A Sanitary Journal for Common People: Yaşamak Yolu

Ceren Gülser İlikan Rasimoğlu

In early Republican Turkey, policies regarding healthcare were determined by a decrease of the population, which was considered a major problem within the process of the formation of a modern nation-state, defined as “the population problem.” War conditions of almost a decade were followed by the construction of a new regime led by the desire of creating a new Republican generation. In parallel, public health was ensured through public hygiene and the formation of new sanitary institutions, which were completed with the establishment of new professional groups in the domain of health.

With the demographic problem that appeared during the decades in question, the belief that the population had to be increased arose. This requirement had two basic elements, which were linked to the formation of a new nation-state. First of all, loss of lives meant loss of manpower, which would create an obstacle to the formation and rise of a national economy. Second, an insufficient population would create a shortage in the military. The male population had decreased during the wars, and child death rates were worrisome. The feeling of insecurity induced a call for having many soldiers for the national defense.

In this process, dealing with serious diseases was also problematic. Along with trachoma, syphilis and malaria, tuberculosis was among the diseases that caused a significant loss of lives. After the first steps in the struggle against tuberculosis, which had already been taken in the Otto-

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man Empire, the Istanbul Society for the Struggle against Tuberculosis was founded in 1927. As part of its activities, in January 1929 the society started to publish a journal called *Yaşamak Yolu* (Way of Living) with Tevfik Ismail as its editor. The writers in this journal were famous physicians, such as Dr. Tevfik İsmail, Dr. Tevfik Sağlık, Dr. Fazıl Şerefeddin, Dr. Refet Raif, and Dr. Zühtü Tevfik.

*Yaşamak Yolu* was published every month without interruption between 1929 and 1972 with a print run of 3000 copies, 500 of which were for the Ministry of Education and another 500 for the General Staff. It targeted common people rather than medical professionals. The society also sent the journal to its members. In return, the members of the society were supposed to pay a membership fee of one lira. Furthermore, the society sent the journal to several institutions and people free of charge. As for the writers, they contributed without a honorarium.²

This paper focuses on the general aspect of the journal, discussing mainly the 1930s, because the journal has undergone a noticeable change since the 1940s in its content and design. In the period between the years 1929 and 1940, the journal was published in the form of a simple illustrated booklet like an assemblage of small hand-outs and articles, which gives the impression that the writers of the journal tried to adapt to the literacy level of the population, which was alarmingly low, partly due to the efforts to cope with the transition from Arabic letters to the Latin alphabet. But with the 1940s, the journal transformed into a detailed and more technical publication which concentrated not only on tuberculosis as a serious disease, but also diseases like cancer.

**The Problem of Increasing the Population**

Medical doctors of the 1930s shared a common belief that population size played an important role for a country, which led some of them, especially those specialized in pulmonary diseases, to publish the journal. This idea was also shared by the main intellectuals and bureaucrats of the period. The physicians believed that tuberculosis had an important negative effect on the rise of the population. That was why, in a journal aiming to prevent the spread of tuberculosis through education, many pages were dedicated to clarifying the importance of a numerous

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In the first issue of *Yaşamak Yolu*, Tevfik Sağlam explained the reason for publishing such a journal. First, he underlined the importance of human capital for the total wealth of a country. Also, the most sacred possession of this human capital was its sanitary condition. According to Sağlam, Turkish land needed a population which would become denser with more healthy and strong children. If one compared the size of the land with the population, the latter one was relatively small, and the capacity of the land to feed people was ten times higher than its present population. Dealing with this insufficient population density, which means to proliferate, was the responsibility of all the citizens of the Republic.³

His next move was to calculate “the value of a man,” which, he argued, was the main capital of a country. If a country lost its men, it meant losing its main capital. That was why the government had to give special importance to measures against losses of human capital. If we ask what the role of tuberculosis was in this debate, this disease formed a real threat to people between the ages of fifteen and forty. Sağlam drew the readers’ attention to the fact that this was the age when people were generally forming families. According to him, Istanbul had lost fifteen million liras per year because of tuberculosis.⁴ Every year in Turkey 37,000 people died of tuberculosis, and there were about 280,000 cases of tuberculosis. Thus he calculated that, between those who died and those who became unable to work, the county could gain 45,000,000 liras if they were able to save half of the people with tuberculosis.⁵

