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BALLOTS FOR SECURITY: WOMEN'S ELECTORAL RIGHTS AS AN IDENTITY SHIELD

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BALLOTS FOR SECURITY: WOMEN'S ELECTORAL
RIGHTS AS AN IDENTITY SHIELD AGAINST MATERIAL
THREATS

A Master's Thesis

by
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Ankara
August 2024



To my parents

BALLOTS FOR SECURITY: WOMEN'S ELECTORAL RIGHTS AS AN IDENTITY
SHIELD AGAINST MATERIAL THREATS

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

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ANKARA

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by Ezgi Ergün

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

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ABSTRACT

BALLOTS FOR SECURITY: WOMEN’S ELECTORAL RIGHTS AS AN IDENTITY SHIELD AGAINST MATERIAL THREATS

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Having achieved a certain level of border security with the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, Türkiye implemented a series of reforms in the early stages of its identity-building process to be included among modern Western states. However, during these reforms, no progress was made regarding women’s rights to vote and be elected. In the discussions held in the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye in 1924, female citizens were deprived of these rights. In 1934, however, women were enthusiastically granted the right to vote and be elected, and decision-makers expressed their wish for the same rights to be extended to women in all modern states as soon as possible. The literature has discussed that the decision to grant women the right to vote and be elected was influenced by the non-material threat perception of Turkish political elites. However, the impact of the material threat perception of these elites has not been analyzed before. In this thesis, the impact of material threat perception on decision-making processes leading to the granting of women’s suffrage was examined using process tracing and

content analysis methods. Parliamentary minutes, Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches, and two of the most circulated newspapers of the period (Cumhuriyet and Milliyet) were analyzed using content analysis. The research has revealed that since its foundation, Türkiye's decision-making elites aimed to establish the state's identity as a Western and civilized state. This goal became particularly significant in the late 1920s due to the material threat perceived from Fascist Italy. The symbolic value of women's rights gained importance as a means to include Türkiye among Western democratic states' in-group. For the decision-making elites, who had previously expressed women's suffrage as a future goal to be achieved when the time was right, December 1934 marked the right moment. This timing was influenced by the increasing uncertainty in the international system, the escalation of armament in other states, and the heightened perception of material threats to Türkiye's border security. Therefore, in this thesis, I argue that Turkish governmental elites decided to grant women's electoral rights because of its symbolic importance in showcasing Türkiye's new identity as a response to the material threats they perceived.

Keywords: identity-building, security, threat perception, women's electoral rights

ÖZET

GÜVENLİK İÇİN OYLAR: MADDİ TEHDİTLERE KARŞI KİMLİK KALKANI OLARAK KADINLARIN SEÇME VE SEÇİLME HAKLARI

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Lozan Antlaşması'nın imzalanmasıyla belirli bir sınır güvenliği düzeyine ulaşan Türkiye, kimlik inşa sürecinin erken dönemlerinde modern Batılı devletler arasında yer almak için bir dizi reform gerçekleştirdi. Ancak bu reformlar sırasında kadınların seçme ve seçilme hakları konusunda bir ilerleme kaydedilemedi. 1924 yılında Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nde yapılan tartışmalarda kadın vatandaşlar bu haklardan mahrum bırakıldı. Ancak 1934 yılında kadınlara seçme ve seçilme hakkı coşkuyla tanındı ve karar vericiler aynı hakların en kısa sürede tüm modern devletlerde kadınlara da tanınması yönündeki isteklerini dile getirdiler. Literatürde kadınlara seçme ve seçilme hakkı verilmesi kararının Türk siyasi elitlerinin maddi olmayan tehdit algısından etkilendiği tartışılmıştır. Ancak bu elitlerin maddi tehdit algısının etkisi daha önce analiz edilmemiştir. Bu tezde, maddi tehdit algısının kadınlara oy hakkı verilmesine yol açan karar alma süreçleri üzerindeki etkisi süreç izleme ve içerik analizi yöntemleri kullanılarak incelenmiştir. Meclis tutanakları, Atatürk'ün Meclis açılış konuşmaları ve

dönemin en çok tirajı olan iki gazetesi (Cumhuriyet ve Milliyet) içerik analiziyle incelenmiştir. Araştırma sonucunda, Türkiye'nin karar alıcı elitlerinin, kuruluşundan itibaren devletin Batılı ve medeni bir devlet olarak kimliğini tesis etmeyi amaçladıkları ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu amaç, özellikle 1920'lerin sonlarında Faşist İtalya'dan algılanan maddi tehdit nedeniyle önem kazanmıştır. Kadın haklarının sembolik değeri, Türkiye'yi Batılı demokratik devletlerin iç grubu arasına dahil etme aracı olarak önem kazanmıştır. Daha önce kadınların oy hakkının doğru zamanda gerçekleştirilecek bir gelecek hedefi olduğunu dile getiren karar alıcı elitler için Aralık 1934 doğru anı işaret etmiştir. Bu zamanlama, uluslararası sistemdeki artan belirsizlik, diğer devletlerdeki silahlanmanın tırmanması ve Türkiye'nin sınır güvenliğine yönelik maddi tehdit algısının artmasından etkilenmiştir. Bu nedenle, bu tezde, Türk hükümet elitlerinin, algıladıkları maddi tehditlere bir yanıt olarak Türkiye'nin yeni kimliğini sergilemesindeki sembolik önemi nedeniyle kadınlara seçme ve seçilme hakkı verme kararını aldıklarını öne sürüyorum.

Anahtar Kelimeler: güvenlik, kadınların seçme-seçilme hakları, kimlik inşası, tehdit algısı

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Research Problem

Until 1950, the newly founded Turkish Republic was ruled through a single-party regime. The Republican People's Party (RPP – *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*) is the first official political party of the Turkish Republic and was the only political party up to 1946. Yet, before the RPP was founded, another attempt was made to establish another political party in Türkiye's history. Several women citizens of Türkiye came together under the leadership of Nezihe Muhiddin and applied to establish the Women's People's Party (Kadınlar Halk Fırkası) in June 1923 (Zihnioğlu, 2003). However, during this time, women did not have any political electoral rights in Türkiye, and the male elite of the government cited this as a reason and objected to women's attempt to create a political party (Libal, 2008). Around the same time, the male elite of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey was also preparing to establish the Republican People's Party. The male elite, who were later referred to as the founding fathers of the country, saw the attempt to establish the Women's People's Party as dualism in state administration (Toprak, 1988). Therefore, the founding fathers did not allow women to establish the Women's People's Party as a political party.

Caporal (1982) mentions that there were serious discussions about women's electoral rights in the parliament in 1923. To illustrate, one of the deputies – Tunalı Hilmi Bey – tried to convince the Assembly to recognize the political rights of women citizens because they had earned these rights by playing a significant role during the Turkish War of National Independence; however, other parliamentarians protested him by hitting the tables (Caporal, 1982). Women could not gain the same political-electoral rights as men regardless of their efforts in the National Liberation War (Sancar, 2014). However, as Ünal (2014) mentions, even though Turkish women did not officially have the right to join the elections, some citizens from several municipalities took the initiative and voted for Latife, Mevhibe (İnönü), Galibe (Okyar), Müfide Ferit (Tek) and Kara Fatma (Fatma Seher Erden) as parliamentarians by adding their names on the ballot papers (Ünal, 2014). Even though these women could not enter the parliament, this situation shows us different views within society regarding women's electoral rights.

As a result of the harsh opposition from elite men, women would not gain their political-electoral rights during the 1920s. Atatürk said that the time and circumstances were not suitable for women to earn their political-electoral rights back then (Caporal, 1982).

Some scholars see this situation as the government's attempt to silence the women (Bodur Ün, 2018; Toprak, 1988; Yaralı Akkaya, 2019; Zihnioğlu, 2003). After the government's decision to not give permission to women to establish the Women's People's Party, women who tried to form the Women's People's Party established the Turkish Women's Union and continued searching for women's rights under this organization.

Yet, a decade after the founding of the new Turkish Republic, the political elite changed their position regarding the electoral rights of women. The process of women gaining their electoral rights was completed in three stages. In the first stage, they earned their right to participate in municipal elections in 1930. Secondly, in 1933, women were able to run for the village chiefs and council of elders elections. In the final stage of the process, women gained the right to participate in general elections and become parliamentarians in 1934. Before the tenth-year celebrations of the Turkish Republic, the primary decision-maker and the first president of the Republic – Atatürk – gave a speech about women’s electoral rights:

“Republican regime means democratic government system and form. We established the republic, and the republic has reached its tenth year; when the time comes, we must try to fulfill all the demands of democracy. One of them is to recognize the rights of women ” (as cited in Caporal, 1982)

Until 1946, general elections were held in two stages in Türkiye. Between 1923 and 1934, a second voter was elected for every two hundred voters, and these second voters elected the deputies. Also, the voting age was eighteen until 1934 (Demirel, 2018). As can be seen, the people could not directly elect their deputies. When women gained their political-electoral rights in 1934 with the change in the electoral law, the ratio between first and second voters and voting age also changed (Demirel, 2018). One second voter was elected for every four hundred voters, and the voting age became 22, whereas the age to be selected as a member of parliament is set at thirty for every citizen, both male and female (Sezer, 1998). When women gained their electoral rights, the right to vote and be elected became more restrictive.

The right for women to vote in parliamentary elections and to be elected as members of parliament was granted on 5 December 1934. The first general elections in which women were allowed to participate occurred on 8 February 1935, and 200 women applied for candidacy to become members of parliament (Demirel, 2018). Yet, only seventeen women¹ were elected as parliamentarians in the 8 February 1935 elections (Sezer, 1998).

Nearly two months after the first female parliamentarians were elected, Istanbul hosted XII. International Alliance of Women (IAW) Conference in April 1935. Forty countries were represented at this Conference. Atatürk sent a telegraph to the Conference expressing his wish for all other countries to grant their women citizens the political rights the Turkish government granted to Turkish women (Caporal, 1982).

A conference organized by a respected international organization like the IAW was particularly important for Türkiye to present itself as a Westernized and civilized country in the international arena and gain recognition with its new identity. This significance stems from the IAW being the pioneer international organization regarding women's suffrage rights. The Alliance was established at a meeting in Washington in 1902 by American suffragists with participation from eleven countries. In fact, the legal name of the IAW was the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship between the years 1926 and 1946 ("What Is IAW," n.d.).

¹ First women parliamentarians in Türkiye: Bahire Bediş Morova Aydılek, Benal Nevzad İstar Arıman, Esma Nayman, Fakihe Öymen, Fatma Memik, Ferruh Güpgüp, Hatı Çırpan (Satı Kadın), Huriye Öñiz Baha, Mebrure Gönenç, Meliha Ulaş, Mikri Bektaş, Nakiye Elgün, Sabiha Gökçül Erbay, Sabiha Görkey, Seniha Hızal, Şekibe İñsel, Türkan Örs Baştuğ

Before the IAW began recognizing Turkish women's electoral rights, Margery Corbett Ashby visited Türkiye and met with representatives of the Turkish Women's Society, who proposed holding the 1935 Congress in Istanbul. During her visit, Ashby also met with the mayor of Istanbul and remarked, "What a pity that women will come from all over the world to modern Turkey and find Turkish women still without the vote"(Schreiber & Mathieson, 1955, p. 44). Ashby's comment about women's political and electoral rights in Türkiye was conveyed to Atatürk (Schreiber & Mathieson, 1955). Only a few months after Ashby's comment reached Atatürk, the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye passed the law recognizing women's right to vote and be elected. Ashby was a representative from a highly respected international organization, and her comment carried significant weight as she came from a Western, civilized state that Türkiye aspired to join in terms of modernization and international recognition.

The puzzling issue in this research problem is why the republican elites changed their position on Turkish women's participation and representation in the political space. Within a decade, their opinion changed from not granting women political-electoral rights to giving them their rights by wishing the same for women worldwide. Therefore, we are asking the question, "Why did the early-Turkish Republic government elite decide to recognize women's political rights by granting them electoral rights?" in this thesis to analyze the context within which the decision was taken.

The contextual factors in the process leading to this change have been addressed in the existing scholarships from different aspects like feminist studies, critical security studies, and also from a historical aspect. Even though all these literatures provide important insights, they do not interact with each other. For instance, when feminist

scholars investigated the contextual factors that influenced the decision-making process, they only considered domestic factors. However, as Gourevitch (1978) argues with his second image reversed thesis, international politics can influence domestic politics. The domestic politics can occur as an outcome of an international situation. According to this analytical approach, while analyzing a domestic decision, we also need to look into the international politics that affected the contextual situation within which the case under consideration occurred.

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.1 Feminist Theory and Gender Studies

There are two views in the literature regarding women's struggle for their electoral and political rights. There are scholars who recognize the effort of women (i.e., Arat, 1997; Bodur Ün, 2018; Libal, 2008; Tekeli, 1981; Toprak, 1988; Yaralı Akkaya, 2019; Zihnioğlu, 2003) and scholars who do not recognize women's activism but argue that the electoral rights were granted to women by the founding elites of the Republic (i.e., Caporal, 1982; Doğramacı, 1989; Kandiyoti, 1987; Tekeli, 1987; White, 2003). For example, White (2003) states that there was no demand from society when the government elites decided to grant women their suffrage rights. These scholars argue that the women's movement in Türkiye started in the 1980s.

In addition to these two groups of scholars, there is a third group that did not mention whether there was a women's movement or not but investigated how and why the government decided to recognize women's rights and what this recognition meant for the government from a domestic context (i.e., Abadan-Unat, 2008; Durakbaşı, 1988; Ertürk, 2006; Kandiyoti, 1991; Müftüler-Bac, 1999; Sancar, 2014; Sirman, 1989).

The existing literature that has investigated the decision to grant women their electoral rights adopted an identity perspective from domestic context. On the one hand, some scholars argue that the government decided to do so because they wanted to break from the Ottoman past of the country (Bayar, 2011; Bodur Ün, 2018; Caporal, 1982; Durakbaşı, 1997; Kandiyoti, 1991; Sancar, 2014; Sirman, 1989; Tekeli, 1987).

Kandiyoti (1991) states that the government of the early Republican era tried to create a new and modern image for women citizens to symbolize the new state's separation from the past. She describes the Kemalist government's reforms related to women's rights as "the evacuation of Islam from legislative and broader institutional sphere" (Kandiyoti, 1991). With reference to this new and modern image of women, as Sancar (2014) states, men defined the boundaries of this new women's identity. The new image of women in the early Turkish Republic was that of professional women who did not abandon their 'household duties.' Regarding professionalism, teaching has become a prominent profession (Sirman, 1989). Atatürk highly promoted this new image for women (Kandiyoti, 1991). Therefore, the new government opened the public area for women without demolishing women's 'duties' in the private area to symbolize the new country's difference from the Ottoman Empire.

On the other hand, several other scholars argue that the decision occurred due to the founding elites' desire to Westernize the country (Abadan-Unat, 2008; Arat, 1997; Bodur Ün, 2018; Durakbaşı, 1988; Ertürk, 2006; Eslen-Ziya & Korkut, 2010; Libal, 2008; Müftüler-Bac, 1999; Sezer, 1998; Tekeli, 1981; White, 2003; Yarı Akkaya, 2019).² The

² During the early Republican era, Westernization was seen as a synonym for modernization (Tekeli, 2002 as cited in Yarı Akkaya, 2019).

ultimate goal of the founding elites' was to be recognized and accepted by members of the European state system which were mainly Britain and France (Berkes, 1964; Lewis, 1968; Müftüler-Bac, 1999). To achieve this ultimate purpose, they took women's rights as an essential part of the country's overall modernization (Abadan-Unat, 2008; Ertürk, 2006) because "women's identity carries the symbols of collective identity" (Ertürk, 2006). Arat (1997) defines women as "essential pawns" of the government's modernization program. The Kemalist government presented women gaining the same political-electoral rights as men as the equality of two sexes as citizens of the state by having equivalent national responsibilities (Durakbaşı, 1988). With the help of the new societal roles women have gained, the government wanted to show that society had left its old traditions behind (Yaralı Akkaya, 2019). The founding elites used the "woman question" as part of the populist project to transform the country (Arat, 1997).

The social-transformative role of this public space (Denison, 2009) of women's rights was used by the Turkish government to be included in the Western states' civilized in-group. "For Atatürk and his supporters, granting equality to men and women ... symbolised Turkish determination to reach a level of contemporary civilization" (Abadan-Unat, 1992). An important indicator to display the symbolic value of granting women electoral rights was the dissolution of the Turkish Women's Union only three months after the decision. Latife Bekir declared the dissolution with the following statement: "Turkish Women's Union has achieved its ideals. Turkish women have been granted all their rights. From now on, there is no need for the Turkish Women's Union" (Demirel, 2023). As can be seen through this quote, women's electoral rights were seen

as the last step of gender equality in Türkiye, and having equal electoral rights meant that women were granted all rights by TWU's leadership.

In addition, as one of the most critical and cited arguments about this issue, Tekeli (1981) states how the international community saw Atatürk and the single-party government of Türkiye as similar to the emerging dictators in Europe (Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy) (Tekeli, 1981). The leader of the National Fascist Party in Italy, Benito Mussolini, argued that working in the public sphere caused women to lose their feminine qualities. The ideology of fascist regimes regarding women's status in society was based on dismissing women from work and confining women to the institution of family (Tekeli, 1984). To illustrate, the National Socialist German Workers' Party adopted the "Kinder-Küche-Kirche"³ policy, where women were not allowed in the public sphere (Abadan-Unat, 2008). Therefore, considering this characteristic of fascist regimes, Atatürk tried to distinguish his government from these dictatorships by illustrating a democratic, modern, and Westernized Türkiye due to the non-material threat they were perceiving. During an era when fascist dictatorships were gaining momentum in Europe, the granting of voting rights to women in Türkiye could have served as a symbolic affirmation of democracy, modernity, and secularism. Women's presence in the public sphere would have symbolized this new Türkiye (Tekeli, 1981).

Nevertheless, all these academic works agree on the symbolic value of the government's decision. Granting women their electoral rights was significant at a symbolic level,

³ English translation: "children, kitchen, church"

illustrating the newly adopted identity of the Turkish Republic. The early republican government's decision to allow women to enter the political arena by granting them the right to vote and be elected was used as ideological leverage (Abadan-Unat, 1992) to establish Türkiye as a Western civilized state.

1.2.2 Türkiye's Identity and Its Security

When the Turkish Republic was established in 1923, the political leaders were ex-soldiers who fought in multiple wars like the Balkan War, World War I, and the Independence War. These new decision-makers, retired soldiers who had to live in a state of war for years, were influenced by the developments in the last years of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, according to these decision-makers, military security would be in jeopardy if the “devalorization” of Türkiye was not effectively addressed (Bilgic, 2016). In order to gain recognition from the European states and make Türkiye a part of the Western states' in-group, some measures were taken. Scholars like Kahraman (2005) define the period where the Turkish Republic was newly founded as “characterized by the idea of modernization as Westernization” (p. 74). The policy of this newly founded country aimed to locate Türkiye within the West as a Western-civilized state (Bilgic, 2016).

The idea of Westernization was taken as a two-tailed situation. The first one was “West as ideology,”; and the second was “West as technology.” This thought belonged to Ziya Gökalp, who was one of the pioneers of the Pan-Turkism ideology (Kahraman, 2005; White, 2003). He synthesized Turkish moral and cultural values with particular Western values (like the West's civilization and its technology). Ziya Gökalp was also one of the names who had a significant influence on the formation of Kemalist thought. Gökalp

influenced Atatürk and Kemalist thought, and Kemalism took Western civilization as the “ideal civilization” (Kahraman, 2005, p. 75).

