in public sphere, but we need to pose a question on that: Is it the liberation or trapped of women by conservative and neoliberal tactics and apparatuses of bio-power in Turkey?

Some crucial constitutive effects of the government over women have been continued by Prime Minister Erdogan with discourses of the government regarding on the headscarf ban in Turkey, saying that:

“My daughter, my wife and I am faithful Muslims. According to Quran, it requires to cover women's head in the society.”²⁴

“*Ulema* is a plural word for *alim* (scholar) deriving from the Arabic origin *ilm* (knowledge), the term has gained a special meaning and become a common name for that section of the community who are considered to be intellectuals and partly aristocratic.” <http://www.muslimheritage.com/article/ottoman-ulema>

²⁴ “Kızım, eşim ve ben inançlı Müslümanlarız. Kuran'a göre bir kadının toplumda türban takması gerekiyor.” <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/erdogan-kizim-turbani-sik-buluyor-294699> (accessed in 14 March, 2016)

The Prime Minister Erdogan again has talked on religious freedom of women in his speech by referring Islamic rules for societies. In this discourse of Prime Minister Erdogan asserted the freedom of faith and freedom of wearing headscarf in the public sphere. But while he was using freedom of faith, therewithal he has depicted and defined how religious women should wear, additionally he conforms rules of the Quran orders regarding how women should wear. While they liberate headscarves for women in public by using religious knowledge on women's clothing styles, he depicts the ideal religious women and gives compulsory position to women. This is the paradoxical issue of the AKP government on tactics of women's liberation. While they liberated women, at the same time, they constrain and consume them by using knowledge of the religious authority.²⁵ This is actually what neoliberalism has carried out for freedom, according to Foucault, both produces and consumes freedom of human being. Therefore, we may say that the freedom of women both are produced and consumed by the AKP government regarding the headscarf issue. Thus, it is so clear that primary concerns of bio-power are women's bodies, clothing styles, living conditions as a religiously depicted by religious knowledge production. This knowledge of religious institution is also apparatuses of bio-power to regulate and subjugate the population. In a brief, power and knowledge as an agents found sphere to produce and regulate women's lives and clothing styles coming to the agenda of bio-power in Turkey.

The former Parliamentary Speaker Bülent Arınc gave a speech on headscarf issue in 2005 as well. He emphasized on freedom of religion, saying that:

²⁵ In this thesis, of course, I do not have the authority to investigate or criticize freedom of religion of individuals or government officials, however, my objective is to reveal how power uses moral and religious discourse as apparatuses of power to regulate human life and population.

“Women can wear a headscarf due to faith, health and fashion, it is not true that stays secret at hearts of thing which is said as faith.”²⁶

The discourse of the former Parliamentary Speaker Arinc has clarified that faithful people, who are women, should demonstrate their faith with their clothing styles or what they wear on their bodies. We see that there is created oppositions regarding women who are faithful and wear headscarves, and also women who do not wear headscarves can be declared as a faithless and women’s clothing styles can be classified as marginal women regarding the headscarf-wearing woman or not. On the other hand, the knowledge is produced by health and fashion clothing, the fundamental concern for the headscarf is hidden behind the health and fashion clothing in order to justify their appeal, and he has applied other knowledge such as health and fashion in order to support on why women cover their head. Thus, women are burdened mission on how should they wear, they act in public or are they faithful or not. That is why conservative appeals of the AKP government is constituted by discourses. In that vein, bio-power has worked on women’s bodies with this way, they have used *apparatuses* in order to create normalized women synchronized with what they construct or produce women’s bodies, or what they desire and expect from women.

2.2.3. Medical Discourses of the AKP Government and Population Growth

The main object of the technology of power is the population and its regulations. The statement of the former Prime Minister Erdogan emphasized on women’s roles in family and population targets as well, the statements are as follows:

“Our women are not only because they consist of the half of our society, they have a special position in which raising of healthy generations with improvement of society and individual.

²⁶ “Bir kadının başını inanç, sağlık veya moda nedeniyle örtebileceğini belirten ve inanç denen şeyin kalplerde gizli kalması doğru değildir.” <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/arinc-turban-sorunu-nesilden-nesile-suruyor-286806> (accessed in 14 March, 2016)

The result of the negligence that is built up over years and taken care of all kinds of problems, it is the issue that our government gave a priority.’’²⁷

This statement exactly revealed what Foucault says on bio-power that how human beings are seen as a population, also how demographical calculations are the primary concern of the government. It is so significant that government’s seeing population as a technique, which have variables such as the health of population, fertility, life expectancy, to regulate the population for the welfare of the government. In this statement, Prime Minister Erdogan saw women as an object for the demographic tool, women’s existence has corresponded sacred giving birth, health of future generation that is also concern of the AKP government. Thus, women’s giving birth is sacred by conservative discourses of Prime Minister Erdogan. This may lead to the disregard of women’s bodies, sexualities, and being women lead to narrow down women’s existence to reproduction. Furthermore, it is confirmed that main focus of the AKP government is birth and death rates, life expectancy, fertility, state of health, frequency of illnesses that is exactly fitted what Foucault defined for bio-power. When discourses of the former Prime Minister Erdogan is related to women’s reproduction, the new forms of power can exercise over life and discourses produce and regulate according to what is seen as a truth. Institutions have been using to implement norms of the government as depicted by the conservative and the neoliberal policies that produce knowledge on what is true or false. These led to women are seen as sacred because they have reproduction capabilities. Women are under the frame of the family institution, women’s sexualities are limited to reproduction as well. Which means unproductive sexualities are not issues for the government, sexual health is not in the agenda of the government. Therefore, constitution of healthy population and construction of family

