

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION AND LINGUISTIC
REPRESENTATIONS OF GENDER IN POLITICAL DISCOURSES: A
CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF GOVERNMENTAL PUBLIC
ADDRESSES IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION AND LINGUISTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF GENDER IN POLITICAL DISCOURSES: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF GOVERNMENTAL PUBLIC ADRESSES IN TURKEY

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The production, discursive reproduction, perpetuation of gender in social and cultural practices/discourses and its complex interrelation with power and ideology are the main concerns of gender research in linguistics. The political discourses constitute the most solid intersections where power, ideology and gender policies mutually interact. Therefore, this study focuses on investigating the discursive construction and linguistic representations of gender in political discourses at governmental level in Turkey with a particular emphasis on the gender discriminatory politics of government with respect to women's rights over their bodies. The critical approach adopted in the study basically follows a three-dimensional paradigm of analysis which are (i) the analysis of discursive practices at a macro level focusing upon the notion of interdiscursivity, (ii) analysis of role allocations of social actors in discourses (ii) and a feminist socio-political interpretation of the discourses. The study suggests that political discourses of the government in Turkey support discriminatory practices against women via linguistic, discursive and political strategies. It further proposes that a persistent state control over women's bodies are ensured as a result of the alliance of conservatism and neoliberalism. Women in governmental political discourses are mainly considered as the biological reproducers of the family, the nation, the labour force and the neoliberal economy.

Keywords: Gender, Discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis

ÖZ

TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYETİN POLİTİK SÖYLEMLERDE ÜRETİMİ VE DİLSEL TEMSİLLERİ: TÜRKİYE’DE İKTİDAR DÜZEYİNDE SİYASİ KONUŞMALARIN ELEŞTİREL SÖYLEM ÇÖZÜMLEMESİ

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Toplumsal cinsiyetin sosyal ve kültürel pratiklerde/söylemlerde üretimi, yeniden üretimi, kalıcılaştırılması ve ideoloji/ güç yapıları ile kurduğu girift ilişki dilbilimde toplumsal cinsiyet araştırmalarının temel sorularını teşkil eder. Politik söylemler ise tahakküm, ideoloji ve toplumsal cinsiyetin karşılıklı etkileşiminin en görünür olduğu, en somut etkileşim alanını oluşturmaktadır. Bu sebeple, bu çalışma Türkiye’de iktidar düzeyindeki politik söylemlerde toplumsal cinsiyetin söylemsel üretimi ve dilsel temsillerini, kadın bedenine yönelik ayrımcı iktidar politikaları özelinde incelemektedir. Çalışmada, (i) söylemlerarasılık kavramı odaklı makro pratiklerin analizi, (ii) söylemlerde sosyal aktörlerin rol dağılımları, (iii) ve söylemlerin feminist bir sosyo-politik yaklaşım ile yorumlanmasından oluşan üç katmanlı bir eleştirel söylem çözümlemesi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Türkiye’deki iktidara ait politik söylemlerde kadına karşı ayrımcı pratiklerin üretimi ve teşvik edilmesi çalışmanın temel argümanını oluşturmaktadır. Çalışma ayrıca neo-liberal ve muhafazakar ideolojilerin ittifakı aracılığıyla kadın bedeni üzerinde kalıcı bir devlet kontrolü kurulduğunu savunmaktadır. Politik söylemler içerisinde kadın, temel olarak ailenin, ulusun, işgücünün ve neo-liberal ekonominin biyolojik yeniden üreticisi olarak konumlandırılmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Söylem, Eleştirel Söylem Çözümülemesi