As mentioned under the previous sub-title, feminist scholars see the Turkish government’s decision to grant women their suffrage rights as a move to break with the Ottoman past and to Westernize the country. Giving women their suffrage rights was a reform within other reforms. After the republic was established, the government aimed to depart from the Ottoman past, which they associated with “ignorance, corruption, backwardness and dogma” (Aydin, 2003). Therefore, the governmental elite made a series of reforms like secularism, hat revolution, alphabet revolution, harmonization of date and measurement units with Europe, and change of weekly holiday to Sunday.

Bilgin (2008b, 2009) argues that these reforms were made because the governing elite of the newly established Turkish Republic faced non-specific and non-material security problems. She mentions that the Lausanne Treaty put an end to the material security issues of Türkiye by recognizing its sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. However, the governing elites were not thoroughly convinced of the stability of this recognition (Bilgin, 2009, p. 113). Therefore, the Republic struggled for recognition and used modernization for its security (Bilgin, 2008b; Bilgin & İnce, 2015). In his speech to foreign press in 1923, Atatürk said that “the Turks are friends of the civilized nations” (Bilgic, 2016).

Bilgin (2008c) uses Türkiye’s secularization process to provide an example of ‘mimicry’ in her article. Mimicry defined as “the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation, and discipline which ‘appropriates’ the Other as it visualizes

power” by Bhabha (1984 p. 126). Even though Bhabha (1984) used the concept of mimicry to explain colonial relations, mimicry is not only encountered in colonial relations. States can ‘mimic’ others when their security is endangered. Therefore, Bilgin (2008b) argues that Türkiye searched for security through Western institutions, patterns, and tools with secularization. These reforms symbolized how similar the newly established Turkish Republic was to the Western countries: “the Turks were no longer different but similar to ‘them’; the Turk also ‘has the right to live and be happy’” (Bilgin, 2008b, p. 602). As Bilgin & İnce (2014) argue, instead of outright rejecting the discourse of “standards of civilization”, Republican leaders aimed to position Türkiye within this framework of “civilization”. This civilization was built by the clothing styles of European people, the alphabet they used, their lifestyles (the metric measurements they used, holidays, etc.), the way they lived and demonstrated their religious beliefs, and the co-existence of men and women in social life.

However, one of the most critical challenges faced was the visible religion of the Turkish people. Turks were considered as the “other” for European identity-building since the 1400s, particularly for their Islamic religion. Christianity was one of the most important elements of the European identity, and Turks and other Islamic communities were considered “others” (Yapp, 1992). For example, one of the issues that could not reach a conclusion with the Lausanne Treaty, the belongingness of Mosul territory, was taken to the League of Nations consideration by Britain. Britain strongly claimed that Türkiye was cruel to the Christian community in Mosul while taking the issue to the League of Nations. Then, in 1925, when the League decided to give Mosul territory to

Iraq (which was a British mandate during the time). İsmet İnönü⁴ said in his parliamentary speech that it is common for diplomats to spread false information about Christian persecution in Türkiye to justify bad political decisions about Türkiye (Bilgin, 2016).

To avoid this perception and to be considered as “European”, the founding elites of the Turkish Republic made some reforms to transform society, and break from the Ottoman past of the country (Karaosmanoglu, 1983). These reforms were made as responses to the threat perception of the Turkish governmental elite. We need to understand the non-material security concerns of the early Turkish Republic to be able to explain these decisions more precisely.

Therefore, according to Bilgin (2008a), the early Republican era, government elites adopted secularism not just as “a way of life” but also as a security referent. They prioritized the security of the newly founded Turkish Republic and took precautions for its security. Secularism and reforms associated with secularism were adopted as precautions (Bilgin, 2008a).

1.2.3 Türkiye’s Material Threat Perception during the Interwar Years

Even though Bilgin (2009) argues that the Lausanne Treaty settled all material security concerns of the newly established Turkish Republic, when we dig into the other part of the literature which covers Türkiye’s historical security concerns, we see that the Turkish government continued to feel materially threatened by other states due to its unsolved issues remaining after the Lausanne Treaty, especially those related to its

⁴ The Prime Minister of Türkiye during the time.

territorial security. In addition to these unsolved issues, there were also material threats from Italy and Germany, Türkiye was perceiving (Barlas, 2004, 2005; Barlas & Gulmez, 2018; Degli-Esposti, 2015; Grassi, 2006 as cited in Dogar, 2022; Guclu, 2000). Still, it must be mentioned that this area is relatively under-studied in the literature.

Regarding the Turkish–Italian relationship before World War II, Barlas (2004) defines this course as “indecisive” (Barlas, 2004; Barlas & Gulmez, 2018). When the Turkish Republic was newly founded, the fascist government of Italy refused to recognize Türkiye as a sovereign country. Rather, they regarded it as a geographical entity that provided Italy with opportunities to expand its influence area (Barlas, 2004, p. 232). Türkiye’s western coast especially attracted Italy, and Italian presence in the Dodecanese Islands in the Mediterranean increased through time. Italy was in a critical place in Türkiye’s material threat perception because of its military existence in the Dodecanese Islands (Barlas, 2004: 237-247; Guclu, 2000). Türkiye responded to this Italian existence in the Mediterranean by calling for assistance from the British government (Barlas & Gulmez, 2018). The elites of the Turkish Republic concluded that “Britain would be a determining factor in preventing any aggression in the Mediterranean (Barlas, 2005).

Nevertheless, even though the Turkish–Italian relationship was hostile on a large scale before World War II, the relationship between Türkiye and Italy between 1928 and 1932 is characterized as “a period of warmth.” (Barlas, 2004; Barlas & Gulmez, 2018). For example, even though Türkiye and Italy could not solve the territorial belongingness of the islet in the Aegean Sea with the Lausanne Treaty and with the diplomatic conversations after Lausanne, both countries decided to take the issue to the

International Court of Justice. However, with the strengthening of diplomatic relations again in 1928, the decision to refer this issue to the International Court of Justice was abandoned (Vardağılı, 2021). The two countries had different motives during this period. Italy searched to become a member of the great power club, whereas Türkiye was in search of international recognition to terminate its exclusion from the international system (Barlas & Gulmez, 2018) by establishing good relations with Britain, France, Germany, and Italy (Bilgic, 2016, p. 100). However, the tables turned when Italy's aggressive behavior in the Mediterranean started. At that time, Türkiye established an ally-like relationship with Britain in the Mediterranean against this Italian threat (Bilgic, 2016).

Contrary to what Barlas (2004, 2005) and Barlas & Gulmez (2018) stated, Dogar (2022) argued that Italy did not pose a vital threat to Türkiye before World War II. He mentions several speeches from Italian representatives, which indicated that Türkiye had nothing to fear from Italy. Additionally, Dogar (2022) brings up that Türkiye wanted to maintain an amicable relationship with Italy even when Italy invaded Abyssinia (Dogar, 2022). Throughout his article, Dogar (2022) wants to show that Turkish–Italian relationships were not broken down (Grassi, 2006 as cited in Dogar, 2022) or frozen (Barlas, 2004), but both countries pursued active foreign relations. However, even though they pursued an active relationship, Türkiye perceived a threat from Italy, which will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis.

Along with Italy, Germany also emerged as a threat to Türkiye. Guclu (2000) argues that even though Türkiye perceived Italy as the biggest threat to its security in early 1936, the German threat became conspicuous at the end of the same year. The main difference

between Turkish and German foreign policies was their characteristics. With the leadership of Hitler and his Nazi Party, Germany pursued a revisionist foreign policy, whereas Türkiye adopted a foreign policy that supported maintaining the status quo (Guclu, 2000). Additionally, Germany's revisionist and expansionist policies towards southeast Europe increased Türkiye's security concerns. Also, Germany occupied a powerful position in the Turkish economy during the 1930s. Germany was not only influential in Türkiye in economic terms, but also the government officials of Germany, like Franz Von Papen⁵, lobbied in Türkiye to increase their soft power in Türkiye (Guclu, 2000).

As can be seen, Türkiye's material threat perception before World War II was shaped mainly by Italy and Germany. Both countries were led by dictatorships; Fascist Party leader Mussolini in Italy and Nazi Party leader Hitler in Germany. Contrary to both of these leaders, the leader of the newly founded Türkiye, Atatürk, did not have revisionist ambitions. On the contrary, he preferred the status quo for not increasing the uncertainty of the international system. Also, Türkiye tried to be a part of the "democratic international system" (Degli-Esposti, 2015).

1.3 Objectives and Significance of the Study

The available literature on the subject of women's suffrage reveals a significant disconnect between various viewpoints. Feminist scholars investigated the decision from an identity perspective. They provided arguments on whether the decision-maker elites made the decision to break with their Ottoman past, become a Westernized country, or

⁵ German conservative politician, diplomat. In 1932, he served as Germany's chancellor. From 1933 to 1934, he was Adolf Hitler's vice-chancellor.

both. Feminist scholars analyzed the decision to grant women political/electoral rights by looking into domestic politics and the symbolic value of this decision for the governmental elites. However, they did not include either material or non-material security concerns of the governmental elites or international context in their perspective.

Another literature we reviewed in this chapter that examined the 1923-1938 period from a critical security studies perspective included non-material security concerns and the identity of Türkiye in their analysis. According to critical security scholars, the Lausanne Treaty resolved material security concerns for Türkiye. Therefore, the governmental elites did not have any material threat to protect the territory of Türkiye. They included non-material security concerns, identity, symbolism, and international context in their analysis. However, they did not take material security concerns and domestic politics into consideration.

History scholars, on the other hand, present a different perspective by examining the material threats posed by Italy and Germany. To illustrate, Italy settled and armed the Dodecanese Islands, which can be as close as two kilometers to Türkiye, in the 1930s. Still, history scholars did not include non-material security concerns, identity, or symbolism in their analysis.

There is a disconnect between these three pieces of literature. They either analyze the decision by looking into the domestic context or international context within which the decision occurred. Also, regarding the security concerns of Türkiye during the 1930s, they only considered non-material security concerns or material security concerns. However, as we know from the influential article of Gourevitch (1978), one cannot

make a clear-cut distinction between domestic and international contexts. International context can have an influence on domestic politics (Gourevitch, 1978). This applies to Türkiye's decision to grant women their political/electoral rights. However, in the literature we have scanned so far, we have not come across a work that combines these three groups of literature and makes a comprehensive analysis. In order to take the context as a whole and to provide a complete explanation, one needs to take the decision to recognize Turkish women's right to participate in politics by granting them their electoral rights from different perspectives like identity, security, and symbolism. By asking the question, "Why did the early Turkish Republic government elite decide to recognize women's political rights by granting them electoral rights?" and giving a more comprehensive explanation to this question, we are trying to fill the aforementioned gap in the literature.

The Turkish Republic was founded after an Independence War in 1923. Even though its identity-building process started before the establishment, the process continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The political struggle for the newly established Turkish Republic has revolved around being included in the "modern" sphere. They considered the Western civilized states as a reference point for themselves (Bodur Ün, 2018). To be included in this civilized Western states' in-group was one of the primary objectives of the founding elites (Berkes, 1998; Lewis, 1968; Müftüler-Bac, 1999; Tekeli, 1981). This objective stemmed from two security concerns. The first one is non-material, as argued by critical security scholars. They wanted to build their identity as modern, and the reason for this was to include themselves to the in-group of Western states. Since one-man regimes, Fascism, and Nazism were on the rise in Europe and these regimes were

the main threat to modern states, Türkiye's governing elites wanted to differentiate it from these states. The second concern is material, as argued by history scholars. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Nazi party and the power it was gaining were at the forefront of Turkey's threat perception. Germany was threatening Eastern Europe and the Balkans, both of which are very close to Türkiye's territory. Along with Germany, Italy was another state governed by a one-man regime that threatened Türkiye's borders with its armament in the Aegean Islands.

To avoid both non-material and material security concerns and secure itself, Türkiye took a series of non-material precautions. One of these precautions was establishing equality at the legal level between men and women. Women's political rights, in this matter, had a symbolic value during this identity-building process. The gender narrative of the founding elites stemmed from the modernization endeavor (Ertürk, 2006). Gender equality was framed as an integral part of the national identity (Durakbaşı, 1998) and it became one of the most important identity indicators to present the newly established republic as a "modern" country. Atatürk announced this primary objective by stating that their rivals do not consider Türkiye as a civilized state because there is no equality between men and women in Türkiye. Therefore, advancing as a nation is possible through advancing both sexes, men and women, together (Abadan-Unat, 1992).

"Women were essential actors or pawns" in the republican project of modernity (Arat, 1997), and these women were symbols of the new Republic (Bodur Ün, 2018). By utilizing women's political rights as a symbol and building its identity as a modern country, Türkiye wanted to include itself in the in-group of Western European states and keep itself protected by an alliance against the threats of Nazism and Fascism.

1.4 Methodology

This thesis is a within-case study. By choosing a case study as our research method, we can provide a detailed historical account of our research question (Blatter, 2008). There are three approaches to producing this detailed historical account: naturalism, positivism, and constructivism. Naturalist and positivist approaches both assume that there is one single reality that is independent of the researcher. The difference between these two approaches becomes evident in their stances on the case selection process (Blatter, 2008). Having a personal interest in a particular case is enough for naturalists to select that case for their research. On the contrary, the generalizability of a case is important during the case selection for positivists because they are pursuing generalizable and parsimonious theories that have higher external validity. In contrast to both naturalist and positivist approaches, the constructivist approach did not accept one single fact and considered that empirical reality and theoretical concepts are constantly constructing each other (Blatter, 2008). Considering these different approaches in case studies, we will follow a constructivist approach in this thesis because we are aware that there is not one single fact considering the Turkish government's decision to adopt women's political/electoral rights. Also, as this thesis is a within case study, we prioritize internal validity and do not have any claims about external validity of the thesis. To increase the internal validity of the thesis, we will use process tracing because as Waldner (2012) points out "process tracing has the potential to generate relatively complete explanations" (p. 68).

We will utilize process tracing as a method to provide a comprehensive explanation of our research question because "process tracing is an invaluable tool of causal inference

and explanation” (Waldner, 2012, p. 65). Some scholars define process tracing as “the study of how decision-making links initial conditions to outcomes” (George & McKeown, 1985). With the help of process tracing as a research method, we will examine and evaluate our case in an all-around way. Process tracing is a method that allows the researcher to conduct a detailed examination of the chosen case and evaluate the case in an all-around way. In other words, Waldner (2012) mentions that “process tracing (...) can assist both causal inference and causal explanation”.

Hancké (2009) defines the steps of process tracing as follows: (1) “go down the causal chain,” (2) “reconstruct the steps in the chain,” (3) “and then demonstrate how the decisions were made confirmed or disconfirmed the basic mechanisms that the argument is exploring” (p. 67).

We also utilized content analysis as a complementary method while tracing the process.

There are two types of content analysis: quantitative and qualitative (Selvi, 2019).

Quantitative content analysis focuses on counting and measuring the frequency of textual elements (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009) while qualitative content analysis requires in-depth analysis of textual elements (Selvi, 2019; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Themes are developed through concept-driven, data-driven, and mixed processes. The qualitative content analysis can reveal the focus of attention of the sender of the message, with six phases including formulating the research question, selecting communication content and sample, developing themes, finalizing units of analysis, preparing a code book, and analyzing the coded data. We created certain themes to analyze the content of the several selected documents that can demonstrate the political change. These documents are

parliamentary minutes, Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches, and selected important newspapers of the time, *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*.

While investigating the causal chain through process tracing, we will benefit from the news published in the domestic newspapers of the period by analyzing their content to understand the government's focus while informing the public. Also, we will analyze the parliamentary minutes to see the discussions that led the process to decide to adopt women's suffrage rights. In this way, it is possible to understand when, how, and why the change in the stance of the political elites took place. While analyzing the parliamentary minutes, we will have the opportunity to use speeches of the important figures who played important roles in the decision-making processes of the early Republican era, such as Prime Minister İsmet İnönü and Minister of Foreign Affairs Tevfik Rüştü Aras. As we mentioned before, we also analyzed the parliamentary opening speeches of Atatürk, who was the primary decision-maker of the country. These people were the most influential figures during the time.

1.5 Thesis Structure

I will discuss my conceptual framework in the second chapter following this introductory chapter. Throughout the second chapter, I will discuss how non-material and material threat perceptions can affect states' identity-building process and how they can utilize symbols to display their identity as a security precaution. We will build the theoretical framework to analyze the contextual factors within which the government elites decide to grant women their political/electoral rights.

After forming the theoretical framework of the thesis, I will apply the methodology to discuss material and non-material threat perceptions of Türkiye and how Türkiye utilized gender as an identity indicator for the third chapter. For the fourth chapter, we will provide our analysis and findings.

Following the discussion on the conceptual framework and analyzing the political decision of Turkish governmental elites to grant women political rights as an output of their material and non-material interests with content analysis, I will discuss my findings within our theoretical framework in the fifth chapter and conclude the thesis.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, we will discuss the theoretical framework of the thesis. We will discuss the concepts of the “second image” (Waltz, 1959) and “second image reversed” (Gourevitch, 1978), the material and non-material drivers of security and threat perception (Hopf, 1998; Jensen & Elman, 2018; McDonald, 2018; Mearsheimer, 2014; Rosato, 2015; Walt, 1987; Zedner, 2003), and how identity and symbolism (Abrams et al., 2005; Bilgin, 2010; Gong, 1984; Hoogensen & Rottem, 2004; McSweeney, 1999; Zehfuss, 2001) can be utilized as non-material precautions to achieve material security to establish our theoretical framework.

The threat perception of the Turkish political elites, who had fought the War of Independence just 10 years before the decision to grant women’s electoral rights, was already at a high level. They were still making border and friendship agreements with neighbors like Greece, as well as countries such as England and France, which were mandating Türkiye’s neighbors Iraq and Syria, respectively, to ensure border security. Additionally, there were two emerging threats in Europe: Fascism and Nazism.

The threatening rhetoric of Mussolini and Hitler, Italy's arming of the Dodecanese Islands, and Germany’s threats to the Balkans caused decision-makers in Türkiye to be

more concerned about state security (Barlas, 2004; Guclu, 2000; Oran, 2009). Besides the threat perception from Europe, the overall situation in the world regarding peaceful coexistence was deteriorating. Countries had accelerated armament, and wars were taking place in both Europe and Asia. This situation worried decision-makers who had emphasized peace since the Lausanne Treaty was signed (Oran, 2009).

We will establish the theoretical framework to analyze the context within which the early Republican Turkish government decided to adopt the electoral rights of women citizens in 1934. The decision we are analyzing throughout this thesis, the decision to grant women their electoral rights by the Turkish government, appears to be a reflection of security concerns. I argue that the decision was adopted due to its importance as a non-material precaution for securing the state. This decision was important to display Türkiye's identity as a Western civilized state that was capable of being included in the Western European states' in-group. At the time when this decision was taken, Türkiye had a serious material threat perception from the fascist governments in the European continent (Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy).

Therefore, by using women's electoral rights as a symbol to display its identity, Türkiye wanted to join Western European states' in-group in order to ensure the territorial integrity of the newly founded republic.

2.2. Reversing the Second Image

The Turkish governmental elites were influenced by a combination of non-material security concerns related to domestic aspirations for modernization and breaking from the Ottoman past, and international pressures to be compatible with the Western

European identity. Besides these non-material concerns from domestic and international spheres, there were also material security issues related to the international system of the newly established Turkish Republic. Regarding the interplay between domestic and international politics, the second image reversed theory offers a comprehensive understanding of the context within which the early Turkish Republic's decision to grant women universal suffrage.