Besim Ömer Paşa alerted the readers to the value given by physicians to this population issue. He wrote about the importance of the survival of

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³ “Nişfisumuzu artırarak için çok Türk çocuku dünyaya gelmeli, doğanların da az ölmesi temin olunmalıdır. Memleketimizde doğum istedigimiz kadar olmamakla beraber pek az da değildir. Asıl mesele ölmünün az olmasıdır. Ölenlerden çoğunu Kurtarmak elimizdedir. Kendimizi daha kuvvetli, daha sihhatli yapmak, daha iyi çalışabilir, hayattan daha ziyade zevk alır, memlekete daha çok iş görür hale koymak, az hasta olmak, çabuk iyi olmak, ömrümüüzü uzatmak gene kendi elimizdedir.”


⁵ Sağlam, “Yaşamak Yolu,” 2.
children: “Memlekete Çok Çocuk ve Sağlam Çocuk Lazımdır” (The Country Needs Lots of Healthy Children). He repeated the idea that man was a national capital over the children: A child was a universe by itself. To ensure the maintenance of this universe, the Republican government was supposed to increase birth rates and to decrease death rates.

Another important suggestion of Besim Ömer Paşa was that the best way to encourage people to marry and to have more children was by legal means. Any other method was in vain. He said that every functionary, every state employee, should be married and by the age of forty have at least three children. He also talked about medical examinations and health certificates that needed to be taken before marriage. The living conditions of those who raised many children needed to be improved. Economic progress also depended on the well-being of the newborns, whose existence had to be secured by the law.6

M. Talat Özkan repeated the same ideals in his article on abortion.7 The fact that abortion had become widespread was worrisome and since, in the thinking of Talat Özkan, as in most of the doctors’, the children of a country belonged not only to those who raised them but to the whole society, this situation had to be reversed. To do that, women were made responsible: women existed because of the necessity to raise children.8 He stressed his critique of people’s neglect of their mission to marry, have children, and proliferate. To be a mother or father was the ultimate human and national obligation, and to accept this duty was the responsibility of every girl and boy in the country.9

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6 Ibid.
8 Feyza Saygılıgil examines Yedigün, a journal published between 1933 and 1950 by Sedat Simavi. The ideal Turkish citizen and Turkish woman are described in addition to glorifying the concept of family: a female hero who is the basis of her family and a good worker, a good wife and mother. Feyza Saygılıgil, “Yedigün Dergisinde Ideal Eş ve Anne Olarak Kadın,” Toplumsal Tarih 87, no. 2001-03 (2001).
9 Similar articles about abortion can be seen in most of the publications of the period such as the one indicating a parallelism between abortion and murder since the child, even if unborn, belongs to the country. Necib Ali Küçük, “Çocuk Düşürme,” Ülkü 7, no. 37 (1936): 26. The idea that abortion is a threat to the benefit of the whole country is not unique to Turkey. The Soviet Union has been the first country that legally allowed abortion in 192, which began to be considered a crime in 1936 once again. After World War II began, abortion was prohibited in Germany. France began to apply restrictions right before World War II: in 1939, the Code de la
The journal reported news about tuberculosis from abroad and how other countries dealt with the disease. Of course, the journal provided news about the medical developments in Turkey, too. An interview by Refet Raif Öktem with Zühdi Tevfik, a specialist physician of the Heybeliada Sanatorium, about his trip to Europe was published. Another part of the journal consisted of translations of the writings of physicians, especially from la Vie Saine (Healthy Life) or l’Esprit Médicale (The Medical Spirit) about hygiene, alimentary advices, especially the consumption of milk.

The effort to stress the legitimacy of the regime can be seen in the background of most of the articles, slogans and advice. The Ottoman past was rejected, and the Republican regime was shown as the ideal state formation pattern with its move to Westernization. To fortify the regime, the ideal citizen was described with his appropriate attitudes and manners in everyday life, sanitary issues included. The ideal citizen had to express his love and loyalty to the country at every occasion. To strengthen this mission, speeches given by the physicians were published, Western sanitary institutions were presented, and the writings of European physicians were translated in the journal.