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The study of gender and discourse is at the centre of interest in many social science disciplines and interdisciplinary scholarships ranging from linguistics and semiotics to sociology, anthropology and literature. The reframing of gender within linguistics occurred mostly due to feminist endeavours. It is now an acknowledged fact that language is a feminist issue as stated by Cameron (1998, p.1). The discourses, then, might be regarded as the sites where the feminist concerns are found overtly or covertly. The discussions on the concept of discourse has a long history rooted in linguistics, critical theory and post-structuralist tradition. It is widely used across different disciplines with diverse and vague meanings. Although earliest linguistic studies consider discourse as a formal unit of language above sentence level (Stubbs, 1983), it obviously has a significant social function deserving close attention. As Litosseliti (2006) briefly outlines, discourse is described as (i) language communicating meaning in a context, (ii) situational context of language use, and (iii) a social construction of reality or social/ideological practice (p. 48). Major characteristics of discourses are that they both reflect and constitute social practices, they are inherently ideological and they are context-situated (Litosseliti, 2003, p. 67). Like discourse, discourse analysis incorporates diversities in its implementation across and within disciplines. Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA), as the most socially and critically oriented type of discourse analysis in language studies, establishes a valuable paradigm for exploring several social issues such racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, militarism or nationalism (Wodak, 2009). Adopted as the research paradigm of this study, CDA particularly aims to understand the socio-political issues of discrimination, inequality, oppression, subordination and so forth. In the case of analysing gender in discourse, CDA acts as a useful theoretical and analytical device to expose

social practices regarding gender in discourse. In this respect, main concerns of critical linguistic research regarding gender are the (re)production, discursive structure, prevalence of gender in social practices/discourses and its tangled interplay with the notions of power and ideology. The most salient examples of this interplay is observed within political discourses where power and ideologies are imposed, legitimized or opposed by political elites. Therefore, political arena takes on an important role to examine the construction of gender with respect to the discriminatory practices, normative claims of truth or falsity and stereotypes. When it comes to the problematizing and positioning the issue of gender within language research, the influence of the feminist movement is undeniable. While pre-feminist studies of gender in linguistics mostly dealt with gender as only a biological sociolinguistic variable affecting the use of language, it is today commonly acknowledged that gender is constituted and prevailed on a social basis rather than acquired biologically as stated by Eckert and Mc-Connell Ginnet (2003) and is directly affected by diverse ideologies specifically of the groups in power. Based on the distinction of gender and sex, most of the feminist endeavours revisit various discourses to uncover the sexist uses of language; discursive construction of gendered identities, gendered discourses; and the construction of gender as a linguistic and social performance and process as an effect of discursive practices.

1.1. Purpose of the Study

This study aims to investigate how gender is produced/reproduced in political discourses in the case of Turkish Prime Minister's speeches with a particular emphasis on the politics inspecting women's bodily and social practices. The general scope of the research is twofold, discussing linguistic theory and social theory in a multidisciplinary approach with respect to gendered discourses. While the study analyzes the linguistic representations and strategies employed for construction of gender norms, stereotypes through discourses from a CDA perspective, it also seeks to explore the

interconnection of social power, ideology and discourse on (re)producing and prevailing gender; and ‘the control or access mechanisms’ of politics over discourses embodying gender (Van Dijk, 2008). The study broadly argues that certain linguistic, lexical and discursive patterns emphasizing and legitimizing particular gender stereotypes are foregrounded in the speeches of Prime Minister at textual level and beyond. Those strategies allow for the constant control, the patriarchal domination and social power over women. In the study, the socio-political argumentations of party politics as well as the linguistic practices are analyzed to comprehend the dynamics of gendering processes of discourses. The analytical paradigm of the study involves (i) a historical overview of the government party and its gender policies, (ii) a corpus-based analysis of linguistic and discursive practices and (iii) a critical discourse analysis of selected speeches. To achieve the three stages of the research design in the study, a small corpus comprised of the public speeches of the Prime Minister (henceforth, COPSPM) has been compiled. The COPSPM consists of 9 different speech genres, 132 speeches, 528,608 tokens and 60,408 types.