While working on issues related to international relations, scholars choose a level of analysis for systemic and methodological approaches. They may choose to focus on specific units or the whole system as Singer (1961) identified as the two levels of analysis – system and subsystem that includes both the state and individual levels]. There are three analysis levels: individual, state, and international system. Waltz (1959) reflects upon these three levels of analysis in his book 'Man, the State and War' where he provides arguments on the causes of war through three images. He investigates the roles of human nature, the nation-state, and the international system in producing war as an outcome. Before moving on to the second Image, where he looks at the nation-state dynamics as a cause of war, I will provide Waltz's (1959) arguments on the first and third images. The reason why I distinguish it from others here is that, while examining the topic explored in the thesis, I will examine the state-based security conceptions due to changes in international politics. For this reason, I will adopt second image reversed for this thesis' theoretical framework.

The first image in Waltz's (1959) theory refers to human nature as a cause of war. It puts emphasis on the negative characteristics of people, such as aggression, selfishness, and eagerness to increase their power capabilities. According to the first-image argument,

other causes of war are secondary. However, as Waltz (1959) states, human nature cannot taken as a primary explanation when answering the question, “What are the causes of war?”. Therefore, first image analysts notice the war, search for the causes and provide efficient causes of certain wars by pointing to behavioral characteristics (Waltz, 1959). As opposed to the first image, which reduces the level of analysis to the smallest unit, the third image analyzes the causes of war by providing arguments on the international system. The third image puts emphasis on the anarchic structure of the international system as a cause of war. The reason for the conflict among states is that there is no above authority on them to prevent them. In other words, war occurs because it can (Waltz, 1959, p. 232). Therefore, Waltz (1959) calls the third image as the provider of the underlying cause of the war. We can use the first image to explain the apparent reasons for conflict. Still, in the end, the anarchic character of the international system allows the conflict to occur (Waltz, 1959).

The second Image of Waltz (1959) frames the analysis of the nation-states. When he moves forward from human nature, he begins by stating that “human nature cannot be the single determinant” (Waltz, 1959, p. 81). The second image refers to the role of the state while providing explanations for the causes of war. The state is the main actor in Waltz’s second image. He states that the national behavior of states is seen as the reason for war, whether they are ruled by democracy or dictatorship. Also, the states’ social and political institutions are established based on these characteristics. Therefore, Waltz (1959) states that the flawed characteristics of social and political institutions of states can cause war. Here, Waltz (1959) took the war as an international issue. Hence, one

can argue that his argument on the role of the state in explaining war can be generalized to international issues.

As can be understood through Waltz's (1959) second image, states' domestic characteristics affect international issues. Yet, the relationship between domestic characteristics of states and international issues cannot be unidirectional, like Gourevitch (1978) argues.

Gourevitch (1978) reverses the second image argument of Waltz (1959), and he argues that as far as domestic politics can affect international issues, international issues also affect domestic politics. As Gourevitch (1978) puts forward, "instead of being a cause of international politics, domestic structure may be a consequence of it. International systems become causes instead of consequences" (p. 882) in the relationship between domestic and international. Gourevitch (1978) argues that the distribution of power and the distribution of wealth in the international system affects domestic politics the most. Also, non-material values like ideas, ideology, and identity have an impact. The impact can be on a policy decision, the regime type, or coalition pattern (pp. 882-883). Gourevitch (1978) specifically examines the regime type and coalition pattern as consequences of the international economy and the international state system.

Gourevitch (1978) mentions that state strength has been used as one of the major explanatory variables by scholars who focus on the importance of domestic structure. States with state-centered policy networks and unitary structures representing the broader public are called strong states. Strong states can articulate their policies as representers of collective interest and have the authority to impose their policies, even

those who oppose that policy. There are no autonomous agencies in the strong states (Gourevitch, 1978, pp. 901–902). On the contrary, states that have society-centered policy networks and pluralistic structures are called weak states. Weak states have fragmented public institutions. They have numerous autonomous but interdependent agencies. Policies are created through negotiations between these agencies (Gourevitch, 1978). However, Gourevitch (1978) argues that even though the decision-makers in strong states can easily pass laws, it cannot be said that they have the process to create a policy smoother than weak states. They must also secure support for their policies. One cannot easily argue that ensuring public support for a specific policy is easier for strong states by looking at specific examples because the context within that policy was created is also different (Gourevitch, 1978, pp. 904–906).

In summary, Gourevitch (1978) argues that the international system and domestic politics appear to have been intertwined for as long as states have existed. Not only is the international system a product of domestic politics and structures, but it also shapes them. From political forms to policy decisions, a wide spectrum of domestic behaviors are constrained by military and economic relations. The relationship between the international system and domestic politics is not unidirectional. The international system, with its distribution of power and wealth, identities, and ideologies, can affect the domestic politics of a state as much as the domestic politics of states affect the international system (Gourevitch, 1978). Since we are analyzing a context within which the decision-makers changed their policy in light of emerging shifts in international politics, Gourevitch's (1978) argument about the relationship between the international system and domestic politics will be utilized.

2.3. Navigating Security

2.3.1 What is security?

Our argument in this thesis is that women's universal electoral rights were utilized as a precaution to provide security for the newly established Turkish Republic. In order to be able to provide a structured framework for our theoretical analysis, this sub-section will explain how security has been conceptualized. We will move forward from these conceptualizations to provide our own conceptualization in the "2.5. Theoretical Framework" sub-section.

In the field of international relations, 'security' is a concept with multiple definitions and interpretations. The term has been the subject of extensive scholarly debate. Despite the definition of security being underdeveloped (Huysmans, 1998), it has been used as justification for suspending civil rights, reallocating resources, and engaging in war (Baldwin, 1997). Given its multidimensional nature, it is essential to properly conceptualize the term 'security' to avoid confusion regarding its meaning (Brooks, 2010; Zedner, 2003).

When discussing security, one must specify which dimensions or aspects are being addressed—whether it is national security, human security, economic security, or another aspect. Each dimension has its own set of priorities and implications. The definition of security is context-dependent, reflecting the particular concerns of society and its institutions at any given time (Brooks, 2010; Fischer et al., 2019). Therefore, a clear and precise conceptualization of security is necessary to ensure that discussions and policies are appropriately focused and effective.

Fischer et al. (2019) define security as “a stable, relatively predictable environment (...) without disruption or harm” (p. 3). There are other scholars who define security by emphasizing the absence of threat (Buzan, 1991; Ullman, 1983). With all this emphasis on disruption, harm, and threat, there are no limits while conceptualizing the security definition. Further, there are several scholars who emphasize the preservation of identity, norms, and values (i.e., McDonald, 2018; Mitzen, 2006; Rumelili, 2015; Steele, 2005). Most of the security definitions are, therefore, constructed through the practice (McDonald, 2018). For example, McDonald (2018) defines security as a field of negotiation between decision-makers and domestic public opinion where they build their identity and how they should behave according to their identity.

Security is often recognized not just as an objective, but as a result of its presence. We might not fully understand or appreciate its significance until we face the risk of losing it. Therefore, security gains its definition and value from the very threats that endanger it (Ullman, 1983). Similarly, scholars like Wolfers (1952) conceptualize security with its association with a condition of being that is free from threats.

In order to be aware of any potential harm or threat occurring, the actor needs to have a concept of security (Baldwin, 1997). Actors, states in our context, can construct their security by having a concept and identifying threats (Buzan, 1991). States define their security through the threats that challenge their security (Ullman, 1983). These ‘threats’ are any action from outside of the state that aims to decrease the quality of life for the state’s population or any action that diminishes the number of policy choices the decision-makers can make (Ullman, 1983, p. 133). Therefore, as Huysmans (1998) frames, security is “an ordering activity” (p. 244).

Most of the security scholars took the state as the main actor in the anarchic nature of the international system (i.e., Adler & Barnett, 2000; Baldwin, 1997; Booth & Wheeler, 2018; Brooks, 2010; Burgess, 2011a; Buzan, 1991; Buzan & Hansen, 2010; Cox, 1986; Fischer et al., 2019; Huysmans, 1998; Jepperson et al., 1996; Keohane, 1986; Rousseau & Garcia-Retamero, 2007; Walt, 1987; Waltz, 1959; Waltz, 1979; Weldes, 1996; Williams, 2007; Zedner, 2003). The difference between them flourishes through how they perceive anarchy. On the one hand, neorealist scholars take anarchy as a given condition of the international system which makes states vulnerable to external threats. In this anarchic nature of the international system, the main goal of states, which are rational actors, is their own survival (Levy, 2004). Realist theory scholars state that decision-makers are rational actors, and they want to maximize their expected utility from a decision (i.e., Altfeld, 1984; Jensen & Elman, 2018; Walt, 1987). They calculate costs and benefits and produce their own security. Through their security policies, states construct their relations with other states and with themselves (Huysmans, 1998).

While conceptualizing security, Baldwin (1997) provides a set of questions to be answered. These questions are: (1) security for whom, (2) security for which values, (3) how much security, (4) from what threats, (5) by what means, (6) at what cost, (7) in what time period. Baldwin (1997) argues that the last three questions must be responded to in order to make a systematic analysis. We approach it as a thick signifier by answering questions while conceptualizing security. Thus, by approaching security as a thick signifier, we can create a security story that includes the actor's relationship with the international system, other actors, and itself (Huysmans, 1998).

Considering that there are not any concrete security definitions in the literature that can be applied to all contexts, we are creating our conceptualization by looking at the context within which the governmental elites in the early Turkish Republic decided to grant women universal suffrage rights.

We are using the Weberian definition of a state as an autonomous actor for our conceptualization. According to Weber, the state is “a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory” (Weber, 1948, p. 78). Therefore, state security involves the ability of a state to make and implement decisions independently, maintain its defined borders without being abolished, avoid occupation within those borders, and prevent direct coercive intervention by another state in the decision-making process over the long term.

2.3.2. Material Drivers of Security

Although states’ search for security is constant, it can be driven by many different reasons. Zedner (2003) argues that there are two security conditions, which she calls objective and subjective. Through objective condition, she refers to being without material threat. The materiality of a threat can be visible, such as the armament; it also can be nonvisible. Threats made through direct speech are also material threats.

Walt (1987) argues that there are four components that have an influence on the level of threat perception: aggregate power capabilities, geographical proximity, offensive power capabilities, and aggressive intentions of the state perceived as a threat. Through aggregate power capabilities, Walt (1987) takes a state’s population, industrial development, military capability, and technological advancement into account by

mentioning its aggregate power capability. Besides its aggregate power capability, the state's offensive power capability is also important in Walt's (1987) thesis. These two concepts are fairly connected with each other. Aggregate power can easily be transformed into an offensive power like having a mass population, and technological advancement can increase mobile military capability (pp. 23-25). The states with more aggregate power capabilities, offensive power capabilities, and geographical proximity can cause an increase in threat perception (Walt, 1987).

Another component of threat perception that Walt (1987) mentions is aggressive intentions. The absence of a higher authority than the states in the international system causes anarchy and uncertainty in the relations of states. This uncertainty causes an increase in the threat perception between the states because they cannot be assured about others' intentions (Booth & Wheeler, 2018; Mearsheimer, 2014; Rosato, 2015). With all this uncertainty, there are instances where the decision-makers can clearly state their intentions with their statements. These kinds of indicators are also material drivers of security concerns.

The material concerns are a fair point to examine the reasons why states seek security (Jensen & Elman, 2018). Yet, they are not sufficient. In order to be able to provide a more comprehensive analysis of the states' behavior while searching for security, the non-material security concerns are as valid as the material ones.

2.3.3. Non-Material Drivers of Security

Another type of driver that can trigger the security concerns of the states is non-material ones. There are various types of reasons for a state to feel threatened, and the threats do

not have to be material at all times. Zedner (2003) defines these kinds of threats as subjective ones. Subjective security refers to feeling 'safe' and not feeling anxious.

A state's identity, which includes how a group defines itself, its boundaries, and its values, significantly impacts its security policies. This impact can affect the perception of other states' behaviors (McDonald, 2018). Hopf (1998) argues how the decision-makers of a state label other states as 'friend' or 'enemy,' and, consequently, how their perception of threat from others is affected by their identities.

Wendt (1995) argues that the corporate identity of states develops four different but related basic interests. The first one is the physical security of the state, which refers to securing its territory, population, and resources. The next one is ontological security, which is related to the predictability of relations and stability in identities. Recognition as an actor in international relations is the third interest Wendt (1995) defines. The final interest is development, which represents the search for improvement in living conditions. All of these interests Wendt (1995) puts forward are in an interaction with the identity. States can foster specific interests, including their security interests, by adapting and sustaining an identity (Jepperson et al., 1996). Interests are actively constructed by and within the states. They are not given (Waylen, 1998).

The process of externalizing fear and creating a threat also reduces uncertainty by clarifying who is and is not to be feared. For example, a revolutionary state (as Huysmans (1998) refers to it) that challenges the existing international system can pose more of a threat than a state that challenges a member of the existing international system (Huysmans, 1998, pp. 235-241). Therefore, if there exists a revolutionary state in

the international system, even though it does not pose a threat to the particular state, the particular state can still feel threatened by this revolutionary state. This situation can occur even though there are not any material threats visible in the context.

2.4. Non-Material Precautions for Security

There are several precautions states took to keep them secure from the threats. These precautions can be material, such as increasing their demographic, economic, and military strength. From this point of view, Mearsheimer (2014) argues that security can be achieved by being the most capable state in terms of the material power capabilities in the international system. However, increasing aggregate power capabilities and taking material precautions are not the only approaches to achieving security. The precautions can be non-material as well as material. In this section, we will explain how identity and symbolism can be utilized as non-material precautions against security threats.

2.4.1. Utilizing Identity

In her book chapter called “Identity / Security,” Bilgin (2010) starts her words, “Identity is a social construct. So is security.” (p. 81). These two concepts are co-constructed through each other, as critical security studies literature has revealed since the 1990s. Through this argument, critical security scholars allowed identity to be taken as a source of security (Bilgin, 2010, p. 81). Hoogensen & Rottem (2004) defines identity as a crucial aspect of security and an important tool to be used as a “security strategy.” Notions of self and other, and thus security interests, evolve solely through interaction (Zehfuss, 2001).

While building their security, states can also use their identities to join a group and form an informal alliance with the group, thus benefiting from the group's protection. In order to discuss this situation in detail, we must first understand how "identity" can be conceptualized. Then, we can look at the process of identity construction and thus discuss how identity can be used as a measure.

2.4.1.1. What is Identity?

Identity scholars generally share the notion that identity is a source of an actor's decision-making process (i.e., Barnett, 1999; Bloom, 1990; Burgess, 2011a; Checkel, 1999; Jepperson et al., 1996; Lebow, 2008; Mattern, 2001; Rousseau & Garcia-Retamero, 2007; Varadarajan, 2004; Weldes, 1996). However, the definition of the concept of "identity" has not been agreed upon by disciplines and scholars. As mentioned by Fearon (1999), almost every scholar who has studied identity came up with their own definition. Yet, there are similarities between these different definitions. One of the important characteristics of identity that the scholars have agreed upon is that identity is not static but dynamic. Identity is constructed and reconstructed through recognition and interaction between the subjects. The subject can be an individual, a group of people, a state, or a group of states. These groups form a "society" that is shaped by identity. Identity is formed through the self-perception of communities and individuals who identify themselves as members of a community (McSweeney, 1999).

Identity does not have a single content in addition to not having a single meaning. There are different identities mentioned in the literature, such as personal identity, social identity, collective identity, national identity, and state identity. Each of these identities has different definitions in the literature. For example, Fearon (1999) argues that the

meaning of “identity” consists of two intertwined meanings: personal identity and social identity. He defines social identity as “a social category, a group of people designated by a label (or labels) that is commonly used by the people designated, others, or both.”

Personal identity, on the other hand, “is a set of attributes, beliefs, desires, or principles of action that a subject thinks to distinguish themselves in socially relevant ways”

(Fearon, 1999, p. 10). Thus, personal identity provides the subject something to be proud of, something not to be proud of but does not know how to behave without, and the subject thinks that personal identity is determined and cannot be changed (Fearon, 1999).

As for almost every term used in social sciences, even though Fearon (1999) defines social identity as a designated label, there are other scholars who provided a definition for social identity that is more similar to Fearon’s (1999) personal identity definition.

Wendt (1995), for example, defines social identity as a collection of meanings that an actor assigns to itself while considering the viewpoint of others. Social identity theory defines social identity as one’s awareness of belonging to specific social groups (Abrams et al., 2005). Besides having an awareness of belonging to specific social groups, social identity, and self-categorization theories suggest that the bond within a social group is strengthened not only by shared beliefs but also by a feeling of uniqueness in comparison to other groups (Marcussen et al., 1999).

Even though there are numerous books and articles on national identity in the literature, we are not able to find any concrete definition of “national identity”. Two theoretical perspectives on national identity exist: the essential (or primordial) approach and the constructivist approach. The essential view posits that specific group identities, such as

race or territory, inherently shape national identity (Geertz, 1973). In contrast, the constructivist perspective argues that national identity is constructed through an imagined political community, focusing on the process of identity formation rather than predetermined factors (Anderson, 2006). Still, both approaches agree that a shared understanding among group members is necessary for the formation of national identity. Additionally, Anand (2009) puts forward that national identity encompasses cultural elements that are considered essential in uniting people as a nation. These cultural elements are the symbols of the nation. Bloom (1990) defines national identity through symbols of the nation. When a group of people internalize the national symbols likewise, they provide the condition that constitutes national identity. National identity is a secular identity that focuses on the empirical world, which is divided into concrete communities (Greenfeld & Eastwood, 2009).

As stated by Fearon (1999), international relations scholars can consider national identity as a component of the state identity. Moreover, some of these scholars can treat national identity and state identity as the same. However, as Fearon (1999) explains, these two identities might seem similar in some contexts, but they are different in others. When national identity refers to a social category of people, state identity can refer to a social category of people or the identity of a corporate subject called the “state”.

State identity is not a static descriptor of a state but rather a dynamic and interrelated concept that acknowledges the existence and identities of other states (Ashizawa, 2008). Similar to other identities, state identity-building is a process. Still, there are scholars who argue that state identity is relatively stable compared to other identities because it is the result of one’s interaction at the international level (Ilgıt & Özkeçeci-Taner, 2012).

However, state identity is not merely affected by the interactions at the international level. Domestic interactions of the decisionmakers are also important while building the state's identity. State identity is still 'identity'. Therefore, as pointed out by many scholars from different social sciences like political science, international relations, psychology, etc., identity is a process rather than a single reference point. This conception of state identity influences the actions taken by policymakers in much the same way that personal identity shapes individual behavior. The understanding of state identity held by policymakers may not necessarily align with that of individuals outside the policymaking sphere, nor does it necessarily reflect a consensus within the government or society as a whole regarding the state's identity (Ashizawa, 2008).

2.4.1.2. Building the Identity: Us vs Them

As can be seen from the above section, the concept of identity is not a singular concept. Just as there is more than one type of identity, there are different definitions for each type of identity in the literature. However, there is a "self-other" distinction that all identity definitions touch upon. The social psychology literature states that identity refers to the "images of individuality and distinctiveness held and projected by an actor and formed (and modified over time) through relations with significant 'others'" (Jepperson et al., 1996). These "others" are important in identity-building since this process is reciprocal. Identity is built upon recognizing the self and how the self is recognized (or unrecognized (Lebow, 2008)) by others through social relations. By evaluating Mead's (1967) understanding of identity formation, Greenhill (2008) argues that a subject develops a sense of "self" after it is aware of the presence of other subjects and understands how it is received by these "others." The collective identity, or "self,"

represented by the use of “we,” derives its significance, coherence, durability, and security not just from its inherent meaning but also from its contrast with, or negotiation with, the “other” (Burgess, 2011a). The “others” are necessary for the creation of identity.