²⁷ “Kadınlarımız sadece toplumumuzun yarısını oluşturdukları için değil, birey ve toplumun gelişimi ile sağlıklı nesillerin yetiştirilmesinde özel bir konuma sahiptirler. Yılların ihmali sonucu biriken her türlü sorunlarıyla ilgilenilmesi, hükümetimizin öncelik verdiği bir konudur.” <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HP59.htm> (accessed in 7 March,2016).

institution seems to us as a policy for welfare of women, but from the perspective of Foucault, these are *dispositif* (apparatuses) of bio-power in order to foster, multiply, administer, produce and regulate the population. In my context, women are compelled to live with these apparatuses, which are discursive and non-discursive practices that are the constitution of the ideal woman by the government.

The indisputable predominant regulative politics of bio-power is the issue of politics of reproduction. The reason why the foremost rights of women are right to abortion, to decide whether or not she gives birth, right to caesarean section or using contraception methods. It seems that women's reproduction capabilities are an object of the AKP government with discourses. First most significant starting point on abortion ban is discussed in March 24-25, 2012 at International Conference on Population and Development with the closing speech of the former Prime Minister Erdogan took attention on women's reproduction preferences. This conference changed the political agenda of Turkey, Prime Minister Erdogan stated that:

“I am the Prime Minister who opposed related to caesarean section. I see abortion as a murder. There is no difference between killing a baby in its mother's stomach and killing a baby after birth.”²⁸ “I consider abortion to be murder. No-one should have the right to allow this to happen.”²⁹

The anti-abortion discourse of the former Prime Minister Erdogan, discourse on caesarean section as well is regulative attack of the government on the bodies and reproduction capabilities of women. The preferences and the discourses of the government restricted women's choices on abortion and caesarean section. Actually, the reason behind this anti-abortion discourse is related to demographic concern and producing future generation with their

²⁸ “Sezaryenle ilgili doğumlara karşı olan bir başbakanım. Kürtağı bir cinayet olarak görüyorum. Buna kimsenin müsaade etme hakkı olmamalı. Ha anne karnında bir çocuğı öldürürsünüz ha doğduktan sonra öldürürsünüz. Hiçbir farkı yok.”

<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/erdogan-kurtaj-bir-cinayettir/siyaset/siyasetdetay/26.05.2012/1545254/default.htm>

²⁹ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18297760>

own hands. This is the key for how biological existence of the human body becomes a political concern, and thus bio-power will foster, administer and multiply human species with these regulation tools, concerning fertility rates, restricting abortion, fostering life for the interest of the government. On the other hand, women's bodies became medicalizable object of the government with the policies on the health consideration and reproduction health. In that vein, Foucault has already argued in *The History of Sexuality* (1978) about medical knowledge and its regulation over women's lives, he stated that “whence the medical, but also political, project for organizing a state management of marriages, births, and life expectancies; sex and its fertility had to be administered” (Foucault 1978, p.118). In that vein, marriages are fostered by the government policies to enlarge the population and to intervene human life, the former Family and Social Policies minister Fatma Sahin stated that:

“According to legislation studies that is made in scope of family and population policies, it will be given interest free 10 thousand credits to newly married couples.”³⁰

Economic supports of the government are the way of promoting marriage at early ages, at the same time, women can give birth at early ages as well. The targets of the government are the population growth, the construction of family institution, economic development with labor force with giving birth of women. Also, it is a tactic for Foucault to administer sex through “the art of determining good marriages for desired fertility and health” (Foucault 1978, p. 148). Marriages are managed by bio-power with these policies to constitute the ideal family. We have seen that economic supports of the government do not serve for people, but serve for the government's tactics to control human life with these tools. Policies, which are produced by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, are the continuation of the conservative and neoliberal policies of the AKP government. On the other hand, what reproduction is for Foucault in the

³⁰ “Aile ve nüfus politikaları kapsamında yapılan mevzuat çalışmalarımıza göre yeni evlenen çiftlere faizsiz 10 bin TL kredi verilecek.” <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/bakan-sahin-yeni-evlenenlere-10-bin-tl-verilecek-24996849>

contemporary world that “conjugal family and regulated fabrication of children” (Foucault 1978, p. 114). That is why marriage need to be productive and reproduction need to family, and fabricated children for population growth as well in the Turkish context.

Medical discourses, which consider women’s health, become the tool of the demographic concern of the government. Prime Minister Erdogan has used medical knowledge on caesarean section and targeted to prevent it by supporting with medical knowledge, he has referred the Minister of Health and doctors, he has argued that they talked scientifically on abortion and caesarean section, he supported his views on these issues with scientific knowledge on medicine, he stated that in 2012:

“Caesarean case at the same time is not something else than operation of balance and prevention population of this nation. Why not? More than two children. If it happens with caesarean, it is impossible more than two.”³¹

The biological consideration of reproduction changed through scientific knowledge, the usage of this knowledge comes up with discursive practices of the government. This scientific knowledge served as a confidential evidence in order to avoid caesarean section and abortion. Thus, bio-power has obtained truth formation of science, which is validated by scientific knowledge, to regulate and control women. It eases to regulate women through this validated scientific knowledge regarding reproduction. The other crucial concern of bio-power is demography, which is the consideration of the AKP government regarding two and more children for per family to foster fertility. In this regard, Prime Minister Erdogan has wanted to regulate caesarean section because he wants to foster women’s reproduction more than two.