A special issue was published for the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Republic. This issue showed the clearest support to the regime. Actually, all the cover pages of the issues were related to tuberculosis, except for the cover page of that issue: There, the title 29 Birincitoreşrin 1933, Cumhuriyetimizin Onuncu Yıl Dönümü (29 October 1933, The Tenth Anniversary of Our Republic) could be read. The cover page was filled with a picture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Beneath, there was presented another motto: Türk İnikiabi Dinmeyen Bir İrade, Zabt Edilmeyen Bir Heyecan, Yetişilmeyen Bir Sürattir (The Turkish Revolution Is an Unceasing Will, an Uncontrollable Excitement, and an Unreachable Speed).


The second page contained an anonymous writing addressed to Mustafa Kemal Paşa. The next page addressed the youth: The Turkish lands were entrusted to them, so they had an important responsibility. The fourth page consisted of a map of Turkey according to the agreements of Sèvres and Lausanne, indicating implicitly the National Struggle. The fifth one again had an anonymous writing: the existing struggle against tuberculosis was the success of the Republic, and this struggle had been possible thanks to the National Assembly. Finally, the issue showed the chronology of the National Struggle and the Turkish Revolution. Indeed, besides this issue, all the advice of the physicians about being a modern citizen in all the issues showed the will to create the ideal Turkish citizen. The involvement of the physicians in this process could be realized through their medical knowledge, so they did engaged with their cultural capital. This knowledge gave them a privileged position within society.

**Physicians: Status Acquisition through Medical Knowledge**

The training period of the generation of the early Republican period had overlapped with the end of the Ottoman Empire and the long war years. Especially the physicians had experienced harsh conditions when practicing medicine. As a result, they were feeling responsible to serve the country both politically and professionally. Doctors also contributed to the Republican People’s Party conference series. In a conference held in 1940, Süheyl Ünver, who served as the director of the Institute of Medical History, expressed that the country had trained them; in return, they would train the country. When we turn back to the journal, we see that despite the civilizing mission, the main duty of the journal was indeed to teach people the ways to avoid tuberculosis. The physicians presented two types of articles: simplified information packages on the diagnosis of the symptoms of tuberculosis; and technical articles

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11 Yaşamak Yolu, no. 57-59 (1933): 1-5
12 “Türk İstiklal ve İnkılabı Savaşıının Kronolojisi,” Yaşamak Yolu, no. 57-59 (1933): 8-10.
13 A. Süheyl Ünver, “Biz Bu Vatana Neler borçluyz?,” in C.H.P. Konferanslar Serisi No 13 (Ankara: 1940). Dr. Abdülrek Bey in Sıhhat Almanaki said that the physician had two duties: health maintenance and treatment of patients. Also, he added that preventive medicine was in state responsibility. Dr. Abdülrek Bey, “Hekimin Hakiki Vazifesi,” in Sıhhat Almanaki, ed. Mazhar Osman (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1933).
explaining how the disease functioned.

Fazıl Şerefeddin stressed the importance of school doctors for the struggle against tuberculosis, since school children were particularly vulnerable to the bacillus. The mission of the school doctors was two-fold: First, they had to be cautious about children’s health: coughing or small pains had to be taken seriously, in addition to organizing conferences on sanitary issues every two weeks. Second, all the complaints of the children had to be taken into consideration and they had to be examined. However, he said that both of these responsibilities were not fulfilled in Turkey the way they had to be. Despite this situation, filling schools with children was not the ultimate goal, but to protect their health by forming school medicine as a profession was his priority.14

The journal contained speeches of physicians given to the public. The first address was given in 1933 by Tevfik İsmail (Gökçe). Tevfik İsmail was the director of the Heybeliada Sanatorium in that period. He summarized the reason to give such speeches as the desire to spread the goals of society to a large number of people. In that first speech, he had chosen the explanation of the dynamics of the spread of tuberculosis to convince people that it was a curable disease, as most of the later talks would also underline. He pointed out that tuberculosis was a social and economic, hence, a national problem.15

Tevfik İsmail Gökçe’s second conference, given in 1934, had the title Verem Mes’eleşi (The Tuberculosis Issue). The conference focused on the idea that tuberculosis was curable, but people had to know that it also spread easily and it was not a hereditary disease. It was the responsibility of the people to prevent its spread by implementing hygienic rules and visiting dispensaries when necessary.16

A third conference was given by Tevfik İsmail Gökçe on Ankara Radio in 1935 with the title Verem İyi Olur Bir Hastalık’tır (Tuberculosis is a Curable Disease). His exposition was based on the fact that tuberculosis was curable thanks to the discovery of the bacillus that caused it and the use of x-rays; and it was vital for the patients to see the doctor on time.