Either on the individual or group level, each subject needs an “other” to understand its own being and constitute its identity (Burgess, 2011a; Clarke, 2008; Stets & Burke, 2000). These “others” can be negative stereotypes but do not have to be associated with negative stereotypes (Lebow, 2008). The reciprocal process of recognition is necessary to construct the “self” and provides the basis for a collective identity that can be formed by uniting “selves” and “others” (Greenhill, 2008). Therefore, as (Burgess, 2011a) puts forward, identity is both subjective and objective since it is constituted through one’s own understanding of the self and how the self is received by others. “Identity is simultaneously the object of cognition and the subject from the point of view of which identity is determined” (Burgess, 2011b).

From a psychological perspective, Erikson (1980) argues that identity building is an integration process of constitutional givens, favored capacities, significant identifications, and consistent roles. Throughout this process of identity building, he argues that self-perception of the subject and its perception by others can change. In addition to the identity building of a subject, scholars like Mattern (2001) provide arguments on collective identity building. Power dynamics is an integral part of the collective identity-building process. While creating the “we,” authorities can determine the specific characteristics to be included and excluded from “us” (Mattern, 2001). The word “collective” in the term “collective identity” can refer to a group of people, a group

of nations, or a group of states. For this thesis, the collective identity of a group of states is important. Therefore, we can define the authorities as the states that are able to determine the characteristics that will be included and excluded from “us” as states. In other words, the ones that are capable of building the collective identity of a group of states are the authorities of their group.

2.4.1.3. Identity as a Precaution for Security

Fearon (1999) provides an important characteristic of identity: it must provide a subject with a certain kind of predictability. To exemplify, from the 17th century onwards, as European relations stabilized, non-European differences were increasingly used to justify their inferior treatment and denial of their sovereignty (Bilgin, 2008a). Especially during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a confrontation of “civilizations” (Gong, 1984). The “civilized” states were Western Europeans or the ones who had the same identity as them to be included in their in-group. The Western Europeans established the basis of this civilization. Those who meet their criteria of civilization are included in their “we”, while those who fail to conform are relegated to the periphery as ‘not civilized’ or even ‘uncivilized’ (Gong, 1984). Gong (1984) provides five standards of this civilization, which others are expected to adapt to be included in the Western/European/civilized states’ in-group. These standards are as follows:

1. Guaranteeing basic rights like life, dignity, property, freedom of travel, and religion of people
2. Having an organized political structure to run the state mechanism and having a capacity for self-defense

3. Complying with international law and having laws to guarantee legal justice for all, both nationals and foreigners, within its territory.
4. Fulfilling the necessities of the international system by maintaining diplomatic relations and communication.
5. Acting according to the accepted norms and practices of the “civilized” international society. (Gong, 1984, pp. 14–15)

After accepting these standards, a state can promote to the civilized states’ in-group. Thus, it can position itself in a secure position in the international system. Similar to Gong’s (1984) argument, Mattern (2001) argues that in certain situations, states can develop a profound collective identity by fostering trust and a shared sense of unity that molds their conduct. To be coherent with their collective identity, states can adopt some consistent behavior patterns. Therefore, a security community can arise. This viewpoint is also supported by the social identity theory. When the social identity between the group members becomes more salient, the interests of the subjects and the group coincide with each other (Abrams et al., 2005). However, similar to what Gong (1984) puts forward, an actor does not have to belong to a particular group in order to adopt its norms and regulations. It does not have to be included a specific group to adopt its norms. In the opposite way, it can adopt that specific group’s norms to be included in that group, to align with that group’s identity.

Identity may not always occur before interests. The bilateral relationship between the two concepts is not one-sided. Both can build each other, and the construction process can also begin when interests affect identity. Even though identity can contribute to the security of the states, it can also generate a distinct set of security concerns (Burgess,

2011a). McSweeney (1999) defines this relationship between identity and interests as “recursive,” which refers to the process of repeating or applying a procedure or definition multiple times, typically in a self-referential manner (M. C. Williams, 1998).

States often utilize a variety of symbols to display and reinforce their collective identity. These symbols serve as a way to communicate their identity to the international community, emphasizing their distinctiveness and shared values. Through strategically using such symbols, states can effectively convey their collective identity both domestically and internationally.

2.4.2. Harnessing symbolism

Symbols are potent conveyors of identity and power within any political or social background (Arthur, 2018). They reinforce the perception of the state as a cohesive and purposeful entity with a distinct identity, intentions, values, and interests (Faizullaev, 2013). They also serve to unite groups and facilitate their coexistence, fostering positive collective identification through processes of imagination and meaning-making (Arthur, 2018; Tripp, 2019).

In her article, Bilgin (2008b) uses the secularization process in Türkiye as an example of ‘mimicry.’ Bhabha (1984) defines ‘mimicry’ as a strategy that appropriates the other while visualizing power (p. 126). Although Bhabha (1984) originally applied this concept to colonial relations, mimicry also occurs outside of colonial contexts. States can mimic others when their security is at risk. According to Bilgin (2008b) Türkiye sought security through Western institutions, patterns, and tools via secularization.

One way of carrying the collective identity through symbols is through women's identity by suppressing women's individuality (Ertürk, 2006). Due to the scope of this thesis, we will focus on the carrying or creation of symbols through women's identity. Women are commonly viewed as significant representatives of their culture and nation, responsible for preserving and transmitting national identity through their dress, behavior, and aspirations (Anand, 2009). Through an examination of policies directed at women in national identity formation, it can be seen that women primarily serve as reproducers or carriers of nation-building endeavors (Avcil, 2020). For example, women in traditional gender roles were prominently important because they facilitated the functioning and dominance of male political actors (Lovenduski, 2009). On the other hand, women's rights were linked with democratization, especially in the Western European state identity (Tripp, 2019: 55). The perspectives presented regarding the roles of women within the framework of social reproduction emphasize the argument that modern women are being utilized for instrumental purposes (Avcil, 2020).

Tripp (2019) explains this as the symbolism of women's rights extends far beyond the rights themselves, serving as a proxy for a spectrum of ideas ranging from modernity and progress to nationalism, democracy, and secularism. Therefore, decision-makers formulate domestic policies to indicate a specific aspect of their identity regarding their modernization. Even though there are no demands from the domestic or international public opinions for a specific policy that can be able to present the state as a 'modern' one, these policies can improve the state's image to the world as 'modern' (Tripp, 2019).

2.5. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this thesis is based on the argument that international politics can have an influence on the decision-makers of states regarding their domestic policy decisions. This argument takes its roots from Gourevitch's (1978) theory on reversing the second image argument provided by Waltz (1959). In this thesis, we are analyzing a domestic policy decision taken by the governmental elite decision-makers, and we are arguing that this decision has its roots in security concerns rooted in the international sphere. Therefore, by utilizing the second image reversed, we are establishing the framework of this thesis to examine how these international security concerns drive decision-makers to alter their domestic policy decisions. Utilizing this argument highlights the complexity of international-domestic interdependence.

We are putting emphasis on the security concerns in this thesis. However, as mentioned in 2.3.1, the international relations literature does not have a single definition of security valid for every situation. Baldwin (1997) outlines key questions for a systematic analysis of security: security for whom, for which values, how much security, from what threats, by what means, at what cost, and within what timeframe. Addressing these questions allows us to view security as a "thick signifier," encompassing the actor's relationships with the international system, other actors, and itself (Huysmans, 1998). Given the absence of a universally applicable security definition, we construct our conceptualization based on the context of the early Turkish Republic's decision to grant women universal suffrage. According to our understanding, security is the state's ability to make and implement decisions and impose public acceptance over the long term

without any altering its borders by other states, avoiding occupation, and preventing direct coercive interference from other states.

States may consider their security to be at risk under certain circumstances. There can be material and non-material drivers that can affect states' perception of their security. Walt (1987) identifies components affecting threat perception: aggregate power capabilities (including population, industrial development, military strength, and technological advancement), geographical proximity, offensive power capabilities, and perceived aggressive intentions. These material factors shape how states assess and respond to potential threats. However, non-material drivers are equally crucial. A state's identity, encompassing its self-definition, boundaries, and values, also influences its security policies and threat perceptions (McDonald, 2018). Thus, a comprehensive understanding of security must consider both the material and non-material threats that affect states' security concerns.

After their security concerns have been triggered, there are different precautions states can take. These precautions can be non-material as much as material. Utilizing their identity and displaying important symbols about their identity to other actors in the international system is a non-material precaution the state can take. Through these tools, even though they do not have a huge material capability compared to other actors, the state can benefit from the protection of the collective identity group to which it belongs.

Identity building is a process that can be affected by the context upon which it has been built. State identity, like other identities, is formed through relations, where states recognize and are recognized by other states. An important part of the identity-building

process for states is the material and non-material threats they perceive from the international system. Through these threats, and while they are building their own identity, they also define the categories of “us” and “them”. The collective identity, or “self,” that is expressed by the use of “we,” receives its significance, coherence, durability, and security from its negotiation or contrast with the “other” (Burgess, 2011a). Even though the state does not get accepted to the collective identity group it sees itself as belonging to, this situation does not prevent the state from accepting the norms and regulations of that collective identity group. When the state accepts these norms and comes to the same position as others in the collective identity group, it is more likely that the group she wants to belong to will recognize its belonging. This is important because, as we discussed earlier, the recognition of identity by other actors is an important part of the identity construction process.

There are some tools states can use when trying to have their identity recognized and accepting the norms of the group to which they consider that they belong. These tools are symbols of that group and are powerful indicators. Through these symbols, they interact with both domestic and international communities. The symbols indicate the similarity of that state with the collective identity group it wants to belong to and draw attention to its belonging to the group. Through strategically using such symbols, states can effectively convey their collective identity both domestically and internationally.

One of the tools that can be used for their symbolic value is women’s rights, especially women’s electoral rights, when the time frame we are analyzing is considered. This is because, as Tripp (2019) puts forward, women’s rights were associated with the

democratization of the Western European state identity. For states, women's rights mean much more than what they bring to women due to their symbolic value.

States utilize women's rights for instrumental purposes (Avcil, 2020). Decision-makers develop domestic policies that have symbolic values for them to demonstrate their identity (Tripp, 2019). In this way, they take non-material precautions regarding their security concerns. Considering all of the above discussion, we expect to see that as states' threat perceptions increase, they turn to domestic policies that align with the international collective identity group they see themselves as belonging to.

2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we proposed a theoretical framework for understanding the relationship between the security drivers and the precautions states can take in order to be able to secure themselves. This theoretical model is based on two key arguments. First of all, the relationship between domestic and international politics is not unidirectional. As Gourevitch (1978) argues, the international system affects domestic politics as much as domestic politics have an influence on the international system. Therefore, when states have security concerns, which took their basis from the anarchic nature of the international system, constructed through material and non-material threats from international politics, they can take precautions within their domestic sphere in order to achieve their security.

Secondly, the precautions states can take within their domestic politics against international threats are also twofold. They can be material and non-material. States can increase their material power capabilities by making technological advances and

increasing their military power. Besides improving material capability, they can also utilize their identity as a security precaution. State identity can be a powerful precaution because it also determines which collective identity group states will belong to. In order to better display their identity, states can use symbolism. Through the symbolic value of certain tools, they can build their identities more firmly in the eyes of other states. Moreover, women's rights can be one of these tools.

We are focusing on the symbolic value of women's electoral rights in the identity-building process as a precaution against the security threats the Turkish government was receiving from international politics. In the next chapter, we will analyze this case study by utilizing parliamentary minutes and newspapers of the time.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

Throughout the thesis, we aimed to analyze the decision of the political elites of the early Republican Turkish government to recognize women's electoral rights in 1934 by answering our research question, "Why did the early-Turkish Republic government elite decide to recognize women's political rights by granting them electoral rights?". To conduct a comprehensive analysis, we sought to understand the context within which the elites changed their position regarding women's electoral rights from 1924 to 1934. We conducted a literature review to explore different perspectives on the context in which the decision was made.

There are three main aspects to consider: women's rights and gender equality, critical security studies, and threat perception. However, as we previously mentioned, these three areas of scholarship did not consider each other's aspects, leading to a disconnect between these literatures. Given the situation in Türkiye at the time when the decision to grant women electoral rights was made, we believed that not just one, but all of these perspectives, could be connected to explain the context. After conducting the literature review, we hypothesized that the governmental elites of early Republican Türkiye decided to grant women their electoral rights as a symbol to display their modern identity in response to their material security concerns in the international sphere.

In this chapter, we will discuss our research design and the methodological choices we made, specifically process tracing with content analysis. Following the subsections, we will discuss the theoretical background of process tracing and content analysis and apply the method to three different types of documents from the timeframe. These document types are speeches, parliamentary minutes, and news articles.

3.2. The Methodology

“Methodological choices involve trade-offs, and how we evaluate those trade-offs and develop research designs on the basis of those evaluations will depend strongly on the assumptions we hold and the research aims we are seeking to pursue,” as argued by (Tansey, 2007). As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, in terms of the research topic, it aims to provide a comprehensive analysis; this thesis is a within-case study research to provide a detailed historical account. Therefore, we do not have any claims regarding external validity. However, we prioritized internal validity by adopting a methodology to test our hypothesis effectively and generating a comprehensive explanation for our research question.

In order to provide the comprehensive explanation we aimed for, we utilized two complementary research methods for a within-case study. The first one is the process tracing. Also, process tracing is complemented through qualitative content analysis. In this thesis, we conduct process tracing to comprehensively understand the context within which the early Republican Turkish government decided to adopt Turkish women’s electoral rights. With process tracing, we searched for the causal mechanisms that led

the governmental elites to grant women their electoral rights. As mentioned by Voltolini (2017), process tracing is an appropriate instrument to track the meaning-making process between decision-makers and other actors.

We also used qualitative content analysis as a complementary research method for process tracing. Through utilizing qualitative content analysis, we aimed to understand the security concerns of the governmental elites, their threat perceptions, how they wanted to build the state identity of the newly established Turkish Republic, and what was their approach to women's rights.

3.2.1 Process Tracing

As discussed in the Introduction chapter, process tracing is a method to provide a comprehensive explanation of the research question, and it is an invaluable tool used to track the cause-and-effect relationship step by step. It is a method that assists the researcher in building the causality up to link events to each other (Voltolini, 2017). Additionally, process tracing is a precise methodology that allows the researcher to conduct theory-driven research while measuring the case empirically (Ogg, 2015).

Process tracing is defined specifically as “a procedure for developing explanations of individual historical cases” (Waldner, 2015: 240). Similarly, Bennett & Checkel (2014) (as cited in Voltolini, 2017) define process tracing as an “analysis of evidence on processes (...) of events within a case (...)”. As defined in the literature, we are using process tracing to analyze a single historical case in this thesis. Therefore, process tracing is an appropriate method for our analysis to effectively understand the causality between our variables because of its in-depth focus (Voltolini, 2017). It is an important

research method to frame the data gathering and analysis (George & Bennett, 2005; Vennesson & Wiesner, 2014).

We utilized process tracing while we analyzed the cause-and-effect relationship between the events by examining all the documents in chronological order. We did not start the analysis process immediately, but performing the analysis after sorting through the documents related to our subject allowed us to examine this cause-and-effect relationship more closely.

3.2.2 Content Analysis

While tracing the process that led the governmental elites to decide to grant women citizens their electoral rights, we used certain types of documents, all of which involved communication materials. In order to analyze these materials effectively and efficiently, we utilized content analysis since this method allows the researcher to analyze a case by reducing it into defined categories while interpreting it in a better way (Harwood & Garry, 2003). Content analysis is a research method that allows researchers to be objective and systematic, and it can contribute generalizable results (Krippendorff, 2004; Prasad, 2008). Also, it is a methodology to quantify the content of the context of the communication (Holsti, 1969; Mariampolski, 2001; Prasad, 2008). While quantifying the content, Kolbe & Burnett (1991) put forward that documents can be analyzed by dividing them into units as sentences, words, or images. This versatility of content analysis in terms of material it can be utilized to analyze, Stemler (2015) defines it as “the most powerful tool in the researcher’s kit”. Following these arguments, we analyzed our documents by selecting sentences as the unit of analysis.

There are two different approaches regarding content analysis: pragmatical and designation. Designation analysis is about the frequency of referent objects (Harwood & Garry, 2003; Stemler, 2015). The aim of the pragmatical content analysis is to analyze cause-and-effect relationships (Harwood & Garry, 2003), which is more appropriate to utilize with process tracing. Therefore, it is more appropriate for us to adopt the pragmatical approach to content analysis since we are using content analysis as a complementary method to process tracing.

In addition to these two approaches, there are two types of content analysis: quantitative and qualitative. There are some similarities between quantitative and qualitative approaches. Both of them are used to make inferences through a coding scheme and segmenting data, and they offer a systematic approach (Selvi, 2019). Quantitative content analysis focuses on counting and measuring the frequency of textual elements to make statistical inferences (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009), whereas qualitative content analysis requires an in-depth analysis of textual elements (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009) by “interpreting symbolic construction of social and cultural meanings and emphasis in political messages” (Neuendorf & Kumar, 2015). In order to be able to make this interpretation process systematically, one can utilize themes. While developing the themes, there are three processes: concept-driven (or “deductive”), data-driven (or “inductive”), and mixing both deductive and inductive developments (Kuckartz, 2019). Themes are developed from a theory, the literature, or the research question in the deductive process. Besides, in the inductive process, themes are developed step-by-step procedure. Additionally, researchers can use both deductive and inductive processes and conduct a mixed process (Kuckartz, 2019). We had a theory we wanted to test while we

applied content analysis as our research method. We also conducted a two-phased investigation on documents and created our codes after the first phase. Therefore, its flexibility regarding being either deductive or inductive (Stemler, 2015) was another asset for us when adopting content analysis.

Another important aspect of the qualitative content analysis is that it can reveal the focus of attention of the sender of the message (Harwood & Garry, 2003). In order to be able to achieve this part and reveal the focus of attention, there are six phases of conducting content analysis. These phases are the formulation of the research question, selection of communication content and sample, developing themes, finalizing units of analysis, preparing a code book, and analyzing the coded data (Harwood & Garry, 2003; Prasad, 2008; Stemler, 2015). Below, Figure 1 shows the process of conducting a content analysis approach as it was mentioned by Prasad (2008).