³¹ “Sezaryen olayı aynı zamanda bu milletin nüfusunu dengeleme, engelleme operasyonundan başka bir şey değildir. Niye? 2 çocuktan fazla olmasın. Sezaryenle olursa 2’den fazla olmaz.”
http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kurtajyasasicikartacagiz20654033? sgm_campaign=scn_a004850058058000& sgm_source=20654033& sgm_actio=click

Furthermore, this scientific knowledge and power's concerns over health of the population is also used by the Minister of Health Yalcın Akdag in his statement, saying that:

“The problem is to protect women's health together with the right to live of baby... abortion is the operation, which gives harm to women.”³²

He changed the policy regarding Law on Population Planning to “health of reproduction.” This exactly corresponds with bio-politics of the population for Foucault. The health of reproduction is the techniques for maximizing life, which is regulatory control that considers level of health. Discourses of the Minister of Health Akdag regarding health is to sustain power and management over women's lives, and regulated their body according to what they expect from women as motherhood and using their body as procreation machine. The AKP government's discourse can be sequenced as a pro-family, pro-life and anti-abortion discourses. Additionally, the scientific knowledge on health and medical institutions are the dispositive (apparatuses) of the government to administer the population and women's bodies and reproduction.

When in fact debate continues, the former Prime Minister Erdogan supported anti-abortion discourses with women's health by criticizing feminist's discourse on “My Body, My Choice,” he stated that:

“This side (feminists) also is the side that does not accept motherhood position. Do you know, what they say? They say that why do not you say women why do you say mother. This is the logic of this side. Heaven is under the feet of women in our religion, it is not of fathers. We

³² “Meselenin kadının sağlığını ve bebeğin yaşam hakkını beraber korumak, Kürtaj sonuçta kadına bir çok zarar veren bir işlem.” <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/hukumet-kurtaj-yasasinda-isararli-20851311>

know mother's worth and we are the member of an understanding which tried to know this. We are a party, which is conservative democrat.”³³

This discourse illustrates that all women are seen as mother. If they do not choose to become mother, they may be excluded and not accepted by the government. He has already abstained from even using “woman.” This is the obvious proof that the AKP government has been seeing women as a mother, conjugality and caregiver. Prime Minister Erdogan also emphasized the importance of women's health, but actual aim is to regulate women's lives and reproduction by indicating how the ideal women should be, and producing truth by discourses in order to regulate women. Furthermore, he attracts attention to the economic concerns of the caesarean section, he said that:

“Caesarean case is the case which froze population, the worry is money...The population of this nation should increase. The most significant strength of the economy is human.”³⁴

Foucault worked liberalism under the general framework of bio-politics, the political economy is a kind of knowledge and science for Foucault (Foucault 2004). Women's bodies have been seen as a producer of human capital to serve for prosperity of the nation. The neoliberal deal of the government led to use women's bodies as a procreator for population growth and led to the disregard of unproductive sexualities. Additionally, the medicalization of the population is for the labor force, the economic development and the population growth. These are also primary concern of bio-power in order to regulate the population and surveillance of them. Scientific knowledge regarding health has been used by bio-power to regulate the population,

³³ “Bu kesim aynı zamanda annelik makamını da kabul etmeyen kesimdir. Ne diyorlar biliyor musunuz? Ne demek anne, niye kadın demiyorsunuz da anne veya ana diyorsunuz, diyor. Bu kesimin mantığı bu. Bizim dinimizde cennet annelerin ayakları altındadır, babaların değil. Biz annenin kıymetini bilen ve onu bildirmeye çalışan bir anlayışın mensuplarıyız. Biz muhafazakâr demokrat bir partiyiz.” <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/bdp-burada-chp-olmak-istiyor-20681409>

³⁴ Sezaryen olayı nüfusu dondurma olayıdır, dert money... bu milletin nüfusu artmalı. Ekonominin en önemli gücü insandır. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/bdp-burada-chp-olmak-istiyor-20681409>

this is the key for how power over life sustains and how women's bodies become object of power. The additional concern is to progress economically with the labor force and create competitive sphere for neoliberalism, and thus the economic development of the nation is realized by family with reproduction of good generation for welfare of the nation.