1.2. Significance and Limitations of the Study

Following the traces of linguistic manifestations of gender norms and/or construction of femininity, this research may have significant contributions to the critical linguistic research particularly in Turkey and in the world since it makes a notable effort to highlight the interdisciplinarity of language and discourse studies in a critically oriented manner. It should be acknowledged that social practices, ideological stances and power relations are crucial elements which have impact on the evolution and practice of language and discourses. Therefore, one of the purposes of the study is to reinforce the interdisciplinary approach to linguistic studies and provide both a theoretical and methodological basis for interconnection of linguistics and social theory with a broader viewpoint. Taking into account the fact that language gains power in accordance with its powerful users; thus becomes an influential

instrument carrying ideologies, a multidisciplinary approach towards discourse studies are inevitably necessary and bring refreshing perspectives to discourse research. Another implication of the study is that the political arena and its actors in Turkey with powerful and even forceful effects on massive groups of people require a detailed analysis. Their use of language with reference to gender and other aspects of identity or social issues need to be explored. As Wodak notes while she theorizes her discourse-historical approach, language is not powerful on his own but functions as a means of maintaining power by the use of powerful people (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009, p. 88). In this respect, the study may result in outcomes exposing how gender inequality, oppression and domination – which constitute the major problems of gendered individuals, women in particular in Turkey - are constructed in political arena with hegemonic and patriarchal ideological agendas working behind. To put it in another way in Van Dijk's terms, 'politics is one of the social domains whose practices are virtually exclusively discursive; political cognition is ideologically based; and political ideologies are largely reproduced by discourse' (1997, p.1). Discourses then are the true subjects of analysis to comprehend the dialectical and constitutive relationship in which both political ideology and discourse have effects upon each other and are reproduced by each other. Therefore, a critical linguistic analysis of political discourses acts as the window through which the discrimination of races, classes and genders in the case of this study may solidly be observed.

Although the study premises multidisciplinary analytical and theoretical borders in gender and language research, a number of limitations exist in its methodological and theoretical investigation. What reduces the feasibility and reliability of the study in relation to the methodology is firstly the concern for the amount of spoken data collected and used in the research. The public political speeches of the government representatives should be investigated through a more historically oriented CDA approach with extensive amount of data throughout the period of twelve years in which the party played an active role in Turkish politics by revealing the consistency or changes in its position

and impact on gender construction. The historical analysis is needed for uncovering the systematic gender-specific policies of the government. The second shortcoming is that the study focuses on reproduction and construction of gender as a discursive practice of identity although one should handle gender with many other aspects of identity for a full understanding of gendering process, its effects and possible outcomes. Third, the reflexive and dialectical nature of discourse, and its effects as a site of power holds an essential component of critical discourse research. Therefore, one needs to question the distribution and interpretation of discourses as well as the production phase to reveal how discourses are distributed, interpreted, transformed or reproduced by/within dominated groups. However, since the investigation of aspects such as race or class; and the multi-dimensional analysis of discourse on different communities would be far beyond the scope of the study, the study is limited to the exploration of gender as the sole social construct and its production /perpetuation by political elites.

1.3. Outline of Chapters

The following chapter of the thesis outlines major theoretical and analytical approaches towards discourse within linguistics and social sciences. The approaches within linguistic tradition are categorized regarding their perspectives on the nature of discourse as critical and non-critical approaches as proposed by Fairclough (1992, p.12). The non-critical approaches theorize discourse mainly as formal and a contextual notion, leading to the distinction between formalist and functionalist linguistics in discourse studies. While discourse in formalist tradition is considered as a structure over a sentence (Stubbs, 1983), functionalist linguists underline the contextual significance of language in use (Brown and Yule, 1983). The chapter is followed by the overview of major non-critical functionalist approaches in linguistics, the most noteworthy of which are Sinclair and Coulthard's discourse analysis approach, conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974) and discursive psychology (Potter and

Wetherell, 1987). The major characteristics of prominent non-critical discourse approaches are discussed to particularly understand the empirical paradigms employed. Following non-critical approaches, critical approaches which theorize discourse as a reflexive social practice affecting and affected by power and ideological relations are discussed within a perspective of ideology theories. The notion of ideology is elaborately dealt with in its diverse meanings and interpretations both in Marxist theory in which Althusser's conception of ideology and Gramsci's concept of hegemony lead the literature, and in post-structuralist theory in which Foucault re-defines ideology and discourse. The relationship between ideology and discourse as a social practice is discussed through the critical approaches towards discourse. Among those approaches, Pecheux's (1982) discourse analysis and critical linguistics which might be considered as the forerunner of the Critical Discourse Analysis approach (hereafter CDA) are reviewed. Establishing the basis for the analytical paradigm of this study, the stance of two prominent figures of CDA tradition, Fairclough (1992) and Van Dijk (1995a, 1995b) are overviewed in terms of the conceptualization of ideology. Following the general evaluation of most notable non-critical and critical approaches before CDA, Foucault's notion of discourse as a locus of power is dealt with particular reference to power and discourse relation. The section closes with an evaluation of discourse within the frame of earlier discourse approaches at the intersection of power and ideology.