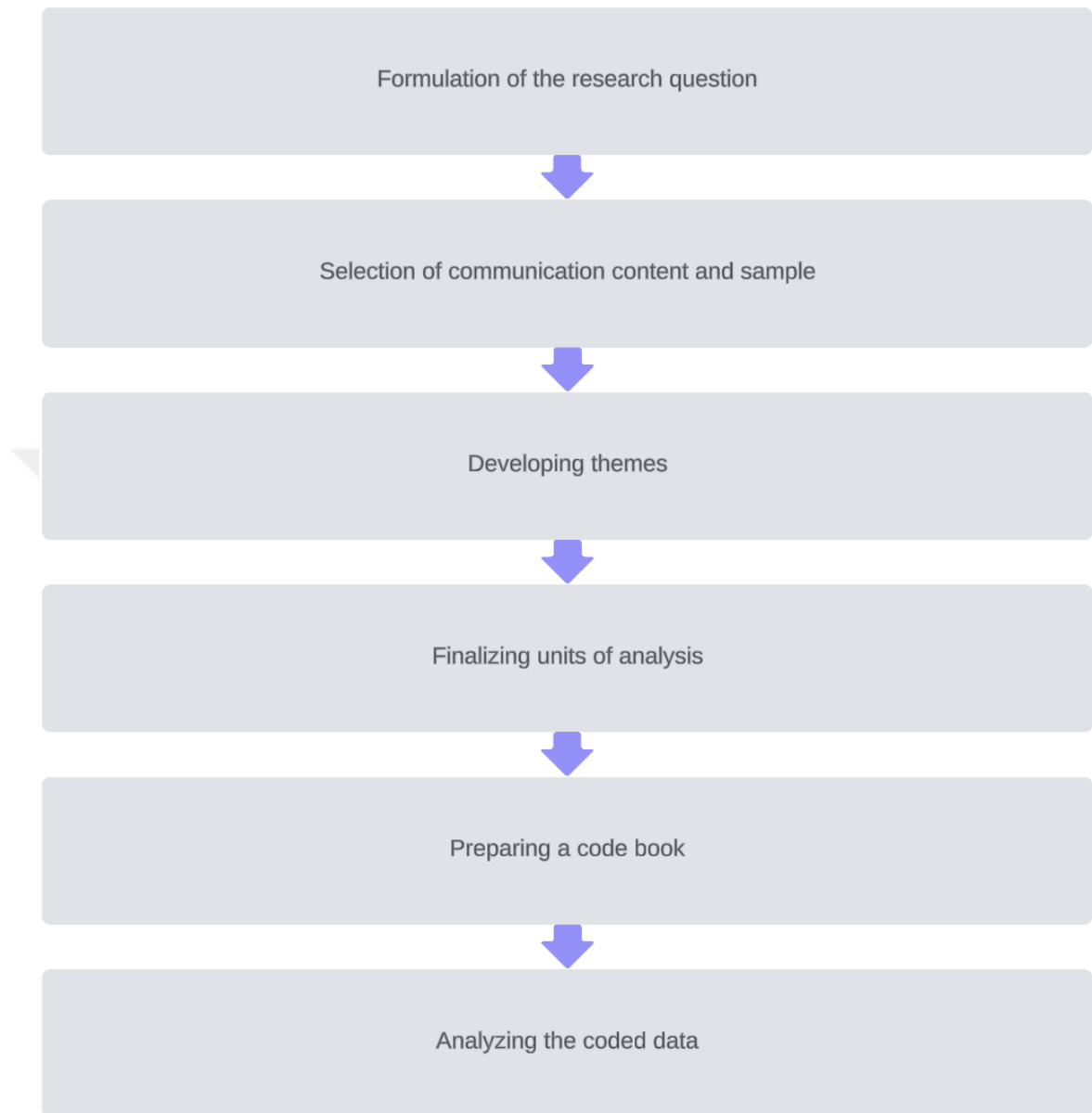


Figure 1. Process of content analysis (Adapted from: Prasad, 2008)

3.3 Research Design

While conducting process tracing to examine our case, we also utilized qualitative content analysis as a complementary research method to understand the underlying meaning in the parliamentary opening speeches of Atatürk, parliamentary discussions, and news articles published in the top-selling newspapers of the time. Even though we

used three different types of documents to test our hypothesis, all of these documents were in text format. Regarding Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches and the parliamentary minutes, the timeframe we investigated is from 1923 to 1935. 1935 is the threshold we determined because of the scope of the thesis. We are interested in the process that is leading up to the decision where governmental elites adopted women citizens' electoral rights. Since the decision was taken in December 1934, we specified 1935 as the threshold.

After searching for the influential newspapers of the 1920s and 1930s, two of them stood out: *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*. Even though there are other newspapers whose circulation numbers in certain years are more than *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*, these selected newspapers have a more balanced and sustained circulation.

The media did not have a free regime during the time we are analyzing (Yavcan & Ongur, 2016). However, checking the news articles of the time is important in order to be able to see the discussions outside of the parliamentary. The editors of the *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* were also members of the parliament. However, while we were scanning newspapers and parliamentary minutes, we found that discussions in newspapers were more diverse. The topics about international politics that either were not discussed or emphasized in the parliamentary discussion could be discussed at length in newspapers. It was observed that columns were written on more than a day for some topics, such as the rise of Nazism in Germany or the inconclusiveness of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments that took place in Geneva between 1932 and 1934.

Although we were able to investigate Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches and the parliamentary minutes starting from 1923, we were not able to conduct an analysis of newspaper articles starting from 1923. First of all, these newspapers were established in 1924 (*Cumhuriyet*) and 1926 (*Milliyet*). Also, as another important point, the digital archives of the two newspapers, *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*, were limited before 1929. Additionally, even though these newspapers before 1929 could have been accessed through physical archives, there is a language barrier to understanding and analyzing them. The transition to the Latin alphabet took place in November 1928 with the "Law on the Acceptance and Application of Turkish Letters". Therefore, until December 1928, both newspapers were printed in the Arabic alphabet, so they could not be understood and analyzed by the writer of this thesis even if they were accessed from physical archives. For this reason, it should be remembered that newspapers have been included in the analysis since 1929, and care should be taken to eliminate this restriction in subsequent studies.

To be able to analyze a large number of documents, using software like MAXQDA assists in the healthy progress of the analysis process (Voltolini, 2017). Voltolini (2017) argues that despite its effectiveness in analyzing large number of documents, using a software package like MAXQDA also limits the ability of analysis because it can "only identify manifest meaning and frequencies of word". However, in this thesis, we avoid this limitation since we code by using human effort to examine the underlying meaning behind each sentence and analyze the theme it belongs to.

3.3.1 Parliamentary Minutes and Atatürk's Parliamentary Opening Speeches

Parliamentary minutes were used to see the internal discussions of the decision-making elites regarding the issues of security, identity, and women's rights. From 1923 to 1935, we investigated 1055 parliamentary minutes. All of these minutes were obtained from the digital archive of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye.⁶ After downloading all of these minutes, we conducted an elimination process through the review of agenda items and conducted a search within a whole minute through five keywords we determined. These keywords are *women*, *civilization*, *peace*, *Italy*, and *Germany*. The keywords we determined to conduct the first elimination process were specified in accordance with the hypothesis. Since the hypothesis aims to measure the relationship between the threat perception Türkiye received from Italy and Germany during the time, the emphasis on European civilization being a desirable state, and the importance given to women's rights, these five keywords were determined in order to easily access the sections where these issues are discussed.

After the first elimination, conducted through the keywords (*women*, *civilization*, *peace*, *Italy*, and *Germany*) on 1055 parliamentary minutes, there were 80 parliamentary minutes remaining. We conducted qualitative content analysis through MAXQDA on these eighty minutes. The minutes examined are included in Table 1 below.

⁶ Can be reached through
https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/tutanak_dergisi_pdfler.meclis_donemleri?v_meclisdonem=0

1923	29.10.1923	1926	15.03.1926	1932	29.05.1932
	10.11.1923		30.05.1926		23.06.1932
	10.12.1923	1927	21.06.1927		25.06.1932
	15.12.1923		26.06.1927		09.07.1932
1924	28.01.1924	1928	22.04.1928	1933	07.11.1932
	12.02.1924		01.11.1928		07.01.1933
	16.02.1924	1929	07.01.1929		12.01.1933
	20.02.1924		19.01.1929		14.01.1933
	27.02.1924		04.03.1929		17.05.1933
	03.03.1924		19.05.1929		21.05.1933
	09.03.1924		25.05.1929		29.05.1933
	16.03.1924		02.06.1929		26.10.1933
	19.03.1924		03.06.1929		01.11.1933
	10.04.1924		09.11.1929		07.12.1933
	08.11.1924		09.12.1929		23.12.1933
	15.11.1924	1930	20.03.1930		01.03.1934
	19.11.1924		17.04.1930		06.03.1934
	27.11.1924		07.06.1930		05.04.1934
	01.12.1924		17.06.1930		26.05.1934
1925	26.01.1925		02.10.1930	1934	27.05.1934
	31.01.1925		15.11.1930		29.05.1934
	25.02.1925		15.12.1930		05.07.1934
	16.04.1925	1931	01.01.1931		25.10.1934
	25.11.1925		12.02.1931		5.12.1934
	12.12.1925		26.03.1931		06.12.1934
	31.12.1925		09.05.1931	1935	07.03.1935
1926	04.01.1926		14.05.1931		13.03.1935
	09.01.1926		15.07.1931		22.05.1935

Table 1. Dates of the parliamentary minutes analyzed for each year

Besides the parliamentary minutes, Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches were utilized because he was the primary decision-maker of the early Republican Türkiye and the most respected figure in politics. These speeches show in which areas the government's interests are most affected and what the direction of government policies

will be in the previous and following years of the year in which the speech is made.

Unlike the method followed for parliamentary minutes, we analyzed all of his speeches.

Document type \ Number of documents	Before the first elimination	Being analyzed
Parliamentary minute	1055	80
Atatürk's parliamentary opening speech	N/A	12

Table 2. Number of documents searched and analyzed per document type

We will provide the results of the analysis conducted through MAXQDA for both parliamentary minutes and Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches in the 3.4 Analysis section.

3.3.2 Newspapers – *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*

We have decided to analyze newspapers to understand how the discussions about domestic and international politics took place in public opinion. There were important newspapers of the time. Yet, two of them stood out: *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*. We can consider *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* newspapers to be the two most important newspapers of the examined period. *Cumhuriyet*, founded in 1924, and *Milliyet*, founded in 1926, have been among the newspapers with the most circulation since their establishment (Üyepazarcı, 2015).

Cumhuriyet was founded by Yunus Nadi in 1924 upon Atatürk's request. Yunus Nadi was an important journalist of his time who took an active role in the establishment of the Anadolu Agency. In addition to his journalism, he also served as a Muğla deputy in the parliament. He was one of the elites who changed their standing regarding women's electoral rights in 1934. He was an important part of the bridge that was wanted to be created between the political elites and the people ("Yunus Nadi Abalıoğlu (1879-1945)," n.d.). Even though he claimed that *Cumhuriyet* was not representing the government or the RPP, it can be seen that he supported the government policies in the columns on the headline page. This was not surprising since early Republican Türkiye did not have an opposition party. Atatürk and other political elites decided on the people who would have joined the elections and (almost certainly) be elected as members of parliament. Yet, we analyzed *Cumhuriyet* as part of our research design because of its influence on public opinion during the time. As mentioned before, it was one of the top-selling newspapers of the time, 1924-1935. It was one of the best communication tools that could be used to promote the new state identity of Türkiye to domestic politics.

The other newspaper analyzed (*Milliyet*), which was established by another deputy, Mahmut Soydan, with Atatürk's permission in 1926. Similar to Yunus Nadi, Mahmut Soydan took an active role in the establishment of the Anadolu Agency. Additionally, he was among the founders of three different organizations: *Telsiz Telefon Türk Anonim Şirketi* (Wireless Telephone Turkish Joint Stock Company), *Türk Maarif Cemiyeti* (Turkish Education Society), *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti* (National Economy and Savings Society) ("Mahmut Soydan (1883-1936)," n.d.). As we observed throughout our research, the topics discussed on the front page of *Milliyet* were more diverse than

Cumhuriyet between 1929 and 1935. Also, Milliyet followed a consistent path regarding women's electoral rights starting from 1929. We saw that they made news and wrote columns supporting women's political rights. On the contrary, Cumhuriyet's position was more aligned with the parliamentary discussions. Until 1934, Cumhuriyet did not publish articles that supported women's electoral rights. This topic will be discussed further in the analysis sub-section.

3.4 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, we discussed the research design of this thesis. We explained the research methods—process tracing and content analysis (both quantitative and qualitative). After explaining how these research methods are discussed in the literature, we touched upon how and why both research methods were used for this thesis. Since we are aiming to analyze the decision of the early Republican Turkish governmental elites to grant women their electoral rights exactly ten years after they excluded women citizens' electoral rights while discussing the election law, we adopted process tracing in order to examine the cause-and-effect relationship in an analytical framework.

Additionally, we utilized content analysis as a complementary research method for process tracing. We systematically analyzed the content of parliamentary minutes, parliamentary opening speeches of Atatürk (who was the primary decision-maker at the time), and news articles from the timeframe. Through content analysis, we aimed to identify recurring themes that can be utilized to understand the cause-and-effect relationship in the Turkish political elites' decision-making process.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

All of the documents we used are in text format. We imported all of the documents to the qualitative analysis software MAXQDA and coded the segments. The code book for the analysis was established using both theory-driven and data-driven approaches. We have established our theoretical framework in the second chapter before starting to review all the documents. After reviewing documents and collecting data that are related to our research question, we created the coding map of our analysis, which included parent and child codes.

We analyzed three types of documents by labeling them with codes that represent the theme of the segments are emphasizing on. These documents are parliamentary minutes, Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches, and newspaper articles from two of the most influential newspapers of the time, *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*, as mentioned in Chapter 3. While a parabolic appearance was observed in the number of segments labeled with the three parent codes we determined until 1932, we saw that the number of uses of all three themes increased significantly in 1933 and 1934, and this increase continued in 1934.

4.2 Analysis

The code book indicates the different themes the decision-makers and newspaper articles mentioned. This process was conducted in two phases. First, while distinguishing which date of parliamentary minutes and which date of the newspaper were related to the case

we examined, we took note of the words and word groups we encountered most frequently. After the first evaluation was conducted, we created our code book by determining themes with parent codes and by deciding on the child codes we could use in connection with these themes.

Then, we imported our code book to the MAXQDA and started to code the segments by analyzing the underlying meaning of the sentences. For example, in this parliamentary opening speech in 1925, Atatürk said, “The economic and civilized needs of the civilized community in which our nation is located are so close that, on the other hand, similar rapprochement is necessary in-laws.”. The coding structure of this sentence from child codes to parent code is as follows: `europa_identity -> identity_building -> modernization`. We built up the coding structure because, in this sentence, Atatürk wanted to display the direction in which the newly established Republic’s identity will be built. Further analysis will be conducted in the related sections. Yet, through this example, we wanted to display how we mixed a concept-driven and data-driven development of codes.

4.2.1 Codes

As mentioned, we built up the code book in two phases. The first phase was conducted during the initial investigation of the documents. After that phase and before starting to code via MAXQDA, we built up the code system.

The code system is as follows with its hierarchy:

- Women's rights
 - Gender equality
 - Symbolic value of women's rights
 - Women's electoral rights
 - Women's electoral rights (not accepted)
- Identity-building
 - Civilization
 - Emphasis on peace
 - European identity
 - Recognition
- Material threat perception
 - Economic threat perception
 - Customs tariffs
 - Import-export imbalance
 - Military threat perception
 - Armament
 - Border security
 - Emphasis on war – Germany
 - Emphasis on war – Italy
 - Military power – Germany
 - Military power – Italy
 - Political threat perception
 - Fascism
 - Nazism

	Parliamentary_Minutes	Newspapers	Atatürks speeches
womens_rights	36	47	1
womens_rights > symbolic_value_of_womens_rights	12	22	0
womens_rights > womens_electoral_rights	20	21	0
womens_rights > womens_electoral_rights_not_accepted	4	0	0
womens_rights > gender_equality	11	9	1
identity_building	91	78	26
identity_building > recognition	20	28	1
identity_building > emphasis_on_peace	43	29	19
identity_building > civilization	33	10	8
identity_building > european_identity	26	31	2
material_threat_perception	45	171	13
material_threat_perception > economical_threat_perception	11	9	1
material_threat_perception > economical_threat_perception > customs_tariffs	2	2	0
material_threat_perception > economical_threat_perception > import_export_imbalance	8	5	0
material_threat_perception > political_threat_perception	14	91	5
material_threat_perception > political_threat_perception > identity_conflict	4	8	2
material_threat_perception > political_threat_perception > ideological_conflicts	2	19	0
material_threat_perception > political_threat_perception > nazism	1	50	0
material_threat_perception > political_threat_perception > fascism	6	24	0
material_threat_perception > military_threat_perception	23	106	10
material_threat_perception > military_threat_perception > armament	1	24	3
material_threat_perception > military_threat_perception > border_security	21	25	7
material_threat_perception > military_threat_perception > emphasis_on_war_germany	0	21	0
material_threat_perception > military_threat_perception > emphasis_on_war_italy	1	20	0
material_threat_perception > military_threat_perception > military_power_germany	0	25	0
material_threat_perception > military_threat_perception > military_power_italy	3	7	0

Table 3. Frequency of themes and child codes per each document type

4.2.2 Parliamentary Minutes

After the first elimination, which was conducted through five keywords mentioned previously, we analyzed eighty parliamentary minutes to see the discussions that occurred in the legislative organization of the early Turkish Republic in terms of women's rights, the identity-building process of the state, and the material threat perception of the state.

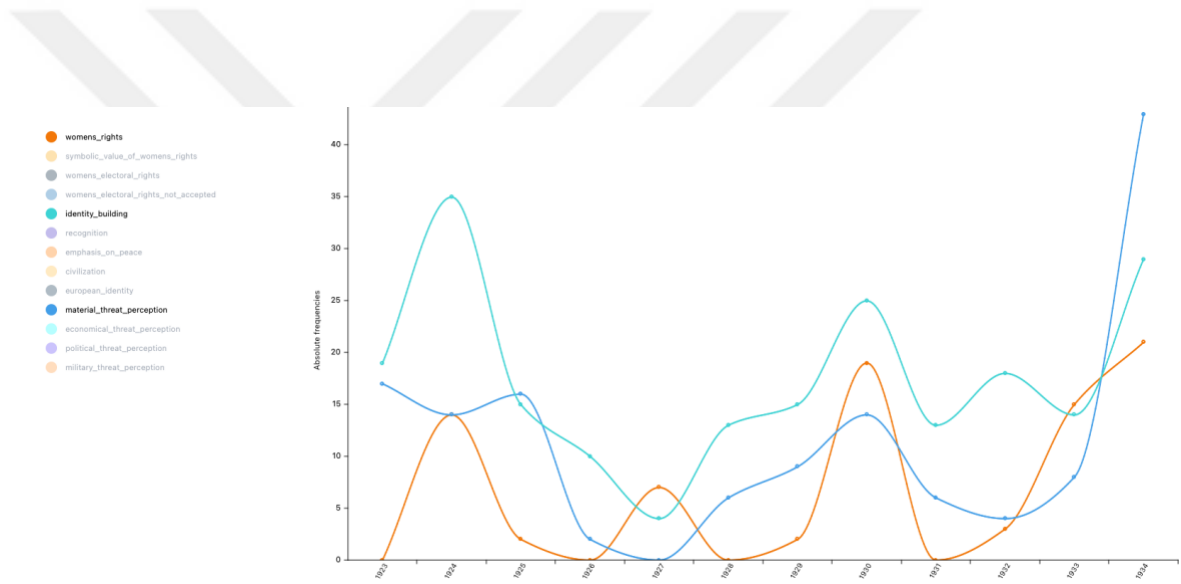


Figure 2. Yearly Usage Frequency of Main Themes in Parliamentary Minutes

As a country that fought a war of independence immediately after the First World War, it can be expected that Turkey and its military-based decision-makers, who took an active part in both wars, had high threat perceptions in the first years of the country's founding. The Treaty of Sevres, signed by the Allied Powers with the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War and sharing the lands of the Ottoman Empire, caused a syndrome called Sevres syndrome on these military-based decision-makers of the newly

established Turkish Republic and the public in general. The failure of European countries to intervene in the ill-treatment of the Turks in the Balkans by Greece in 1923 caused speeches to take place in the Parliament, stating that Muslim Turks had no value in the eyes of European states. Although we encountered the theme of material threat perception less in 1923 and 1924, we saw that border security was the most important reason for material threat perception in these years. The Mosul issue, which could not be resolved with the Lausanne Peace Treaty, and Mussolini's statement in one of his speeches that the Italians had their eyes on the East caused concerns about border security.