In the post-2014 era, Erdogan is elected by popular vote as President, Ahmet Davutoglu is elected as Prime Minister in 2015. President Erdogan made other interventions to women's bodies regarding morning after pills and contraception on reproductive health, he said that:

“They betrayed this country for years by birth control and attempting to dry up our generations, it is the treason to country.”³⁵

Abortion was a murder according to previous discourse of the former Prime Minister Erdogan, contraception became a treason with discourses of the government in the years of Presidential. This is the exact proof how bio-power has produced truth about reproduction by discourses using scientific knowledge in order to foster the population growth. If woman is pregnant or unintended pregnancy come up with extramarital sex, it is not possible to prevent this pregnancy not to become traitor or murderer because discourses of conscientious is in the foregrounded. In regards to this issue, the Ministry of Health started new application to inform family in 2012, in case if woman is pregnant while she is unmarried.³⁶ This application sends message to family to inform them regarding woman's pregnancy. Surveillance method of the AKP government leads to compel women to conform the moral and conservative values of the AKP government. Women's sexual life are at stake due to the moral and conservative values and discourses' constitution of norms to women. It is clear that extramarital sex is disapproved by the government, unproductive sexualities are ignored by the government according to what these

³⁵<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-president-erdogan-declares-birth-control-treason.aspx?pageID=238&nID=75934&NewsCatID=338>

³⁶<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/aile-hekiminden-bekar-genc-kiz-babasina-sok-cep-mesaji-tebrikler-kiziniz-hamile-20837705>

discourses defined as a normal. The regulations with discourses by bio-power constituted women as a producer machine, mother, asexual, and women's sexualities are restrained to marriage. Pleasure or unproductive marriages have not served to the nation, they are betrayal because they use contraception to prevent unintended pregnancies. When considered in a line, the same logic works in the speech of Prime Minister Davutoglu regarding women workers' reproduction in 2016, he stated that:

“For us, a woman giving birth fulfills her sacred motherhood duties as well as her civic duties. The services of our women giving birth is like performing a civic duty, therefore birth duration will be counted to their civil service.”³⁷

This statement made by then Prime Minister Davutoglu, is also a manifestation of women as mothers. What is more, women are perceived here as bearers of a mission with nationalistic duties to serve the nation by giving birth that is similar with men's duty of military service, women are in debt to give birth. These discourses are shaped by both conservative-neoliberal and nationalistic spirit of the AKP government with bio-political target.

2.2.4. Scientific Discourses of the AKP Government

Scientific knowledge is a *dispositif* (apparatus) to produce dominant and acceptable knowledge for controlling and regulating women's lives. The Minister of Family and Social Policies Fatma Sahin claimed regarding abortion and caesarean section referring World Health Organization(WHO), she stated that:

“It will be implemented what science and reason said.”³⁸

³⁷ <http://bianet.org/english/women/171784-davutoglu-women-giving-birth-actually-perform-civic-duty>

³⁸ “Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanı Fatma Şahin, kürtaj ve sezaryen konusunda akıl ve bilimin dediğinin uygulanacağını söyledi.” <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/bilimin-dedigi-olacak-20661347>

This corresponds to what Foucault said earlier about scientific statements are considered as a *dispositif* or an *apparatus* that brings power and knowledge together and constitutes subjects, organizes them. It has strongly proved that “modern individual as an object of political and scientific concern” (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, p.139). Scientific knowledge produces subjects and objects in order to regulate the population. Reason-oriented views are also instrument of the government to dominate women’s bodies as literature illustrated above. Additionally, sexuality with other discourses of the government are the instrument of bio-power to expand its power over body and life, and it became an object of scientific investigation, administrative control. That is why women’s reproduction rights are regulated by scientific discourses of the government.

In a different perspective, regarding reproduction rights of women, the Ministry of Family and Social Policies proposed a project on which is called “protect your birth,”³⁹ Sema Ramazanoglu stated that:

“There is no normal birth, birth itself is normal. Cesarean is a situation, which means intervention when this normal sequence can not go in normal circumstances.”⁴⁰

When I analyzed the speeches of the Minister of Family and Social Policies, the obvious emphasis on family and its unity comes up with the discourses of the minister. In this speech, women as a procreator, and its rights over whether normal or cesarean birth does not belong to women, it belongs to medical decision or scientific knowledge. Additionally, Ramazanoglu defines what normal is for accepted norms, cesarean birth seems to as an abnormal activity according to scientific knowledge. Reproduction rights of women are ignored by the policies

³⁹ “Doğumuna sahip çık.” <http://www.aile.gov.tr/haberler/normal-dogum-yoktur-dogumun-kendisi-normaldir>

⁴⁰ “Normal doğum yoktur, doğumun kendisi normaldir. Sezaryen bu normal gidişin normal şartlarda gidemediği zaman müdahale anlamına gelen bir durumdur.” <http://www.aile.gov.tr/haberler/normal-dogum-yoktur-dogumun-kendisi-normaldir>

of the government regarding demographic concerns, actually health concerns have been used by the government to hide fundamental policies of bio-power, such as population growth and healthy generation for future continuity. These discourses have illustrated that women's role is depicted by the government's discourses that are supported by scientific, medical and administrative knowledge in order to control and regulate every sphere of women's lives. The qualifications of normal women are determined by the government to define abnormal in order to marginalize and exclude women who have lived incompatible with the norms of the AKP government.

2.2.5. Moral Values in the Discourses

When I turned my eyes to the another sphere of intervention to being object of women by bio-power, I come across that even women's behavior in the public is discussed by ministers and influential people, one of them is the former Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınc at that times, he stated that:

“The woman will know what is haram and not haram. She will not laugh in public. She will not be inviting in her attitudes and will protect her chasteness.”⁴¹

The discourse defines how women should behave in public, and women need to be chaste, conservative. In this regard, the knowledge is constituted by using conservative democrat side of the AKP government to regulate women. Bio-power intervenes and controls every sphere of women's lives, even it is the behavior of women in the public. If we compare these discourses with Foucault's thought on normal and abnormal, these kind of discourses have constituted norms to create how normal women act in public, then abnormal women who laughed, chewed a gum, showing her pregnancy might be declared as an abnormal.