It further attempts to describe theoretical and methodological aspects of CDA as the research paradigm employed in this study. As a more recent approach to discourse, the key principles of CDA with its social and political agenda is identified. The chapter examines the basic characteristics of CDA which centre on its critical perspective, transdisciplinary nature and political position. Upon the definitions and characteristics of CDA, its historical background rooted in linguistics, critical theory and discourse theories are overviewed. Once again, the discussion of ideology and power with respect to Althusser, Gramsci and Foucault are revisited as historical inspirations of

CDA linguists. British, Dutch, German and Vienna Schools of CDA are reviewed focusing upon the leading names and the characteristics of their approaches. The chapter provides information about the influences of CDA schools on the design of this study as well. The methodological framework of CDA is the next area of discussion in which the three basic categories of analysis –textual, discursive and socio-political analyses- are defined. The section ends with the definition of political discourse which is of utmost significance for this study.

The third part of chapter 2 theorizes gender by taking the most influential discussions of gender and language research into consideration. It presents the basic assumptions and significant discussions concerning gender. The distinction between sex and gender, underpinning the gender research in linguistic tradition is included in the chapter, together with the feminist theorization of gender ranging from the differentiated sex/gender perception to the post-structural turn emphasizing the notion of performativity (Butler, 1999). The study of language and gender is handled under the categories of pre-feminist sociolinguistic gender research and feminist endeavours to identify women's language, the differences between men and women's language or the role of gender in sociolinguistic studies. Subsequently, the shift from the descriptive sociolinguistic studies into more interpretative and critical evaluation of gender in linguistics after the discursive turn in linguistic circle. Lastly, background and implications of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) and Feminist Post Structural Discourse Analysis (FPDA) as the feminist approaches towards the analysis of discourse is investigated in the chapter of gender and language research.

Chapter 3 focuses on the methodological structure and design of the study. First, the scope, significance and limitations of the study are expressed and the research questions are listed. Second, the chapter describes the research methodology of the study with its rationale. The methodology adopted for the study is composed of three eclectic stages. The first stage

interprets the context of Justice and Development Party (AKP) which is the government party in Turkey and gender policies of the party in a historical framework. The second stage investigates the linguistic representations of gender in a corpus-based approach. The last stage includes critical discourse analysis of sample speeches extracted from the corpus built for the study.

Chapter 4 analyzes discursive construction of femininity in the politics of AKP through the methodological stages listed above. The historical context of AKP is overviewed through the establishment, elections, policies and ideological stance of the party. The second part of the chapter presents the analysis of the linguistic data belonging to Erdoğan with a corpus based investigation. The technical features of the Corpus of the Political Speeches of the Prime Minister (hereafter COPSPM) and the data analysis procedures are illustrated within this part. As the consequent part of the chapter, the CDA approach embodied for the study is carried out. Selected speeches are subjected to an in-depth analysis of textual features (i.e. role allocations, social actors, and lexical predications), discursive practices (i.e. interdiscursivity, intertextuality, discursive argumentation strategies) and a wider socio-political interpretation of the discourses from a feminist point of view.