Additionally, quacks claiming to have found a final cure to the disease had to be avoided.

On I Radio, Zühtü T. Erman spoke about the relationship between marriage and tuberculosis in order to present the social face of the disease. He said that tuberculosis was not a hereditary disease, contrary to what people believed because the children of tuberculosis patients generally became victims of the same disease. He described several phases of the types of tuberculosis and underlined that those in series phases had to avoid from marrying. Also, women were biologically more vulnerable to the disease.17

Sanitary information for children was made differently from that aimed at adults. The journal contained four separate pages for children, called Çocuk Sahifeleri (Pages for Children). In their content, they did not differ from the other parts of the journal in their aim to give education about hygiene and more specifically, tuberculosis. However, pages for children were composed of simple images and illustrations in addition to small didactic stories. The pages contained some translated stories, like Bir Sıhhat Dersi (A Health Lesson), prepared by Tevfik İsmail. This story presented a child who explained to his cousin, who was feeling unenergetic, simple health rules: getting fresh air, going to bed early, eating healthy food, doing sports, etc. His final recommendation to her was to read Yaşamak Yolu.18 A similar translated story was about the beneficial effects of the stamps in the struggle against tuberculosis for the treatment of the poor who could not afford satisfactory living conditions including a good nutrition.19

As for adults, besides the main articles, the journal contained small boxes of slogans and advices. Some examples of these were “The sole solution to protect the people from tuberculosis in a country that is to open sanatoriums and dispensaries of tuberculosis;” “Eyüp Dispensary of Tuberculosis: Istanbul Society for Tuberculosis Control has opened its first dispensary. The tuberculosis dispensaries are centers for the struggle against tuberculosis. To work for their maintenance is the duty of every Turk. Try to assure this by signing up with the Society against Tuber-

culosis;” 20 “Do not kiss or let people kiss your children. Kissing might transfer many diseases: rubella, whooping cough, diphtheria, influenza, tuberculosis and syphilis;” 21 “Do not spit on the hands of your friends. It is not appropriate either to put the right hand over your mouth. Because if you shake hands when meeting a friend, you can pass on the microbes of influenza, pneumonia, scarlet fever, tuberculosis. So, while coughing, put your handkerchief over your mouth;” 22 or “In order to protect children from tuberculosis and other diseases, never kiss children on the mouth. Never spit on the floor.” 23 In addition to all these slogans, the journal also presented some literary works, including poems written by patients, some stories describing patients, and plays about tuberculosis. The journal publication committee organized literary competitions and published the works of the winners in the journal.

The physicians writing in the journal gave great importance to raising a public consciousness about the vital position of the dispensaries and the sanatoria in controlling the disease, which can easily be observed in all the mottos, slogans and articles. The following expressions illustrate this desire: “The sanatoria not only cure tuberculosis, but also teach the way of living of a tubercular… The dispensaries search and find tuberculosis in society at its beginning. They stop the spread. It can virtually be said that the damage of tuberculosis decreases when a city’s number of sanatoria and dispensaries increases.” 24

Aside from tuberculosis, the contributors presented other health rules, mainly regarding the consumption of alcohol, hygiene, and nutrition in the journal, warning of harmful substances in the air, emphasizing the importance of open air and sun, issue of cleanliness, and the importance of the consumption of milk and fruit. Other types of articles are about

teeth, skin, malaria, rachitis (rickets), and mental hygiene.

In his article entitled *Bilgisizlikle Savaş* (War against Ignorance), Dr. Kudsi Halkacı argued that if especially mothers were ignorant of health information, their children were at great risk of death. Following the pronatalist policies of the era, he repeated the national duty of decreasing childhood deaths and increasing the population, stressing that such kind of ignorance was among the biggest social problems, a social immorality. Halkacı, for whom every sanitary advice was a moral rule, said that “mobilization of sanitary propaganda” (sağlık propagandası seferberliği) could be achieved only by fighting against individualism. Propaganda had to be composed for the training of people, especially of the future mothers about child deaths, infertility; child health, alcoholism, venereal diseases, contagious diseases, cancer, tuberculosis, trachoma, malaria, marriage and racial health, quackery, and the lack of sports, air and sun.