⁴¹ <http://indy100.independent.co.uk/article/politicians-actually-said-these-sexist-things-in-2014--xkNiTd-8Ye>

Another intervention to women's lifestyles or daily activities are declared by the former Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan in 2013 regarding living of girls and boys together in student apartments, he asserted that in his speech:

“University student young girl stays with boy student in the same home. This is unfavorable to our conservative democrat structure. We gave instruction, it will be done controlling.”⁴²

It is so obvious that surveillance methods have been used by the government officials to regulate lifestyles, especially controlling women's bodies because they can live opposite to the conservative family structure. Also, they may transgress the norms of society by living with man without marriage. According to Foucault, these discourses are not hidden things behind the words, but they can construct ways of living with emphasizing these conservative discourses. These words are not only related to girls and boys staying at the same house, but also regulation on women's sexualities regarding virginity, no sexual intercourse without marriage, and no courtship. Women are regulated by conservative ideology of the government by indicating that when women should marry, having at least three children, need to serve nation by giving birth, should conform to moral norms regarding their sexual practices. That is why, the discourses of the AKP government is not only related to what they say, but also discourses try to construct new moral world, which is conformed by the conservative principles of the government. In that vein, dialogues which I take into consideration is really compatible with what Foucault says on bio-power in general, human species will live or can live only internalizing these truth formations of the government, if not can face exclusion from the society. This system does not deal with welfare of human being, but bio-power's primary object

⁴² “Üniversite öğrencisi genç kız, erkek öğrenci aynı evde kalıyor. Muhafazakar demokrat yapımıza bu ters. Talimatını verdik, denetimi yapılacak.” <http://www.radikal.com.tr/politika/basbakan-erdogan-kiz-ve-erkek-ogrenci-ayni-evde-olmaz-denetleyecegiz-1158890/>

is the biological existence of the population, such as sexuality, body and reproduction in order to maintain its power in the sphere of 21st century modern forms of power.

In order to support arguments on discourses' constitutive elements over women's sexualities, I will utilize the former Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan's another speech on women's sexualities in Konya public meeting regarding Hopa protestors in 2011, one of them is a woman who is a protestor, Erdogan stated for her:

“I do not know if she was a girl or a woman.”⁴³

The former Prime Minister Erdogan has approached woman by insulting her with stating whether or not she was a virgin. He has tried to polarize, marginalize or exclude women with creating binary opposition. Thus, women's sexualities have become insulting object of the government with discourses.

2.2.6. Institutions (Non-discursive practices) of the AKP Government for Regulation

Following the discourses of the government, the family as an institution were certainly organized in the form of state dispositive (*apparatus*), this institution has an upper institution to control and regulate family relations with their truth formation, which is called the Ministry of Family and Social Policies established in 2011 in Turkey. The institution has a strategic target, which is “strengthening individual and family, raising awareness of society.”⁴⁴ This institution is already established by the AKP government to strengthen family relations and to aggrandize family by destroying women's freely existence under the framework of family. But name of this institution was the Ministry of Woman and Social Policies in 2005. Government

⁴³ “O kadın, kız mıdır kadın mıdır? Bilemem.” <http://t24.com.tr/haber/kiz-mi-kadin-mi-diyen-erdogana-buyuk-tepki,149108>

⁴⁴ “Birey ve aileyi güçlendirmek, toplumu bilinçlendirmek.” <http://www.sp.gov.tr/tr/stratejik-plan/s/377/Aile+ve+Sosyal+Politikalar+Bakanligi+2013-2017>

changed the name, and we can clearly say that they ignored women's existence. However, the discourses of this institution have crucial effects in formation of truth and knowledge regarding how women should be, the Minister of Family and Social Policy Sema Ramazanoglu gave a several speeches that has regulating effects over women in 2016, saying that:

“They are women who built, gave birth civilization and society,” and “politics is a significant instrument in raising the status of women,”⁴⁵ “it is not possible to build a new civilization without woman,”⁴⁶ “woman is life, mother, compassion, labor, worker, and procreator,”⁴⁷ woman is life, aunt, mother who gives heart, who works, woman who procreates, politician, academician, doctor, teacher.”⁴⁸

The attributed roles for women are generally related to “conservative women,” which is mother, caregiver, contributor to economy, creation of the future generation for society. This knowledge is discursively stated by minister to regulate women's lives, and trying to define how normal women look like or should be, which roles burdened to women in Turkey. Both discursive practices and non-discursive practices have been regulating women with these truth formations. Women have been seeing as a procreator, on the other hand, these knowledge formations by the conservative ideologies objectify women, and with its apparatuses subjugate women to the constituted identities by bio-power.