Chapter 5 brings a wider perspective to the results of the study. Therefore, it firstly discusses the overall discursive strategies found in COPSPM. Following the linguistic and discursive interpretation of the results, the chapter continues with the socio-political discussion of the stereotypical social roles assigned to women and normative claims of truths to ensure the existence of conservative and neoliberal ideologies. This chapter propounds the arguments that women at the intersection of neo-liberal and conservative policies confront an essentialist role of motherhood as the biological reproducers of the family and nation. The references to the neo-liberal economic system stipulate the role of wifeness and motherhood for

producing labour force to the neo-liberal market. Lastly, an overall review of the study is summarized and further directions for the study are expressed.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1.THEORIZING DISCOURSE: PERSPECTIVES ON THEORITICAL AND ANALYTICAL APPROACHES TO DISCOURSE

2.1.1. Discourse as Language in Use

The term ‘discourse’ has long been the centre of investigation among various disciplines including sociology, philosophy, cultural studies, literature, linguistics and many other areas. Yet, it embodies diverse theoretical conceptualizations along with the discipline or the tradition which it falls under. Those different, even contrasting definitions of discourse have led to vague and fluid attempts of interpreting and problematizing the concept although it is overly mentioned in many texts belonging to the disciplines listed above and more. Therefore, this chapter aims to develop a framework regarding intellectual roots and practical differences/similarities in the implications and analysis of discourse in linguistic and cultural theory. In traditional linguistic theory, discourse is a major concern of particularly conversation analysis, discourse analysis, discourse in social psychology and critical discourse analysis methods as empirical approaches to discourse. Fairclough (1992) positions those linguistic discourse approaches under two main categories according to “the nature of their social orientation to discourse” as critical and non-critical approaches (p. 12). In his perspective, non-critical approaches describe discursive practices by focusing upon language above sentence level with a close textual analysis while critical approaches, as recent tendencies in linguistics with a more socio-politically oriented discourse analytical perspective, differ in the sense that they deal with the “construction of discourse with respect to power relations and

ideologies, the effects of discursive practices, social relations and systems of knowledge” (p. 12).

Discourse, from non-critical analytical perspectives, roughly refers to two main tendencies as (i) language above the sentence or clause (Harris, 1951; Stubbs, 1983) and (ii) language in use or naturally occurring language expressions in social practices in contrast to a hierarchical structure system (Brown and Yule, 1983; Schiffrin, 1994). The two definitions of discourse imply the distinction between formalist and functional linguistic approaches to discourse. While the former describes discourse as a structural unit beyond phrases, sentences and clauses, which is a highly criticized view for its disregarding of meaning and communicative purposes in language; the latter puts forward the functional view consisting of the contextual meaning, interaction and communication in language as social instances. The distinction emerges because of the fact that it is possible to produce a high number of sentences which are syntactically appropriate while they do not correspond to a contextual meaning. Brown and Yule expresses this disagreement on the primary focus of discourse by stating that discourse “cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs” (1983, p. 1). Similarly, Stubbs characterizes the scope of discourse analysis by defining it as an approach which “does not deal with single sentences, is not contrived by the linguist, is not out of context” (1983, p. 131). That is, discourse requires to involve form and function to constitute a meaningful whole and the analytical orientation towards discourse should combine both text and context as emphasized by Schiffrin (1994, as cited in Cameron, 2001, p. 13). To her, “language occurs in a context, is context sensitive and is designed for communication with communicative purposes” (Schiffrin, 1988, p. 3). This shift from the structural standpoint to a focus of contextual perspective, however, ignores a critical point of view towards discourse in contrast to the theorization in cultural theory with a major concern of critical evaluation of discourse. Rather, the functional linguists are

primarily concerned to objectively describe the internal mechanisms and structures of language in use with analysis of discourse through the language data, most of which are spoken, collected from real life instances instead of interpreting discourse which is being investigated by taking a critical position with broader social and political questions. Among these non-critical approaches, the discourse analysis approach of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), conversation analysis as an ethnomethodological work (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974) and discourse in social psychology (Potter and Wetherell, 1987) are noteworthy in regard to their functional and descriptive tradition of discourse analysis as listed by Fairclough (1992, p. 13).