The fact that Italian statesmen talked about the Mediterranean basin, Anatolia, and Asia in their statements to Italian newspapers or in their speeches in the Italian parliament and wanted to expand Italy's sphere of influence in this direction caused Turkish decision-makers to perceive a threat from Italy. When we examined Türkiye's parliamentary minutes, we saw that parliamentary questions were submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding Italy's attitude (*Parliamentary Minutes*, 1925).

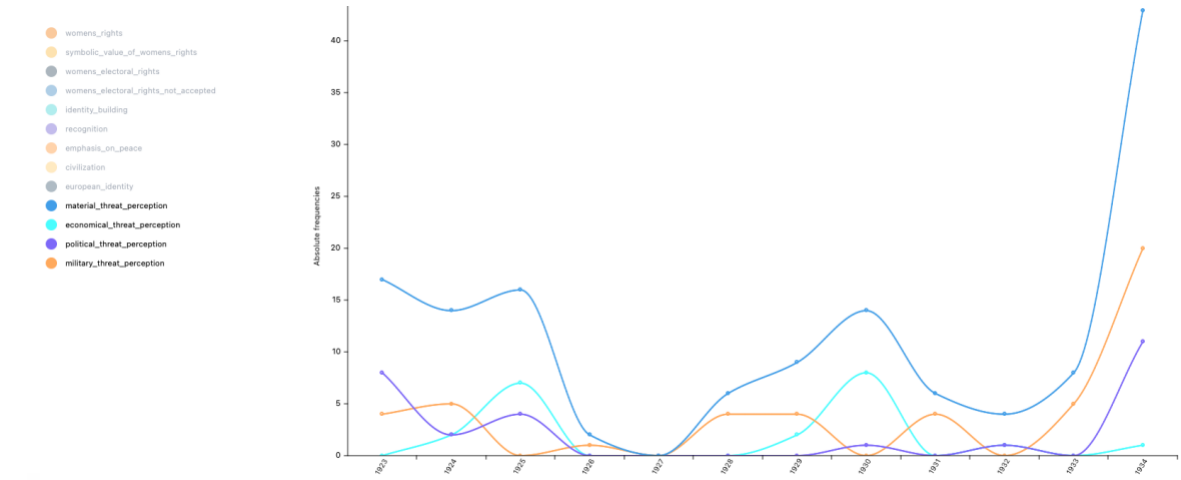


Figure 3. Yearly usage frequency of 'material threat perception' theme and its child codes in parliamentary minutes

The theme of economic threat perception in 1930 was higher than in other years. When we examine the segments where economical threat perception is coded, we see that the biggest anxiety stems from the imbalance in trade with Germany. Hasan Fehmi Bey pointed out that when the statistics are examined starting from 1924, Germany's imports to Türkiye were much more than Türkiye's exports to Germany (*Parliamentary Minutes*, 1930).

As can be seen in the graph, there is a decline in the use of material threat perception themes until 1932. Although there was an increase in the perception of political threats in 1932, the real acceleration in the use of these themes occurred after 1933. When examining the parliamentary minutes of 1934, there was a significant increase in the use of the material threat perception code and its child codes.

When we examined the segments where the theme of Turkey's political threat perception was used, we saw that the environment of uncertainty that started in Europe between the two world wars was the most important input to this political threat perception. This period was called the "depressive period" (*buhranlı devir*) in the speeches made by the deputies in the parliament.

By 1934, it seemed that the most important factor affecting the perception of political threat was fascism. The occupations carried out by the fascist regime in Italy in the Mediterranean, the ideal of establishing a great Mediterranean state, and the measures taken in its internal affairs to protect the fascist regime were the most frequently mentioned topics.

Reasons such as Italy's military activities in the Mediterranean, the lack of results from the disarmament conference and the increasing military capacity of countries, and the atmosphere of political uncertainty with the rise of regimes such as Nazism and Fascism, also affected the parliamentary speeches of decision-makers in Turkey in 1934.

When we looked into the usage of identity-building themes in the speeches that occurred in this newly established Republic's parliament, the number of usage, which peaked in 1924, decreased until 1927, and although there were slight increases and decreases over the years, we see that it increased with a serious acceleration in 1933 until 1934.

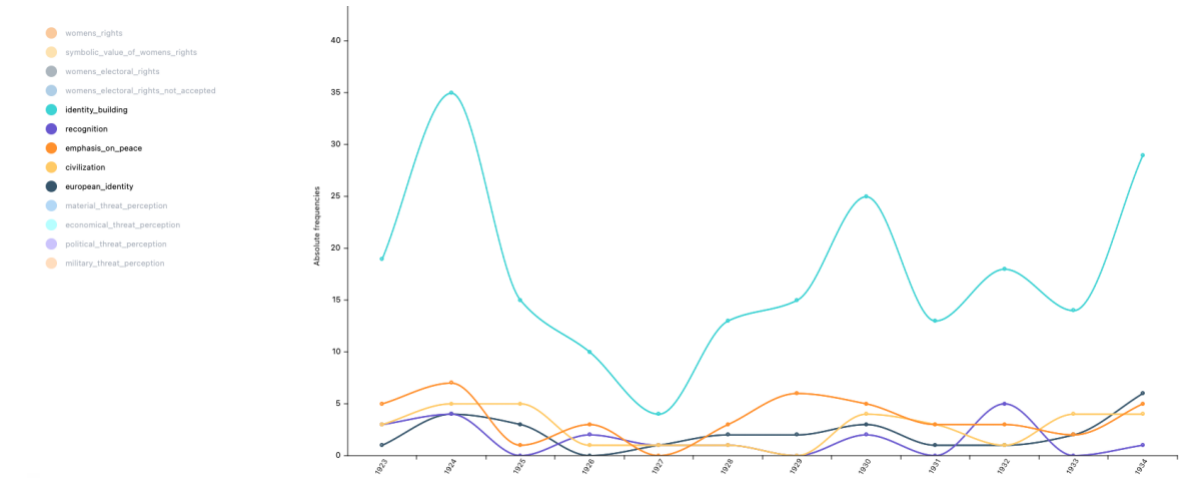


Figure 4. Yearly usage frequency of 'identity-building' theme and its child codes in parliamentary minutes

Within the child codes of identity-building, “emphasis on peace” was the most used one in the parliamentary minutes. Deputies of military origin, who took an active part in two separate wars in a row, knew the importance of living in peace and repeated this at every opportunity. In 1924, Feridun Bey mentioned the desire of Türkiye by saying, “Today, we want to live as peaceful a life as possible; we try to treat our wounds as much as possible.” (*Parliamentary Minutes*, 1924).

At that time, Turkey’s foreign policy was shaped by Atatürk’s famous saying, “peace at home, peace in the world”. Şükrü Kaya, who was both the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Minister of Foreign Affairs by proxy at that time, expressed the reflection of Atatürk’s words in the parliament as follows in his speech in 1934: “The basis of the foreign policy followed by the Republic of Türkiye is based on peace and friendship from the first day until today. The goal we pursue, as we always say everywhere, is peace at home and peace in the world.” (*Parliamentary Minute*, 1934)

All deputies who spoke in the parliament constantly used the theme of peace both in Turkey's immediate region and in the international system. It was a result of this policy that Türkiye played a leading role in the process leading to the signing of the Balkan Pact on 9 February 1934. Like all other codes, although the theme of emphasis on peace draws a fluctuating graph in terms of frequency, it is seen that its slope is low, and although the use of this theme decreased after 1929, there was an increase again in 1934.

Women's electoral rights were first discussed in the parliament in 1924. This discussion occurred due to a sentence that was mentioned in a proposed legislation. Two of the articles (10th and 11th) of the proposed legislation mentioned that "every Turkish citizen who has reached the age of eighteen has the right to participate in the election of members of parliament" and "every Turkish citizen who has reached the age of thirty has the right to be elected as deputies". It is seen that there were fierce debates among the deputies about whether the term "every Turkish citizen" includes female citizens or not. Deputies like Recep Bey argued that Turkish women cannot be excluded from every Turkish expression, just as French women cannot be excluded from every French expression and English women cannot be excluded from every English expression. However, this stance of Recep Bey is not supported by other deputies and the proposed legislation is being amended so that female citizens would not have the right to vote and be elected. This discussion, which took place in the parliamentary minutes dated March 16, 1924, is the only written source in which a statement is made that women's rights are not recognized or do not want to be recognized by decision-makers, considering the documents we have examined.

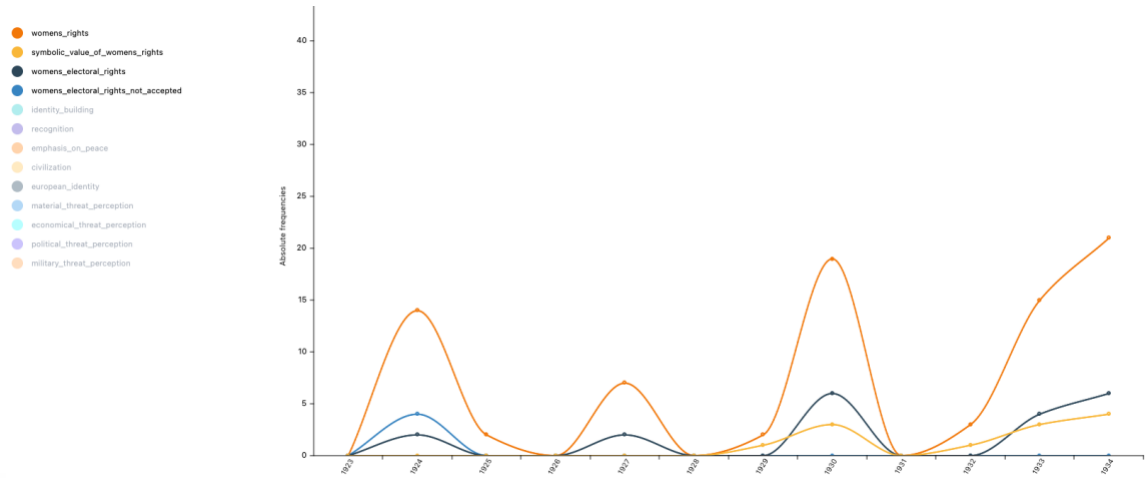


Figure 5. Yearly usage frequency of 'women's rights' theme and its child codes in parliamentary minutes

After 1924, when women's electoral were not accepted by decision-makers in the parliamentary, there were no mentions that Turkish women would not have electoral rights in parliamentary minutes. On the contrary, as can be seen in Graphic 1, the desire for women to have electoral rights and the symbolic value of women's rights gained momentum.

In 1927, when the deputies were discussing the proposal for Military Service Obligation Law, women's electoral rights came to the fore again, and it was claimed that there was no difference between military service and having electoral rights. Hakkı Tarık Bey mentioned that it was desirable for women to have electoral rights as soon as possible and since both military service and political participation were seen as national matters. Therefore, according to this point of view, women should have conducted military service if they had the right to political participation. As can be understood, his stance on granting women electoral rights was not actually about women having the right to

participate in the elections, but rather, if women had gained this right, they should have also served as soldiers in the military.

İsmet İnönü, the prime minister of the time, made a speech in the parliament in 1929. In this speech, the theme of the symbolic value of women's electoral rights was used for the first time. He said:

“While women all over the world are rising to the highest positions of the State, we will never be able to prevent Turkish girls, who raised the greatest heroes, from being disrespected.” (*Parliamentary Minute*, 1929)

Although the emphasis on women's right to vote and its symbolic value increased in 1930, neither theme was mentioned at all in 1931. After this situation in 1931, we see that the number of mentions of both themes began to increase regularly. In the discussions in 1932, it was stated that the democratic regime of Western countries did not set conditions up between male and female citizens (*Parliamentary Minute*, 1932).

Even though women were granted the right to participate in municipal elections in 1930, we see that conversations about the symbolic value of this right in the parliament took place in 1933. A part of the speech conducted by Recep Bey, who supported women to have electoral rights in the debate occurred in 1924, is as follows:

“One step further, friends; during the Republican era, women actually gained the right to participate in elections. By granting Turkish women the right to vote together with male citizens in municipal elections, the RPP, with its current administration, has actually given a great right to witness an administrative and

political duty, which is not available in many countries.” (*Parliamentary Minute*, 1933)

Women’s electoral rights regarding participation in parliamentary elections were recognized in 1934 on December 5. In the speeches made on that day, the main emphasis was on the symbolic value of women’s electoral rights. Deputies said that this law that allows women to participate in parliamentary elections would be counted as one of the primary services of Atatürk since it removed the pressure on the nation established by depriving women’s rights in the Ottoman-era. In one of the most striking sentences, it is mentioned that when the Turkish Revolution is mentioned, people will also know that it is the women’s liberation revolution.

When we look at the frequency of each code appearing in the parliamentary minutes in total (and therefore the frequency of the themes mentioned in the parliamentary minutes), we see that a code cloud is formed as follows.



Figure 6. Code cloud of parliamentary minutes

The graph showing the frequencies of the themes used in the parliamentary minutes examined between 1923 and 1935 is as follows.

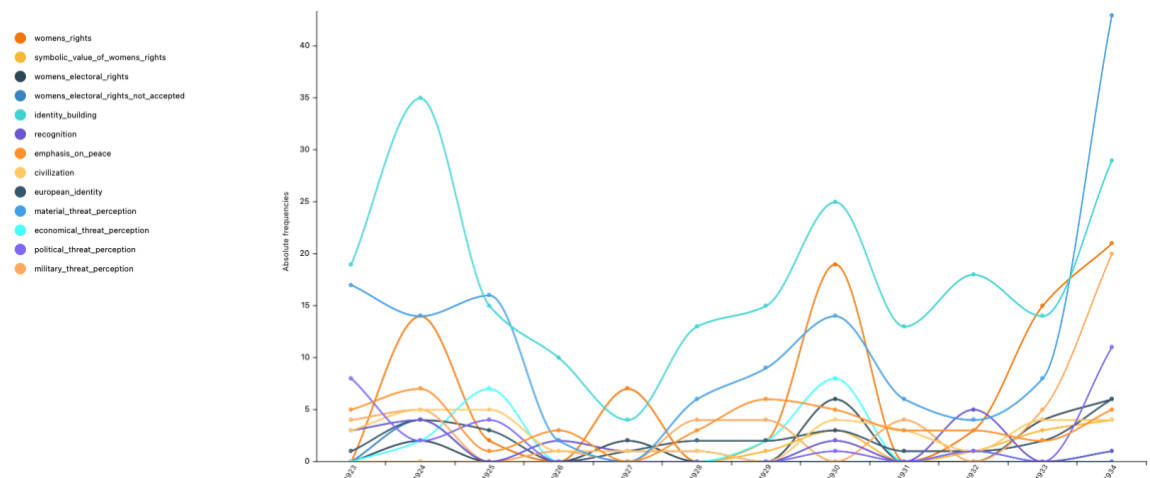


Figure 7. Yearly usage frequency of all themes and child codes in parliamentary minutes

4.2.3 Atatürk's Parliamentary Opening Speeches

We examined all of Atatürk's parliamentary speeches without conducting an elimination process, contrary to how we examined parliamentary minutes. As mentioned in Table 2, a total of twelve parliamentary speeches conducted by Atatürk were examined, starting from 1924 until 1934. These documents were included in the analysis process to understand the view of the primary decision-makers of the early-Republican Türkiye.

Also, we wanted to see how much the themes we developed to measure our hypothesis were used by Atatürk in these speeches to other decision-makers.

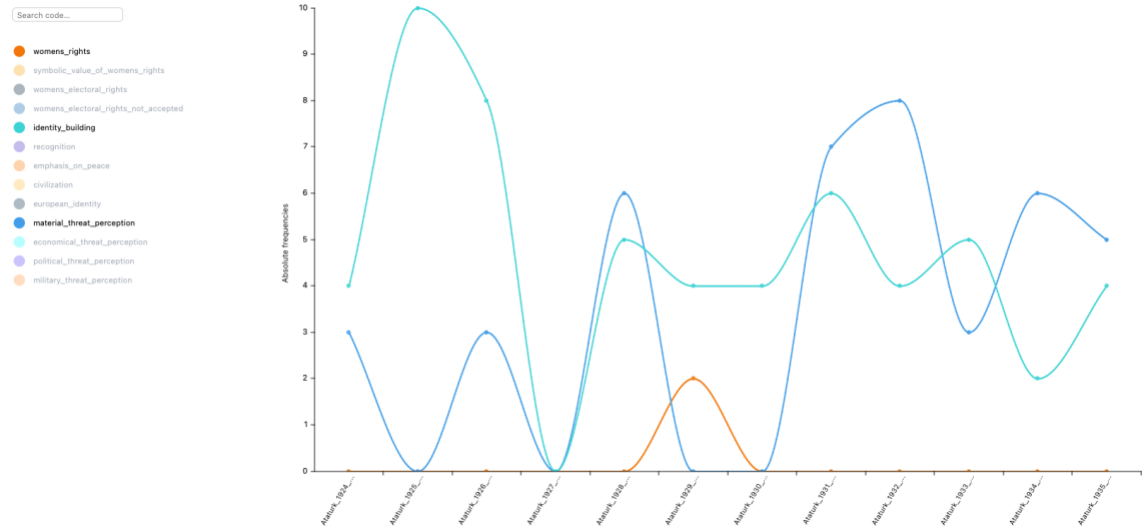


Figure 8. Yearly usage frequency of main themes in Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches

It can also be seen from the graph how low the frequency of using themes was in Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches. Especially, the theme of women's rights was only mentioned in his 1929 parliamentary opening speech. This was through the gender equality Turkish Republic aimed at public literacy. He said that apart from normal education, hundreds of citizens, both men and women, were taught in "millet okulları"

(*public schools*)⁷. Apart from this sentence, he did not mention women's rights or his child codes in any of his speeches.

Although the theme of women's rights was used less in the speeches, it was observed that identity-building and child codes of identity-building were used more dominantly than other codes in Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches. Similar to the parliamentary minutes, emphasis on peace was the most mentioned code within the identity-building theme's child codes. The recognition desire of Türkiye by other states in the international system was mentioned only once in Atatürk's speeches in the year 1933. Moreover, both the "European identity" was never mentioned after 1929, and the "civilization" code was never mentioned after 1930. The predominant code in Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches that represents the "identity building" theme was the emphasis on peace.

⁷ Public schools took an active part in the literacy campaign that was initiated after the adoption of the Latin alphabet as the written language in 1928.



Figure 9. Yearly usage frequency of 'identity-building' theme and its child codes in Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches

The policy followed in foreign policy, especially in relations with neighboring countries, was called “the path of peace and friendship”. The importance of both regional and international cooperation in achieving and preserving peace was mentioned at every opportunity. In his speech that took place in 1931, Atatürk said, “Türkiye is particularly interested in preserving and supporting peace in the Balkans due to its geographical situation. The fact that Türkiye has almost no disputes or disputes with its neighbors reveals the sincerity of Türkiye’s wishes.” (*Parliamentary Opening Speech*, 1931).

The graph showing the frequencies of the themes used in Atatürk’s parliamentary opening speeches examined between 1924 and 1935 is as follows.