2.2.7. Concluding Remarks

To recapitulate, throughout the thesis, I discussed how discourses regulated women's bodies and constituted women's subjectivities by the instruments of power and knowledge

⁴⁵ “Toplumu ve medeniyeti doğuran, inşa eden kadınlardır,” ve “Siyaset, kadının statüsünün yükseltilmesinde önemli bir araçtır” <http://www.aile.gov.tr/haberler/toplumu-ve-medeniyeti-doguran-insa-eden-kadinlardir>

⁴⁶ “Kadın olmadan yeni bir medeniyet inşa etmek mümkün değildir.” <http://www.aile.gov.tr/haberler/kadin-olmadan-yeni-bir-medeniyet-insa-etmek-mumkun-degildir>

⁴⁷ “Kadın hayattır, annedir, şefkattir, emektir, çalışandır, üretendir.” <http://www.aile.gov.tr/haberler/kadin-hayattir-annedir-sefkattir-emektir-calisandir-uretendir>

⁴⁸ “Kadın öğretmendir, doktordur, akademisyendir, siyasetçidir, kadın evde üreten, çalışan gönünü veren annedir, teyzedir, kadın hayattır.” <http://www.aile.gov.tr/haberler/kadinin-nitelik-bakimindan-guclu-olmasi-aileyi-de-toplumu-da-daha-yukarilara-tasiyacak-yuceltecektir>

relations, which are constitutive interdependence each other in the sphere of forms of knowledge and apparatuses of power. Furthermore, clarification the apparatuses of power and discourse analysis demonstrated that how individuals are both subjected and objected by bio-power, and how their subjectivities are constituted by the apparatuses of the government. Throughout this chapter, these spheres were clarified and crystallized in my discourse analysis using Foucault in Turkey. A Foucauldian modern forms of power operates through discourses, institutions and practices, which I take into consideration to clarify how women are dominated and regulated through these apparatuses of power. My research investigated how women's bodies, sexualities, reproduction, and lives are regulated by bio-power through apparatuses, then I tried to reveal how every sphere of women's lives became object of the government and constituted according to what they ideally depicted as truth. Discourses analysis, which implemented to the AKP government, some officials, and ministers, illustrated that women are ideally depicted by their behavior, status, reproduction and their sexuality is regulated by what scientific knowledge considers appropriate. My main argument is that the regime of truth for women are constituted by discourse and power-knowledge as agents to regulate and control every sphere of women's lives. Clearly, we might say that identities for women are constituted by subjectification of women with apparatuses of the government.

Firstly, the AKP government program declared conservative structure and considering family first before women. In the first years of the AKP government, they already revealed that women are situated subordinated position after family institution through discursive and non-discursive practices. In a way that women's clothing styles and religious life are scrutinized in the first years of the AKP government. Women's headscarf issues polarized women with exclusionist discourses of the government. While political sphere situated women as an object, women's subjectivities are constituted by the norms and discourses. After these debates was continuing, women's reproduction capabilities became an object of the government. They

constituted women as a procreator, mother, caregiver, and ideally conservative. Women's right to decide whether or not abortion and cesarean, even contraception usage is regulated and controlled by the government's discourses in Turkey. Women are declared as a murderer or traitor due to their contraception usage. Furthermore, women's reproduction abilities are seen by the government as a serving to the nation for population growth. Thus, women's sexualities, sexual pleasures are ignored, besides women's procreation is emblazoned by the government and hides sexual rights by the discourses of the government. Furthermore, women's right over their bodies are destroyed by reason oriented and men's constituted identities, this is what modern forms of power came to the scene that reason subordinated body, and the reason oriented arbitrary regulation tools are the proof what we have been living in Turkey.

These are the key discourses what the AKP government implements over women's lives that regulated and subjugated women's bodies, sexualities, and reproduction. Furthermore, bio-power constituted identities according to the conservative and neoliberal policies of the government. This ideal depiction organizes as a conservative, mother serving to the nation with nationalistic emotions, having at least three children, no sexual pleasure needed, no sexual intercourse before marriage, the ideal age of marriage. To sum up, this is what the AKP government ideally constituted women with discursive and non-discursive practices.

Conclusion

Political power in the contemporary world has become bio-power, and it has gradually become the biggest concern of our societies to crystallize what is going on power and knowledge relations in the 21st century era. The post-structural analysis of the power relations challenge to the conventional theories on power that is not sufficient explanatory power for current situations in Turkey, especially regarding power over body, life, and sexuality. The analysis of power by Michel Foucault challenged to these power theories by supporting his analysis with untouched sphere before. Hence, I took into consideration Michel Foucault's post-structural analysis of power to disclose power over life and woman in Turkey. I came across after the analysis that Foucault's approach is most proper to clarify regulations, controlling mechanisms, the tactics of the technology of power, and thus women's bodies, sexualities, and reproduction became an object for bio-power to regulate and subjugate every sphere of women's lives in Turkey.

First of all, I explained what bio-power is for Foucault in this thesis and how we can combine Foucault's thought with Turkey. By this way, I disclosed the distinctions between sovereign power and bio-power to explain power in the contemporary world and measurement for compatibility with what the AKP government implemented over women in Turkey. Bio-power means for Foucault as a simple definition that politics that deal with human life and the biological existence, this is the new forms of power have main priority to control biological life instead conceiving of it in a death. Foucault conceives the new technology of power as productive comparing with negative form of power, which rule society with pressure and coercion. We no longer feel oppression in this productive form of power, but rather we feel regulations and subjugation via norms, institutions, discursive, and non-discursive practices that are power and knowledge relations with its apparatuses. In this thesis, I try to reflect how power and knowledge as an agent produced *dispositif* (apparatus) to regulate individuals and

the population for Foucault, the analysis of the discourses of the AKP government and combination with Foucault's analysis of power disclosed how the objectification and subjectification occurs at the same time for woman's question in Turkey. Additionally, I utilized the genealogical investigation of Foucault to clarify historically constituted subjectivities by the AKP government. Genealogy as an inquiry is utilized by analyzing discourses and other apparatuses of the government, these tools belong to bio-power who uses them in order to regulate the population and subjugate women in Turkey. After analysis of the discourses and other apparatuses, I found effects of these apparatuses to subjugate women depending on what dominant discursive and non-discursive practices depicted as a normal or abnormal.