The discourse approach developed by Sinclair and Coulthard have mainly been interested in the interaction of teacher – pupils in a classroom setting through the data elicited from recordings of teacher and pupil conversations. They investigated the speech exchanges as the minimal units of interaction in discourse and proposed a three-level modal of interaction involving the stages of initiation, response and feedback (Fairclough, 1992, p. 15). They presented their modal as the basic structure of interaction. Although the study reveals a systematic organization of dialogues and offers a valuable analytical approach towards the real language in social setting, it implies a number of limitations with regard to the interpretation of discourse, which are the oversimplification of the complex structure of human interaction into a planned strings of dialogues in a classroom setting and presupposing a homogenous classroom environment though the opposite becomes valid in many cases. A further drawback is the ignorance of the interpretative perspective and tendency of merely describing discourse considering it as a product isolated from its interpreters and the deeper underlying social effects and causes through which discourse is shaped.

Emerging from sociological influences on social interaction being the representative of social life, Conversation Analysis was developed by the sociologists Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, (1974) as an

ethnomethodological approach defined as “an interpretative approach to sociology which focuses on everyday life” (Garfinkel, 1967 as cited in Fairclough, 1992, p. 17). It proposes a functional view of discourse as language in context as a social practice in contrast to the early formalist paradigm. Influenced both by the social interaction theory of Goffman¹ who considered social interaction “to be conceived as a social institution in its own right, with its own normative organization and moral obligations, which, in turn, are linked to other aspects of the social world through face, role and identity”; and by the works of Garfinkel² on ethnomethodology and interaction analysis, Conversation Analysis has heavily drawn upon the interactional talk and its manifestation of social organizations. (Prevignano and Thibault, 2003, p. 2). In ethnomethodological conversation analysis, interaction is treated as the main proponent of communication and deserves particular attention for investigation developed out of conversational data. That is, Conversation Analysis particularly concentrates on the interaction between participants who are engaged in a dialogue and do not take the findings of the analysis into consideration in the first place. Rather, they analyse the talk-in-interaction as a linguistic means in its end, avoiding the leading of propositions or bias against the data in the analytical process. Conversation Analysis aim to reveal the indicatives of a social order and organization of discourse in conversations by describing the organisational

¹ Conversation Analysis owes its intellectual and theoretical roots to the sociologist Erving Goffman to a great extent. The focus of Conversation analysis on the everyday social interaction requires the acknowledgment of Goffman’s relation to Conversation Analysis. To Schegloff, “Goffman made interaction a viable topic of inquiry” (Cmejrková and Prevignano, 2003, p. 25). Establishing the notion of interaction order (Goffman, 1983), Goffman argued that social interaction “embodies a distinct moral and institutional order that can be treated like other social institutions” (Heritage, 2001, p. 48).

² Garfinkel managed to develop a systematic analysis of everyday social interaction that Goffman neglected. To put it from Garfinkel’s perspective, “all human action and human institutions rest on the primordial fact that persons are able to make shared sense of their circumstances and act on the shared sense they make” (Heritage, 2001, p. 49). He further argued that this shared sense is manifested through shared methods of practical reasoning, the core principle of ethnomethodology. As Heritage draws upon, Garfinkel’s ethnomethodology explores “how socially shared methods of practical reasoning are used to analyse, understand and act in the common sense world of everyday life” (2001, p. 49).

mechanisms of a conversation. It involves the in-depth analysis of conversational openings and closings, mechanisms of changing or taking turns between participants of a conversation as a central focus in the tradition of interactional analysis, the sequencing of adjacency pairs, topics included in the conversation, and other formulations of participants such as conversational repairs, showing agreement and disagreement, introducing news and so on. (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999, p. 20). Conversation analysis manages to provide the discourse research with a more interpretative and flexible orientation towards discourse compared to Sinclair and Coulthard's discourse analysis. Its insights are valuable to comprehend the larger social structures through a micro analysis of verbal interaction sequences between persons. However, several criticisms are noted with reference to power, ideology and social context. The ethnographic criticism of Conversational Analysis argues its ignorance of cultural and historical context of talk-in-interaction (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999, p. 21). The approach is criticised for concentrating on the interaction isolating it from its larger social effects beyond talk.³ Similarly, Fairclough discusses that "it neglects power as a social factor in conversations... though producing discourse is one part of wider processes of producing social life, relationships and identities" (1992, p. 19). This results from the highly empirical orientation and agnostic nature of the approach rejecting a priori exogenous impact on the analysis.