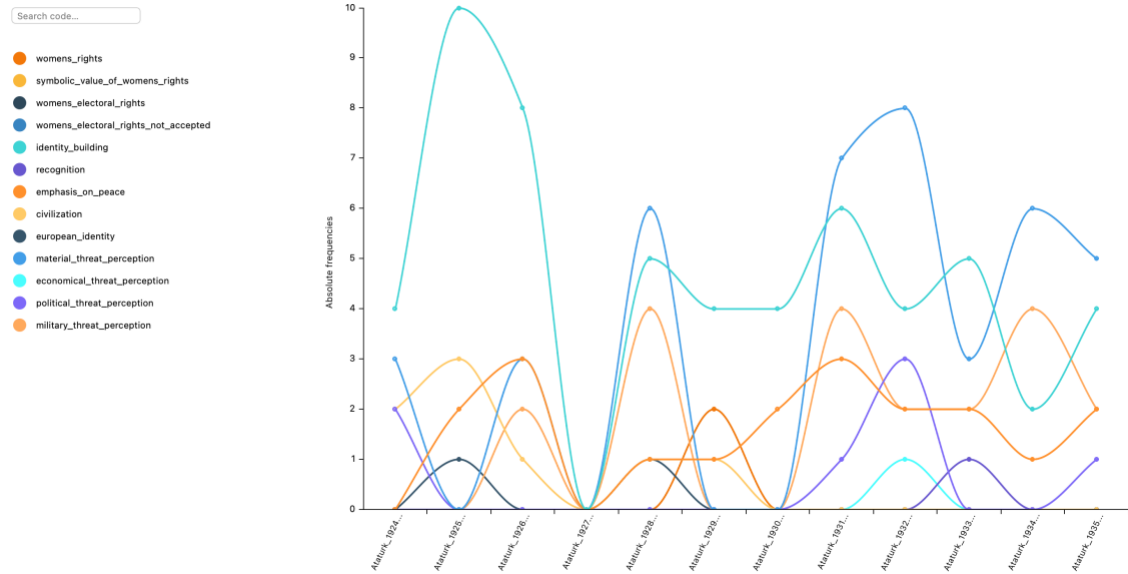


Figure 10. Yearly usage frequency of all themes and child codes in Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches

As can be seen through the graph, even though identity-building was the primarily used theme in the early 1920s, the weight of the material threat perception increased in the early 1930s. The usage of material threat perception reached its peak in 1932. Within the material threat perception theme, military threat perception was the dominant code, although there were increases and decreases annually. Similar to the parliamentary minutes, border security was the area where the most threat was perceived. In his parliamentary opening speech in 1934, Atatürk said:

“Recent international events should be evidence of how important a strong air army is for the Turkish nation. The fact that the sacred homeland, which we established with great effort and which we swore to protect with our lives, is safe from air attacks means that we have confidence that those who will attack us can

do the same damage in their own homeland. We read this confidence in the eyes of every person who carries a heavenly feeling in his heart, burning for the homeland.” (*Parliamentary Opening Speech*, 1934)

Another important aspect that affected his threat perception was the uncertainty in the Balkans. As he mentioned, reducing uncertainty and preserving the peace situation in the Balkans was important for Türkiye due to its geographical situation (*Parliamentary Opening Speech*, 1931). According to Atatürk’s point of view, establishing border security was particularly important for Türkiye since it was going through an intense process of reforms and developments. Therefore, peace within Türkiye and around Türkiye was important to complete this reforming process (*Parliamentary Opening Speech*, 1928).

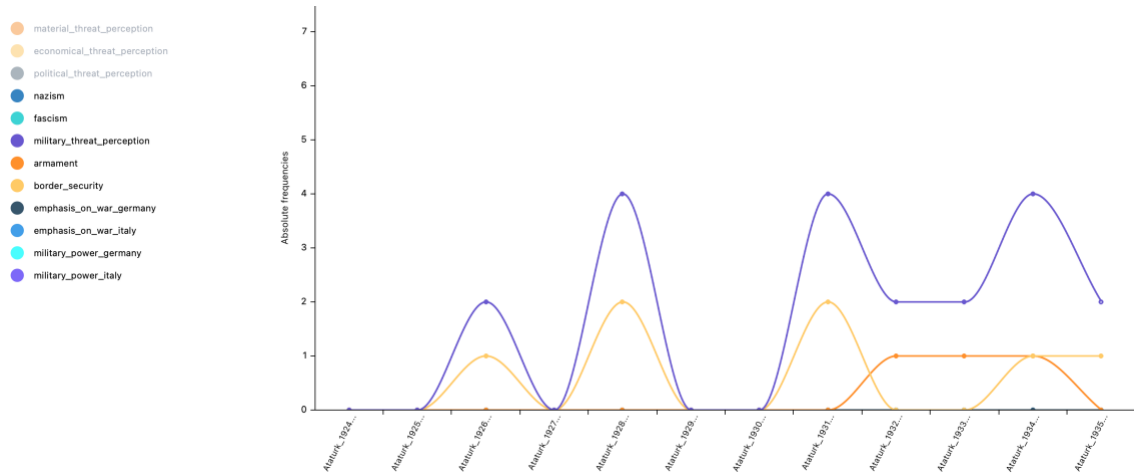


Figure 11. Yearly usage frequency of child codes related with 'material threat perception' theme in Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches

As can be seen through the above graph, Atatürk never mentioned a threat perception from Germany or Italy. Indeed, he only mentioned military threat perception because of

issues connected to the border security of Türkiye and the armament of other states.

When we examined the segments coded with “armament”, we saw that he only mentioned the importance of international disarmament conferences and the importance of obtaining results from these international conferences for the welfare of the entire international system.

When we look at the frequency of each code appearing in the parliamentary opening speeches of Atatürk in total (and therefore the frequency of the themes mentioned in these speeches), we see that a code cloud is formed as follows.



Figure 12. Code cloud of Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches

4.2.4 Newspapers

4.2.4.1 Cumhuriyet

We examined all of the Cumhuriyet’s daily printing we had access to through a digital archive between the years of 1929 and 1935. As we explained in the subsection “3.3. Research Design”, we did not have access to those Cumhuriyet issues published before 1929 due to both logistic and language limitations. Since the pages of the issues were uploaded to the digital archive in PNG format and they cannot be read through optical character recognition due to the image distortions, we were not able to convert them into a written format and had to analyze them through images. Therefore, we did not conduct a two-phased analysis of these newspaper issues as well as we did not in Atatürk’s parliamentary opening speeches. We checked every news article in each issue and determined whether they were related to our research. This determination process has occurred primarily through specific keywords (*women, civilization, peace, Italy, and Germany*). Yet, we did not analyze each issue that had, for example, “women” as a news headline. We also determined the relatedness of the content of that news with our research scope, and we are well aware of the subjectivity of this process.

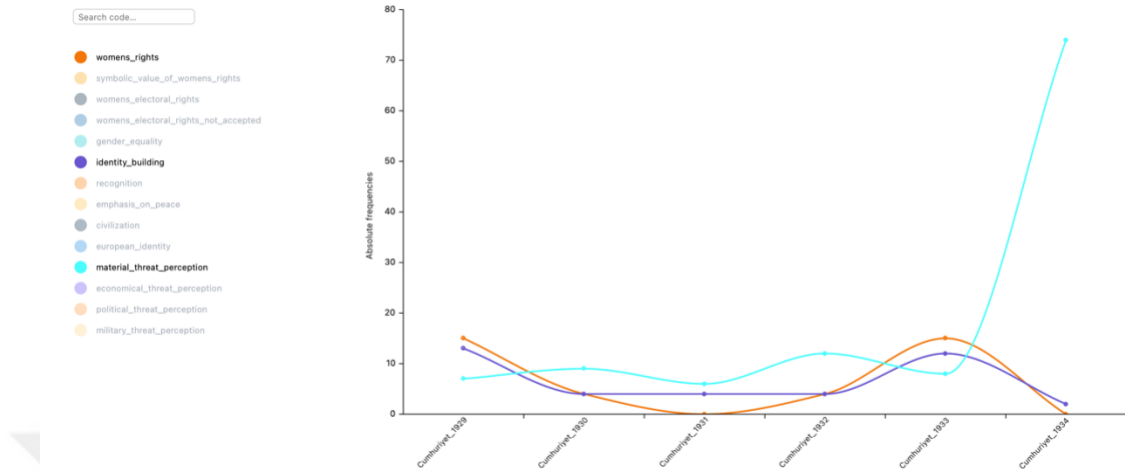


Figure 13. Yearly usage frequency of main themes in Cumhuriyet

In the years we examined, from 1929 until the end of 1934, we saw that Cumhuriyet used women's rights and identity-building themes noticeably less than the material threat perception. However, by 1933, we see a more balanced use of the three themes. In 1934, material threat perception gained tremendous momentum to increase, whereas the usage of the other two themes was almost zero.

When we look at the use of the theme of women's rights, we see that the most frequently mentioned topics in 1929 were Turkish women participating in international congresses and explaining the place of Turkish women in social life to other countries. This is why the use of themes of women's rights and identity construction were so close to each other in 1929. The below segment is an example of how women's rights and identity-building were used together in Cumhuriyet:

“The fact that Turkish women, for the first time, were so advanced in terms of law and presented evidence at such an international congress was met with great interest in foreign countries. As a result of our recent revolutions, Turkish women are in a higher position than many other nations in terms of complying with human rights. This distinction and evolution of Turkish womanhood was met with great envy.” (*Cumhuriyet*, 1929)

In this passage, *Cumhuriyet* emphasized the symbolic value of women’s rights to display Türkiye’s identity as a civilized country, therefore serving Türkiye’s search for recognition. The news about the rights of Turkish women made by foreign female journalists visiting Turkey was followed with great interest in the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, and the news written by foreign journalists and the interviews with these journalists were made available to the public. Therefore, *Cumhuriyet* made the relationship between women’s rights and identity-building visible to the public.

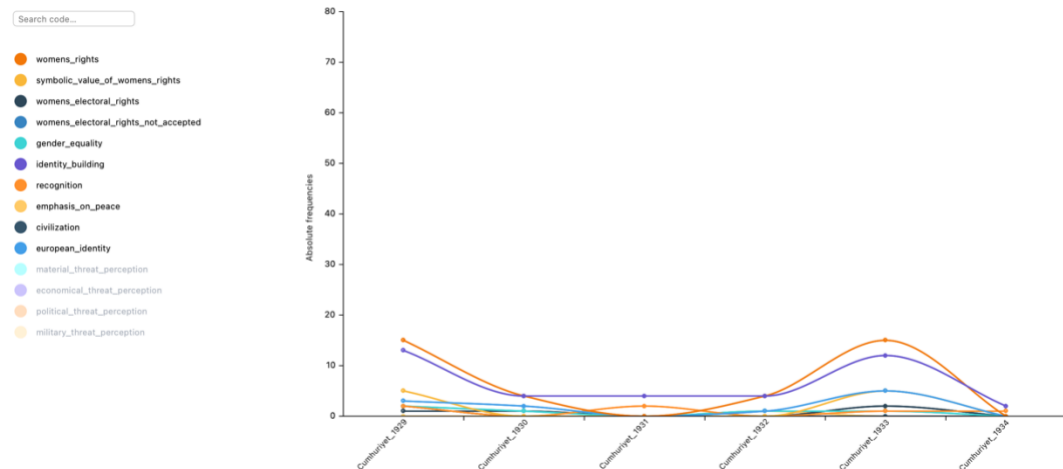


Figure 14. Yearly usage frequency of 'women's rights' and 'identity-building' themes and their child codes in Cumhuriyet

As can be seen from the graph above, the use of women's rights and identity construction themes and child codes in the Cumhuriyet newspaper was more balanced between 1929 and 1934. On the contrary, the use of the material threat perception theme appeared to follow an unbalanced pattern.

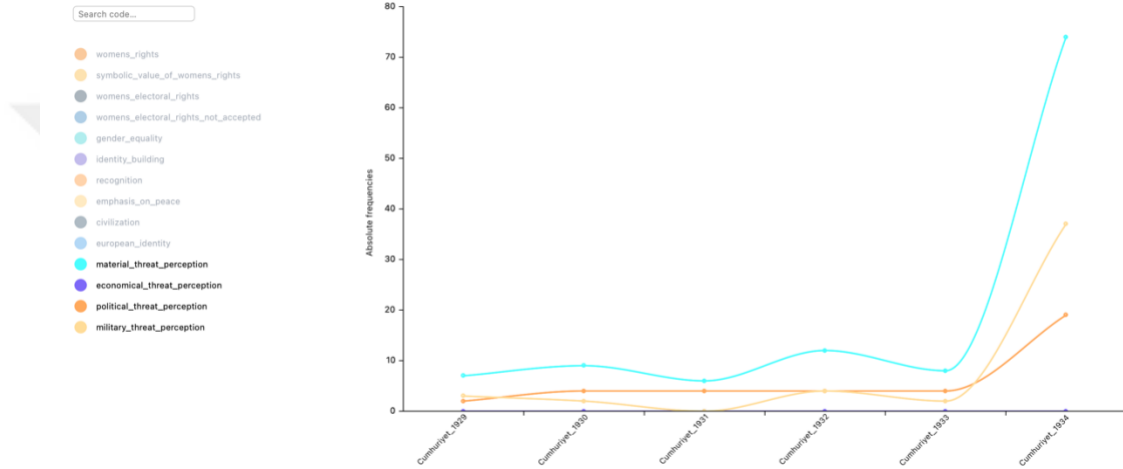


Figure 15. Yearly usage frequency of the 'material threat perception' theme and its child codes in Cumhuriyet

Cumhuriyet never used a segment that can be coded as “economic threat perception”; Instead, they wanted to draw the public's attention to the political threat perception and, most widely, military threat perception. While it was seen that both political threat perception and material threat perception themes had a more balanced use until 1933, they peaked in 1934. Although there were a few reports in 1932 about the power Hitler wanted to gain in Germany, it was stated that “Hitler was incompetent” (*Cumhuriyet*, 1932) rather than perceiving any threat. Also, in 1932 and 1933, Italy was mentioned as Türkiye's friend. However, they also stated Italy's activities in the Balkans. Although

the perception of a threat by Türkiye was not directly mentioned, the words of the officials from the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Italy’s existence threatens the Adriatic Sea,” were mentioned in 1933. Although the perception of a threat was not directly mentioned, officials from the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs began to mention the words “Italy’s existence threatens the Adriatic Sea” in 1933.

Yunus Nadi first mentioned the threat Türkiye perceived from Italy in his column dated March 21, 1934. He said;

“There is little or no work for Italy in the north. It is the same in the West.

However, there is work for Italy in the south and east, in Africa and Asia. These are the directions that history and geography have assigned to Italy, and Mussolini clearly points these directions to the present and future generations.”

(*Cumhuriyet*, 1934)

Italy’s arming of the Dalmatian Islands, meetings between Mussolini and Hitler, Hitler expressing his revisionist demands for the border between France and Germany, and increasing the weapon capacities of both Italy and Germany were the most prominent news in the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper in 1934.

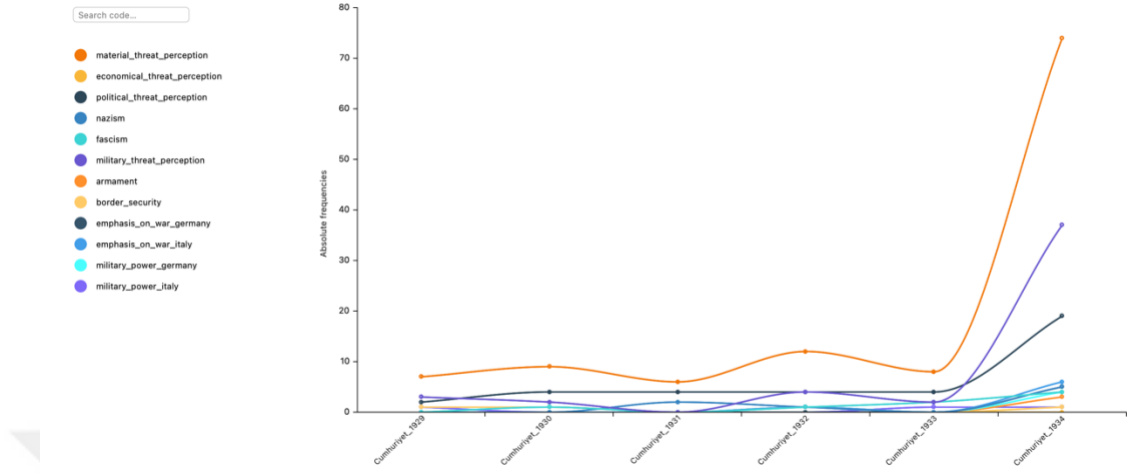


Figure 16. Yearly usage frequency of all codes related with 'material threat perception' theme in Cumhuriyet

When we look at the frequency of each code appearing in the Cumhuriyet in 1929-1934 in total, we see that a code cloud is formed as follows.



Figure 17. Code cloud of Cumhuriyet

4.2.4.2 Milliyet

Using a digital archive, we looked at every daily print edition of the Milliyet published between 1929 and 1935. For logistical and linguistic reasons, we were unable to obtain the Milliyet issues issued before 1929, as we have discussed in subsection “3.3.

Research Design.” We were unable to convert the issue pages into a textual format and were forced to examine them using photographs because they were submitted to the digital repository in PNG format and could not be read using optical character recognition because of image distortions. As a result, similar to the Cumhuriyet’s procedure, we did not perform a two-phased investigation of these newspaper topics. Every news item in each issue was examined to see whether it had anything to do with our research. The main means by which this decision process has taken place are certain keywords (*women, civilization, peace, Italy, and Germany*). Yet, we did not examine

each article that used the word “Germany” in their headline. We also assessed how closely their substance is linked to the scope of our study, as we did with Cumhuriyet, and we are fully conscious of how subjective this process is.

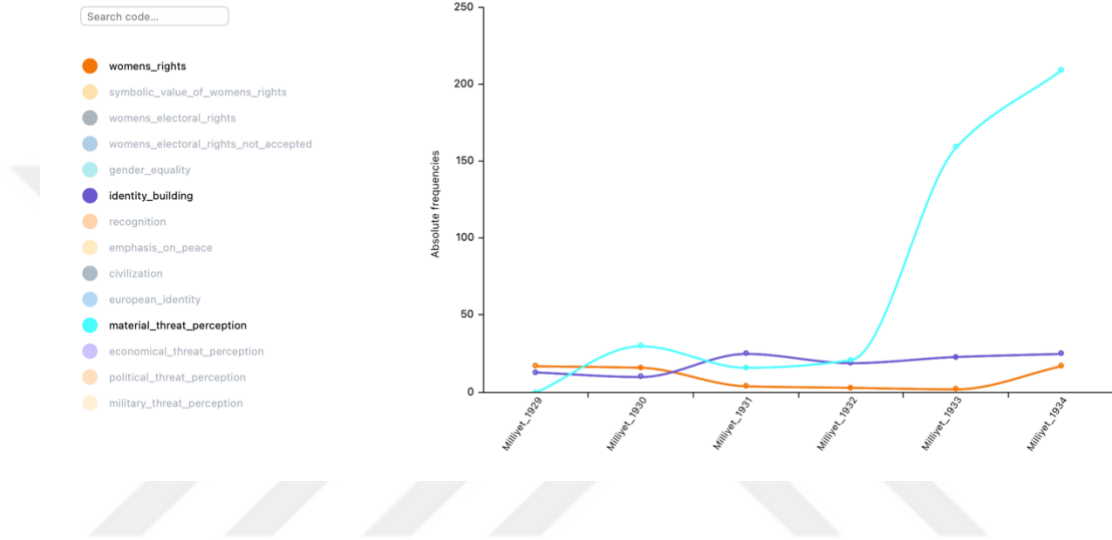


Figure 18. Yearly usage frequency of main themes in Milliyet

The years we looked at, from 1929 until the end of 1934, showed that Milliyet employed themes related to women’s rights and identity-building considerably less frequently than the theme of the material threat. However, by 1933, the three themes were used in a more balanced manner. The sense of material threat increased dramatically in 1934, but the other two themes were used very little. This situation is also what we observed while analyzing Cumhuriyet. Therefore, we can say that the frequency of using themes in newspapers is consistent with each other. Yet, as opposite to what we observed in Cumhuriyet, the women’s rights and identity-building themes were not correlated in Milliyet. On the contrary, when the usage of identity-building was staying around twenty times, the usage of the women’s rights theme showed a noticeable decrease. This

“women’s rights” theme, which we saw used sixteen times in 1930, was used four, three, and two times in 1931, 1932, and 1933, respectively. With all this, although the use of the theme of identity construction increased slightly in 1934 compared to the previous year, reaching twenty-five, the use of the theme of women’s rights increased from two in the previous year to seventeen.