Furthermore, the conservative and neoliberal policies of the AKP government are the tools to shape the individual and to regulate women by using these policies as apparatuses of bio-power. This conservative structure of the government is a way to constitute woman according to what they depict as an ideal woman. When these policies continue to produce norms and normality for woman, and thus we can clearly say that women's day to day existence are at stake and women could be excluded, and also defined as an abnormal or marginal. Then, I tried to explain how women and related to women's lives became the object and subject of power and knowledge relations. Women's clothing styles, sexualities, and reproduction became an object to control women's lives after the AKP government coming to power. Thus, women's lives became an object of bio-power to subjugate women according to norms of the government. Then, I implemented discourse analysis using Foucault to disclose how the government used discourses, statements, speeches or non-discursive practices to construct and to regulate women's bodies, sexualities and reproduction in Turkey. In my analysis, the discourses of the AKP government resembled with what Foucault said on bio-power and discourse has a constitutive power over women. By using scientific knowledge, government officials defined

what is true or false for women, hence they subjugated women with these apparatuses of the government.

The main focus of bio-power is life in order to foster and multiply human species rather than sovereign power's right to take life and death. In this regard, women's reproductive abilities are used in order to foster fertility, population growth, creating labor force for future, constructing family institution for good economy, synchronized with constitution of the conservative ideal woman by the AKP government. The discourses of the government illustrated that the AKP government as bio-power produced women for future concern of the government, also regulated and subjugated them with the discourses of the government supports with apparatuses of the political power. The AKP government used family as an institution to ignore women as an autonomous body, they have a mentality that women are the constructor of good family in order to give birth for next generations. On the other hand, the headscarf issue came up with moral and religious rationality for constitution of the ideal women in Turkey. Then, women's rights and decisions over their bodies depended on what the government said about it, abortion ban came to the agenda, contraception was declared as a treason, cesarean section decisions depended what medical knowledge considered appropriate. Also, the conservative discourses constituted norms for women regarding courtship, staying boys with girls were seen inappropriate in the same house, woman should marry with her virginity norms have been felt in the discourses of power. In that vein, de facto sanctions are established by the discourses of the AKP government. In addition, surveillance over unmarried pregnant woman is implemented by the government through sending message to woman's family. In case of pregnancy, this is the evidence that the AKP government regulated women's sexualities by which moral and conservative values. These bio-power's norms created normal women for the AKP government, then abnormal being called as feminist, marginal, pathological and not mother with the discourses of the government. Women's sexualities and unproductive relations

are ignored, the main concern of discourses are demonstrated as reproduction health, health of next generation. In that vein, sexual health ⁴⁹ did not even come to the agenda of the government, women's sexualities were always mentioned sexual harassment and violence.

These discourses revealed that the main focus of bio-power is the reproduction health, fertility, family, population for good economy and political concerns. Women's biological existence became an object of bio-power in Turkey, and thus women's bodies, sexualities, reproduction and every sphere of lives are controlled by knowledge that led to interventions of bio-power to women in Turkey. These discourses inclined that women are normalized and constituted by scientifically and religiously internalized knowledge, due to life-centered policies of power in Turkey. In this life-centered and bio-political sphere, women's sexual freedom, bodies, and reproduction rights are at stake in Turkey.

When I analyzed discourses of the government, I came across relevant discourses about women that are the emblazonment of family institutions and conservative democrat values of the AKP government. Women's existence and rights are ignored under the family institution because it came before women according to government's policies. Family institution is constructed by the government to regulate society and the population according to conservative values, which can be every woman should marry at ideal age in order to built family, should give birth for strong families, marriage with their virginity. The discourses have not to be utterances of the government, it can be "what it is not said," ⁵⁰ or that are the outcome of non-

⁴⁹ Actually, it contradicts with what Foucault said on health of population, he has seen health as way of regulation tool to foster healthy population. The political and economic problem of population was sex, which concerns with frequency of sexual relations, fertile or sterile relations, state of health in the eighteenth century (Foucault 1978, p. 25). But my point of view will be regarding sexual health, which even is not in the agenda of the AKP government due to seeing as narrowing down approach to sexuality as reproduction and disregard of women's sexualities in Turkey. They do not even use discourse of health regarding woman's sexuality due to these anxieties.

⁵⁰ This is also dispositive for Foucault. As I cited above "the said as much as the unsaid" (Foucault 1980, p.194).

discursive practices, which are institutions, economic concerns, and scientific statements, that is why we can reach an opinion regarding other constitution effects for women in Turkey.