The final interdisciplinary movement to be discussed within discourse analysis is called discursive psychology, the use of discourse analysis in social psychology. Having its roots in ethnomethodology and relying mostly on everyday interactions, discursive psychology has emerged as an alternative analytical method to traditional research paradigms like the study of attitudes, against the statistical and experimental research paradigms dominating

³ However, many studies recently prefer combining Conversation Analysis with other discourse analytical approaches by paying particular attention to the cultural details of ethnography to obtain a broader insight on social interactions. For an elaborative analysis of Conversation Analysis and its criticisms, please see Sidnell and Stivers (2013) and Duranti (1997).

research in psychology (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999, p. 21). The use of conversation analysis and discourse analysis methods in social psychology have been theorized in the famous book of Potter and Wetherell (1987), *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour*. In their work, Potter and Wetherell (1987) argued that the mainstream tendencies towards the research in psychology rule out and even repress the significance of contextuality and discursive proponents of language data used in psychology. Thereby, they underline the necessity to acquire contextual language data to fully comprehend contextualized beliefs and attitudes rather than simply “surveying large numbers of people’s decontextualized and self-reported attitudes” (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999, p. 21). In other words, in discursive psychology, discourse functions as a sum of the contextualized language and information. Put it in Potter and Wetherell’s conceptualization, discourse analysis in social psychology research suggests that; (i) language is used for a variety of functions and has consequences, (ii) it is both constructed and constructive, (iii) the same phenomenon can be described in different ways, (iv) there will be variation in accounts, (v) yet there is no foolproof empirical way to deal with this variation, (vi) so the constructive and flexible ways in which language is used should be a central topic of study (1987, p. 35). Though the application of discourse analysis and conversation analysis methods in social psychology has led the path to the emergence of social constructionism theories⁴ and it is impoverished with respect to the conceptual meaning of discourse compared to other functional discourse analysis theories, the approach is not without its criticisms. To Fairclough, discursive psychology does not develop a social attitude towards discourse. Rather it functions as a descriptive tool embodying a “one sided individualistic emphasis upon the rhetorical strategies of speakers” (1992, p. 25).

⁴ For a full-fledged discussion of theorizing social constructionism which addresses to the theorizing of ‘reality’ in psychology, please see Shotter (1993).

The three approaches to discourse and to its empirical investigation summarized above enable a fuller understanding of how discourse is defined and dealt with, what accounts of language are taken into consideration and how the theoretical and empirical paradigms of discourse are shaped in linguistic tradition⁵. However, it is not wrong to state that the paradigms of critical perspectives on discourse including CDA are shaped mostly by philosophical endeavours within social theory. Thus, it is significant to review major philosophical contributions to the critical approaches of discourse analysis.

2.1.2. Discourse as Social Practice

Previous definitions and theorizations of discourse does not correspond to the concerns of scholars arguing that discourse has a wider social dimension, thus a critical and interpretative perspective needs to be developed to understand the facets of discourse with respect to the social, historical and political accounts. This need constituted the basis for the emergence of critical approaches towards discourse such as Critical Linguistics followed later by Critical Discourse Analysis and other discourse analysis theories within the social sciences. Those conceptualisations acknowledges a multi-dimensional account of discourse at the intersection of ideology and power mechanisms. As introduced by Fairclough, “discourse is a practice not just of representing the world but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning” (1992, p. 66). To highlight the idea that discourse is more than language in use and representation of the social life, Fairclough defines it as a mode of political practice establishing and changing power relations; and as an ideological practice constituting, naturalizing and changing significations of the world from different perspectives and positions (1992, p. 67). At the

⁵ Yet, there are several other approaches which analyse or make references to discourse and language falling under the category of formalist and functional investigation of language within linguistics. However, they will not be discussed here since they reside beyond the scope of this study. For an overview, please see *Approaches to Discourse* by Schiffrin (1994) in which discourse analytical approaches are handled in six categories as speech-act theory, interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, pragmatics, conversation analysis, and variation analysis.

very point, it is inevitable to mention the multifaceted relationship between discourse and ideology which is closely related to the discussions of discourse and discursive practices in many spheres of everyday life. Therefore, this section firstly draws upon the ideology discussions within Marxist and Post-Structural traditions both of which affected the theory of CDA from the outset; and follows the description of discourse in the context of ideology and power concepts in an interdisciplinary perspective to link ideology discussions to CDA which itself aims to build a theory formation and a critical analysis of discursive production and reproduction of social inequality and power abuse.