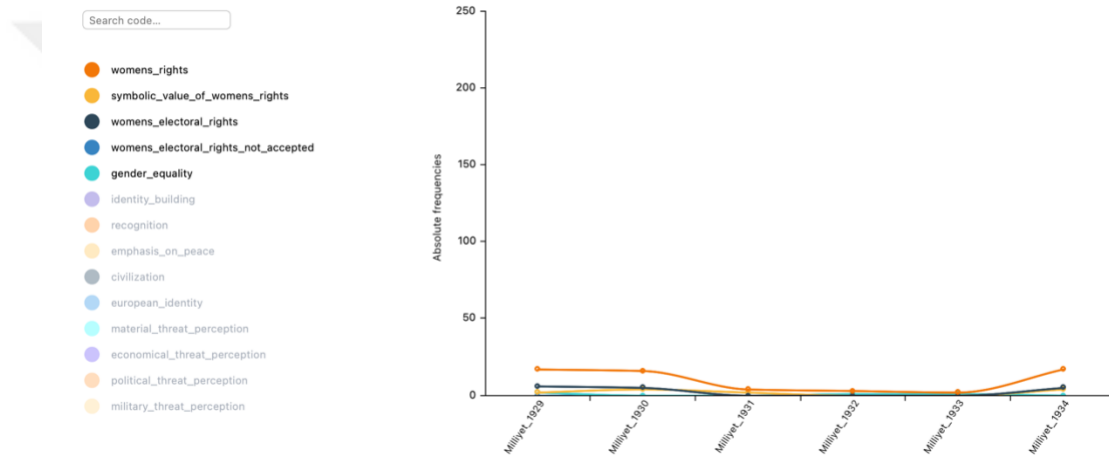


Figure 19. Yearly usage frequency of 'women's rights' theme and its child codes in Milliyet

In these times, when the usage of the women’s rights theme decreased in Milliyet’s news, the usage of the “emphasis on peace” child code of identity-building increased noticeably. With his daily articles, the Deputy of Siirt and also the primary columnist of Milliyet, Mahmut Bey, wrote that Türkiye wanted to pursue a policy of agreement and reconciliation with every state (*Milliyet*, 1933). In his columns in 1933, it was mentioned that Turkey had become closer to France during this period, and it was emphasized that this rapprochement should not affect the friendship with Italy.

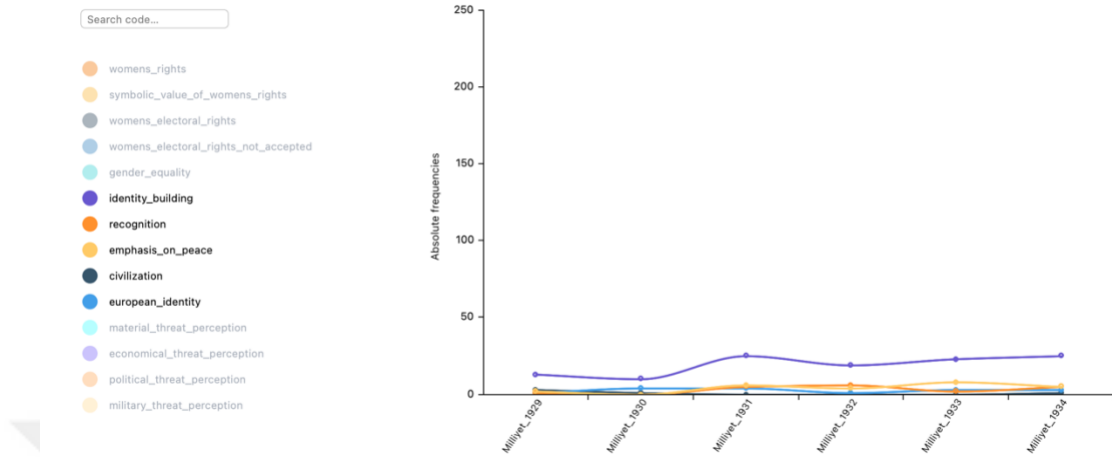


Figure 20. Yearly usage frequency of 'identity-building' theme and its child codes in Milliyet

1933 was also the year that political threat perception was mentioned highest in Milliyet's news articles. In Milliyet newspaper, both Nazism and Fascism are seen as factors that increase the perception of political threat. The fact that Hitler was rapidly gaining power in Germany and the irredentist and revisionist policies of the National Socialist Party were frequently mentioned in the news related to Germany. The flights of German planes over Austria were also mentioned and the public was informed about Germany's expansionist policies. Another point that was feared about Hitler gaining power in Germany's domestic politics was that it might increase uncertainty in the international system. Germany's territorial claims on both Austria and the Sar region suggested that its expansionist policy could increase uncertainty in the entire system (Milliyet, 1933).

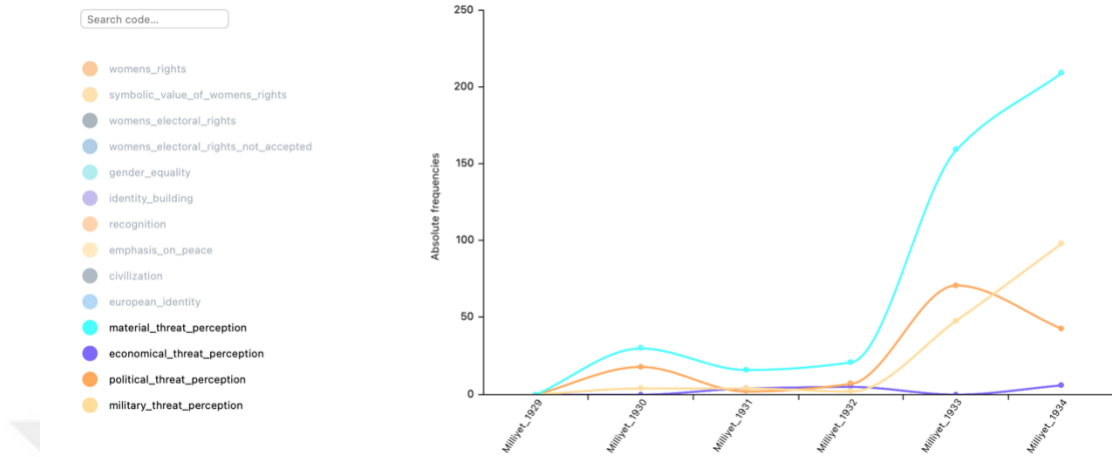


Figure 21. Yearly usage frequency of 'material threat perception' theme and its child codes in Milliyet

When we move on to 1934, we see that while the perception of political threat decreases, the perception of military threat increases. In 1934, the armament in the international system, the increase in the military capacities of both Germany and Italy, and the armament of other states in the international system were the most important factors affecting the perception of military threat. Additionally, we saw that Italy and Germany's emphasis on war in 1934 increased. Even though Italy's emphasis on war in 1933, according to the news published in Milliyet, was only two, it increased to ten in the next year. Germany's emphasis on war only increased by two from seven to nine. During this period, we see that the emphasis on Italy's military capacity has not increased, along with the emphasis on concern about Türkiye's border security. For this reason, we can say that the most intense threat perception for Milliyet newspaper is Hitler's rise to power in Germany and the Nazi party's irredentist policies that increase uncertainty in the international system.

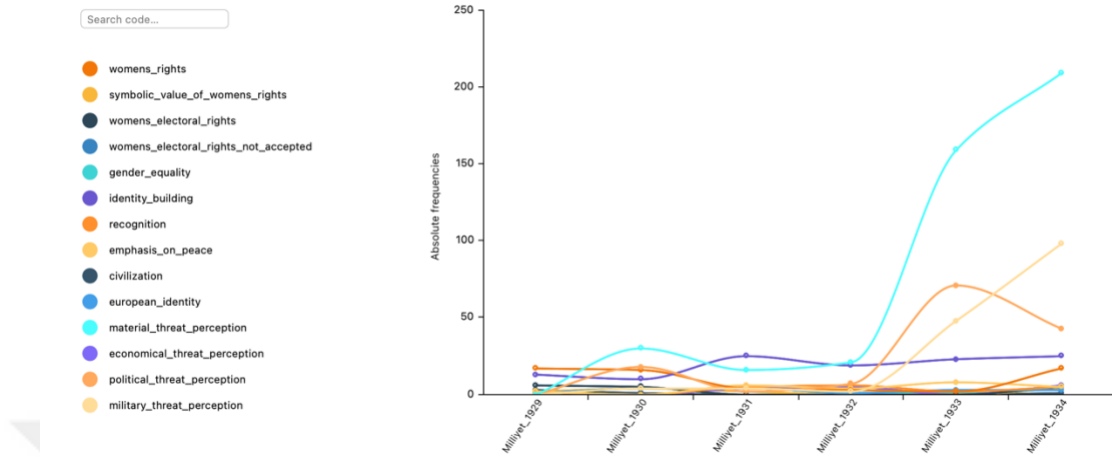


Figure 22. Yearly usage frequency of all themes and their child codes in Milliyet

A code cloud forms as follows when we examine the total frequency of each code appearing in the Milliyet from 1929 to 1934.

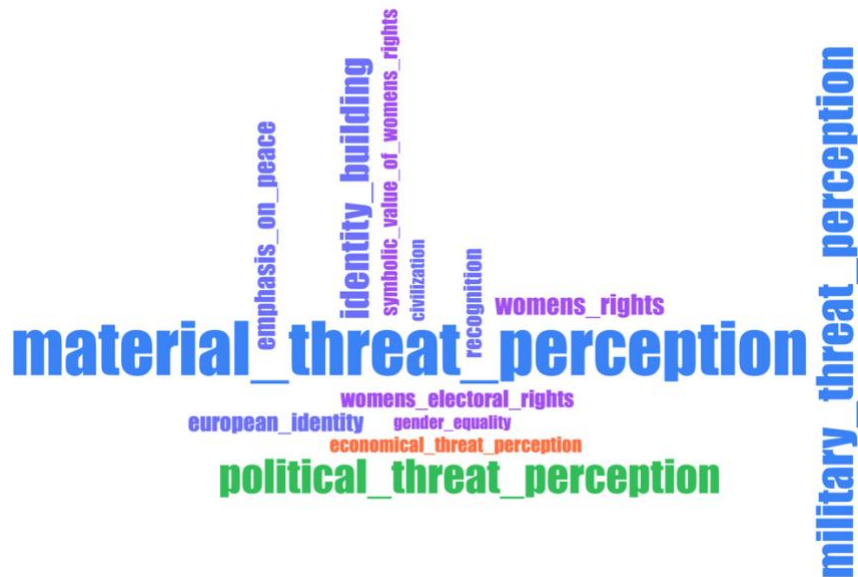


Figure 23. Code cloud of Milliyet

4.3 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, we discussed the research design of this thesis. We explained the research methods, process tracing, and content analysis (both quantitative and qualitative). After explaining how these research methods are discussed in the literature, we touched upon how and why both research methods were used for this thesis. Since we are aiming to analyze the decision of the early Republican Turkish governmental elites to grant women their electoral rights exactly ten years after they excluded women citizens' electoral rights while discussing the election law, we adopted process tracing in order to examine the cause and effect relationship in an analytical framework.

In order to perform process tracing, we determined certain themes using both inductive and deductive approaches and conducted content analysis in three different document groups. The document groups we analyzed are parliamentary minutes, Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches, and newspapers. We used two of the leading newspapers of their time that had the power to influence public opinion due to their circulation, *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*. These documents were analyzed by utilizing three themes with related child-codes of themes. The themes we utilized for conducting content analysis are women's rights, identity-building, and material threat perception. The themes are created using the notes taken from the initial review of all documents and then taking into account the research question, hypothesis, and theoretical framework.

While conducting the analysis, we expected to see the correlated relationship within themes throughout our analysis of the documents. Even though there are differences between documents, except Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches, we saw the

tremendous momentum material threat perception gained in 1934. We will discuss our results within our theoretical framework further in the next chapter.



CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

Throughout the thesis, we aimed to analyze the context within which the Turkish governmental elites decided to grant women citizens electoral rights in 1934, after rejecting their electoral rights in 1924 following a parliamentary discussion. In the election law discussed in 1924, the phrase “every Turk” was used. However, the deputies debated whether this phrase included female citizens, and the bill was changed to “every male Turk.” Exactly 10 years after this, when female citizens were deliberately excluded from the right to vote and be elected, the decision-makers changed their position and granted women the right to vote and be elected.

We tried to understand why the decision-making elites’ attitudes towards women’s rights to vote and be elected changed within a decade and why December 1934 was seen as the appropriate time for women to have these rights. In order to be able to provide a comprehensive analysis, we established our theoretical framework in Chapter 2.

According to our theoretical framework, states can adopt symbols to demonstrate their identity to the collective identity group that they want to be included in as a response to threats they perceive for their security.

We are taking state in its Weberian definition as a community that has the monopoly to enforce its decisions within a certain territory (Weber, 1948). State security

conceptualization we established in accordance with this definition of a state is that a state's capacity to make and enforce decisions, ensuring long-term public compliance while maintaining its territorial integrity. This includes avoiding occupation and preventing direct coercive interference from other states.

After establishing our theoretical framework, we conducted an analysis. This analysis was conducted using both literature review and research methods such as process tracing and content analysis on documents such as parliamentary minutes, Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches, and news articles published in important newspapers of the period.

We used three main themes in conducting these analyses: women's rights, identity construction, and material threat perception. We determined these themes after creating our theoretical framework and conducting an initial review of the documents. When we created our theoretical framework, we determined our expectations as a result of the analysis. We put forward the hypothesis that as a newly established state that was in the process of identity construction, Türkiye would use women's rights as a symbol to display its identity to the identity group it was trying to join, in response to an increase in material threat perception. Although we observed differences in the frequency of use of these themes across document types, when we looked at the use of themes in general, we saw that our hypothesis was supported.

In this final chapter, we will discuss our findings and conclude the thesis. We will delve into how the international context affected the domestic policy decisions of the early Republican governmental elites, how they perceived threats from the international

system, and what motivated them to adopt the decision to grant women their electoral rights.

5.2 Discussion

The founding elites of Türkiye emphasized the importance of peace in the state-building process due to the wars they had been involved in since the 1910s. Among the documents we examined, this emphasis was most strongly reflected in the parliamentary minutes, where we had the opportunity to examine the direct statements of the decision-makers, and in Atatürk's parliamentary opening speeches. The decision-making elites wanted to continue governing the land that belonged to Türkiye without the influence of any other actor, and they believed that a peaceful environment was essential for this.

The founding elites, who witnessed firsthand that the Ottoman Empire was unwilling to keep up with the developments in European civilized countries and that European states were constantly intervening in its internal affairs due to its exclusion from the European identity, saw its territorial integrity ultimately threatened. In constructing Türkiye's identity, they always referred to the identity of a European civilized state. We observed that the deputies in the Turkish Grand National Assembly made constant references to civilization and being civilized in their speeches, especially between 1923-1925 and 1930-1934. They used being civilized, being modernized, being European, and being Western as synonyms. All reforms carried out during this period were carried out with the aim of building the identity of the country as a European and introducing this new European Turkish identity into the international system.

Despite all these reforms, the undemocratic electoral system, the single-party regime, and the rise of dictatorial regimes in Europe led to the perception that Atatürk was a dictator and that Türkiye was a state governed by dictatorship rather than a modern European democratic country (Tekeli, 1984). This situation triggered the perceived non-material threat among the decision-makers, as exclusion from the in-group of civilized European states could easily render Türkiye as the 'other,' making its security endangered. Another threat posed by being the 'other' for European states was that it could leave Türkiye more vulnerable to states that were posing material threats to its security, namely Italy and Germany.

Walt (1987) identifies the components of the level of material threat perceived from a specific country: aggregate power capabilities, geographical proximity, offensive power capabilities, and perceived aggressive intentions. As Barlas (2004) mentions, and as can be seen in the analyzed documents, the material threat that Türkiye perceived, especially from Italy, increased from the late 1920s onwards. Italy's aggregate power capability, including its offensive power capability, increased in the Mediterranean, particularly in the Dodecanese and the Balkans, both of which are very proximate to Türkiye's territory. Additionally, while Türkiye, aiming for peace in both its domestic and international policies at the time, had adopted a position in favor of preserving the status quo, Italian bureaucrats' revisionist statements and its desire to expand its sphere of influence towards Asia led to an increase in the political threat Türkiye perceived from Italy.

When we analyzed the content of the documents to understand the threat perception of the Turkish political elites in the 1920s and early 1930s, we did not encounter a major threat perception from Germany. However, the serious threat perceived from the power

that Hitler and the Nazi party began to gain in Germany's domestic politics from the second half of the 1920s onwards was always viewed with caution. Hitler's seizure of power in Germany in the 1930s was received with concern in Turkish newspapers. Hitler's oppression of the opposition in Germany and his threatening rhetoric towards Eastern Europe were prominently covered in the newspapers. Türkiye's search for security accelerated in 1933 due to the convergence of pressure from the revisionist policies of dictatorial regimes from both the Northwest and the Southwest. Along with all this, the increasing uncertainty in the international system and the war between Japan and China in Asia made it difficult for Türkiye to maintain its security in peace by preserving the status quo.

In order to be able to avoid both material and non-material security concerns, Turkish political elites utilized several symbols to showcase their civilized-modern-European identity, and women's rights were one of these symbols. Before the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the founding elites aimed to position the state within the identity group of Western European states. They implemented reforms to achieve this goal and took steps to influence public opinion by changing daily life and informing the public through the press. However, while these modernization steps were being taken, the active political involvement of women was expressed merely as a "wish," with no concrete steps taken to actualize it. This decision, focused on domestic policy, was influenced by changes in the international system rather than domestic politics.

The increasing threat of Fascism and Nazism towards Türkiye and its immediate surroundings, the failure to achieve results in the disarmament conference, and the fact that states were increasing their power capacities led to the perception of a serious

material threat on Türkiye's borders. Rather than facing a new threat on its own, the state's governmental elites, having survived consecutive wars, found it rational to become part of the long-sought European modern state identity group. While emphasizing Türkiye's European and civilized identity, one of the strongest indicators was the recognition of the state's identity by modern European states through the symbolic value of women's rights, considered the most important feature of modern European identity (Tripp, 2019). Thus, Türkiye's main decision-maker, Atatürk, would not be seen as belonging to the same group as dictators such as Mussolini and Hitler, who were threatening Türkiye. Instead, Türkiye would be able to cooperate with countries like England and France against states posing a threat, presenting itself as a civilized, modern, and European state.

5.3 Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, we aimed to provide a comprehensive explanation to the question of "Why did the early-Turkish Republic government elite decide to recognize women's political rights by granting them electoral rights?". When we examine the literature that has been formed so far, we see that this problem has been examined in two different ways: as a national policy decision caused by national developments, and as a national policy decision caused by the perception of non-material international threats. However, it has not been examined before as a national policy decision taken to ensure state security as a result of the perception of material threats caused by the changes in the international system. With this thesis, we aimed to fill this gap in the literature to some extent.

Turkish governmental elites utilized the symbolic value of women's electoral rights to showcase the state's identity as part of the Western/European states' in-group rather than a dictatorship. Granting women's electoral rights was used as an identity indicator in response to the security concerns these elites perceived from the uncertainty of the international system and the threats posed by revisionist states, especially Italy and Germany.



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