Dr. Süleyman Etem's efforts to inform people about hygiene of the hands are shown in his article in which he created a disease called the “dirty hands’ disease:” microbes spread through several ways, and the most common of these was via the hands. Only with water and soap many diseases could be prevented. Mustafa Talat Özkkan wrote that every civilized man was supposed to use a handkerchief, or better, a spittoon, since tuberculosis was a contagious disease, not a hereditary one. In the second part of the article, he explained hygienic principles, the way to chew food and the amount of food to be eaten.

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26 “Su ve Cilt,” Yaşamak Yolu, no. 29 (1931): 4-5.
Similarly, Dr. Kudsi informed about the unhealthy and unclean conditions of cities and villages, which, he argued, were the sources of many diseases, especially of tuberculosis. He was against those who advocated the idea that dirt was the natural result of poverty and said that the mother of the family was responsible for creating an accordance with hygienic rules. Therefore, cleanliness could be achieved through educational activities of health officers, who were identified as “missionaries of hygiene.”

Dr. İhsan Rıfat also underlined the significance of personal hygiene for the protection from tuberculosis, which threatened those who spent most of their time in airless and crowded places, and those undernourished and exhausted most of the time. The immune system of such people was weakened.

Conclusion

This paper concentrated on the period between 1929-1940 of the publication of the Istanbul Society for Tuberculosis Control to describe the political and sanitary atmosphere of the 1930s, which were marked by pronatalist policies as part of a drive towards forming a civilized, Westernized and strong generation. The journal was published by physicians mainly those specialized in pulmonary diseases, who had witnessed the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Republic. They were trained in their profession in the ten-year period of war, and with the foundation of the Republic, they began to consider themselves as part of the intelligentsia (and sometimes bureaucracy), which enabled them to get involved in the creation of the new nation and the new citizen. What they did was to operate on the training of people by teaching them how to be modern and faithful citizens of the Republic, and to be healthy and numerous was the first precondition of that role.

Another focus of the paper was the nationalist propaganda that composed the second basis of the journal. In the background of the articles, advice and mottos (and sometimes more obviously) that showed the way to dealing with tuberculosis and to being healthy and numerous, there was the idea that a person obeying sanitary rules and serving to solve the

demographic problem, in brief, a person who followed the instructions indicated in the journal, like similar journals of the period, would also follow nationalist implications of this ideals. The enlarged families would be composed of individuals who applied hygienic rules and were equipped with the know-how of the modern way of life. The glorification of the Republican regime would serve to establish modern citizenship.

Also, the paper emphasized the place of the physicians in the 1930s. They believed in the regime and in the modernization process and considered themselves to be the pioneers of this trajectory from an underdeveloped condition to the formation of a modern and developed state. In addition, this process enabled them to acquire a privileged position with their knowledge in both medicine and the modern way of life. In a period when pronatalist policies were considered as vital to the formation of a new regime, the special position that medical knowledge occupied was predictable. That was how the physicians of the early Republican period had been able to find themselves in a privileged position within the society, and within several ranks of the bureaucracy. To sum up, one might argue that through giving education on the ideal daily life, the prevention of diseases, mainly of tuberculosis, was ensured, which guaranteed the proliferation of the next generation. Yaşamak Yolu can be considered an important example of the publications of the 1930s within this context.

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*Yaşamak Yolu*, no. 57-59 (1933): 1-5.
Migration and Health, Infectious Diseases, Beginning of Life/Reproductive Medicine, End of Life, Human Body, and Interculturality and Ethics – these six main themes have been studied from historical, ethical, and epidemiological perspectives, keeping the sister disciplines in a transdisciplinary view.

The contributions reflect the themes of two meetings in Mainz/Germany and Istanbul/Turkey. The book is attempting at a synthesis of the different perspectives and methodological approaches with a focus on Central Europe and Turkey. The authors and editors have revisited the field and bring together a more comprehensive approach to Health, Culture and the Human Body.
Health, Culture and the Human Body

Epidemiology, Ethics and History of Medicine, Perspectives from Turkey and Central Europe

Editors
İlhan İlkılıç
Hakan Ertin
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Betim Center Press
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