Another discourse of the government is regarding the headscarf issue and becoming object of woman, the paradox is both government gives freedom to woman who wears headscarf in public, but they consume women's freedom through discourses regarding what they wear, woman who wears headscarf how they should act in public, religious discourses over woman who is faithful or woman needs to demonstrate her faith through headscarf-wearing in public. All are uttered by the discourses of the AKP government period. This scenario seems to me freedom paradox of the neoliberal system, it can also cause to exclusion of women who do not wear headscarf and not live according to religious and conservative values. It can even cause marginalization some segments of women, this is actually what the former Prime Minister Erdogan stated in his speech regarding these are feminists, not accepted motherhood, these women have this kind of logic are the marginalization and exclusion instruments of the AKP government through discourses. On the other hand, discourses illustrated that women's sexualities and reproduction became an object of the government to control women and to regulate the population. All discourses almost related to woman's reproduction abilities, which are used for population growth, creation for next generations, and economic concerns of the nation. What I argued throughout the thesis that the former Prime Minister Erdogan and other ministers stated regarding abortion, cesarean and contraception is not related to woman's health, but related to statistical and numerical calculation of the technology of power. Discourses of the government on abortion, cesarean and contraception is declared respectively as murderer, money concern and treason for awakening conservative and nationalist values, faith and conscientious in consciousness of people. In this way, women can avoid from these practices due to constituted values of the government through discourses. What is more, these discourses can spread fear over women in case of pregnancy without

marriage and abortion for unintended pregnancy by the moral and religious values of the government.

I argue that with contributions of Foucault's concepts and objectification of these spheres assert subjectivities for women, subjectification realizes with dominant discourses of the government in Turkey. Discourse analysis demonstrated that every sphere of woman's life is an object of the government's institutions as well. For instance: The Family and Social Policies minister Sema Ramazanoglu emblazoned family institution and asserted subjectivities for woman as bearers of a mission, which are mother, procreator, prerequisite for civilization and appropriate job titles for woman. These discourses are the way of producing identities for regulations over women. Thus, women are constituted as an ideal conservative woman, caregiver, builder of the civilization and the nation by these discourses, in this way regulations and controls are realized with these produced identities by bio-power through objectification, but also subjectification these identities, which mean causing dependency of women to power. The discourse of the government on being girl or woman, once again came up with dichotomy between women, whether or not she is a virgin. The discourse of the government is used for insulting woman due to her not to be virgin. This understanding is also related to conservative building block of the government.

As a result, throughout the thesis, I investigated and tried to clarify how Foucault's bio-power has an explanatory power for women's question in Turkey, and also how bio-power's apparatuses, which are discursive and non-discursive practices, regulated and controlled women by making them object and subject of power and knowledge relations. As a result, through overall discourse analysis using Foucault and his power analysis, I have found that women's bodies, sexualities, and reproduction is regulated and controlled by power and knowledge relations and by using dispositive, which are health discourses, reproduction health

as medical discourse, family as an institution, religious and conservative discourse, in order to realize major aims of bio-power in Turkey. Respectively, religious and conservative discourses, scientific and medical discourses produced knowledge to control women, then power used this knowledge in order to intervene every sphere of women's lives in Turkey. Women are compelled to internalize these truth practices, which are supported by scientific knowledge, women need to internalize a regime of truth for surviving and gaining subjectivities for their existence. In the bio-political age, women are in trapped by these regulations over body, sexuality, and reproduction. Together with these bio-political regulations, women could not realize themselves or declare their uniqueness or singular being under the framework of unities or constituted identities over women. Sexual freedom, free choices over their reproduction, freedom over whether or not they will marry are regulated and controlled through bio-political objectification and subjugation of women depending on what dominant discourse constituted as regime of truth through power and knowledge relations.

In a general framework, this study gives an opportunity to read the AKP government period in a different perspective. The interpretations of the AKP government period as an "Islamized" could be replaced by what these study findings came to the agenda. This study asserts that the AKP government transforms its agenda over the years through using variable tactics with the supports of medicalized knowledge, conservative institutions, religious knowledge and institutions, scientific and moral-political rationality to intervene and control micro-relations in human life. That is why we have no one specific explanation in the AKP government period regarding what is going on in Turkey, and thus we have in mind that being everywhere of power facilitates intervention over every sphere of human life in Turkey. The AKP government is the best example of neoliberal governmentality in Turkey.

This study indicates that further research is needed to find more supportive and factual evidences in tracing the genealogy of bio-power in Turkey. This means that researchers should focus on the continuities between the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic with regard to the use of bio-power in Turkey. Apart of the study of an historical account of the use of bio-power in Turkey, one should also concentrate on the third element of the Foucauldian trilogy of archaeology, genealogy and ethics, an element which I could not elaborate further in this dissertation. I strongly assume that ethics can teach us resistance techniques against bio-power. This stage deals with the technologies of the self, while first two stages deal with the technologies of power and domination through which “the self has been objectified by means of scientific inquiry” (Foucault 1988, p.3). On the contrary, the technologies of the self deal with “genealogy of how the self constitutes itself as subject.”⁵¹ My further research agenda suggests that every human being who is excluded from society and declared as an Other can be analyzed with Foucault’s concepts, especially in terms of how women or homosexuals have been subjugated by power, and how this subjugation can be overcome by conception of care of the self. Even if the care of the self comes before the care of the other for Foucault, it may lead us to respect the other when we know ourselves better.

⁵¹ Martin, Luther H., Gutman, Huck & Hutton, Patrick H. (eds.) 1988, *Technologies of The Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, The University of Massachusetts Press, Tavistock Publications.
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