2.1.2.1. The Notion of Ideology

The term ideology has a wide range of historical meanings and interpretations ranging from the classical Marxist tradition identifying discourse as the “deployment of false ideas in the direct interests of a ruling class” to the denotation of “any significant conjuncture between discourse and political interests.” (Eagleton, 1991, p. 221). The term has been used for the first time by French philosopher Destutt de Tracy at the end of the 18th century in the meaning of ‘science of ideas’ (as cited in Van Dijk, 1998, p.1-2). From then on, it stands as a vague and controversial term with theoretical confusions on its problematization and analysis. To express this fuzzy world of theories on the nature of ideology better, Eagleton, in his famous book *Ideology*, presents sixteen different formulations of ideology currently in use, many of which are not compatible with and even stand in contrast to each other. Those definitions are as follows:

- a) the process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life,
- b) a body of ideas characteristics of a particular social group or class,
- c) ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power,
- d) false ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power,
- e) systematically distorted communication,
- f) that which offers a position for a subject ,
- g) forms of thought motivated by social interests,
- h) identity thinking,
- i) socially necessary illusion,
- j) the conjuncture of discourse and power,
- k) the medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world,
- l) action-oriented

sets of beliefs, m) the confusion of linguistic and phenomenal reality, n) semiotic closure, o) the indispensable medium in which individuals live out their relations to a social structure, p) the process whereby social life is converted to a natural reality (1991, p. 1-2).

As listed, the concept of ideology employs a diverse number of meanings leading to multiple implications and epistemological questions under different theoretical traditions varying from Marxist thought which discussed the ideology concept for the first time to the Post-Marxist and Post-Modern thoughts criticising the former tradition and refusing to use the concept of ideology in their theories. However, this study does not intend to review the vast field of ideology theories but develop an understanding of the close relationship between ideology and discourse within the CDA perspective in which ideology is posited as a central issue, closely linked to discourse and a the critical investigation of discourses with particular reference to the establishment, reproduction, prevalence, transformation and manifestation of power, power abuse, domination and exploitation in social life.

The definition of ideology within classical Marxist tradition, introduced by Marx and re-interpreted by Engels, refers to a system of beliefs which embody the forms of false-consciousness⁶ as “wrong, false, distorted or misguided beliefs associated with the social or political opponents” (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 2). In this interpretation of ideology, the concept is loaded with a negative meaning linked to the notions of domination and power; and serves as a means by the ruling economic class to prevail, perpetuate, naturalize and legitimize its supremacy. The main tenets of the traditional debates on commonsense uses of ideology are listed by Van Dijk as follows; (a) ideologies are false beliefs, (b) ideologies conceal real social relations and serve to deceive others, (c) ideologies are beliefs others have, (d) ideologies presuppose the socially or politically self-serving nature of the definition of truth and falsity (1998, p.2). This theory of ideology, however, is heavily criticised for being reductionist and negative for a number of reasons. First, it

⁶ Note that false-consciousness is not produced by Marx but by Engels who interpreted Marx’s work (Eagleton, 1991, p. 89).

is associated only with a dominant political power and disregards the existence of non-dominant beliefs of many groups who are against the dominant groups of their time such as socialists, feminists, etc. Second, such a conceptualization implies that ideologies are positioned against truths presupposing that one's belief is truth while another belief against it becomes ideological⁷.

Later approaches to ideology in Marxist strand has moved away from the negative connotation of the concept and made insightful contributions to the ideology debates and discourse theories. Larrain explains this shift in the notion of ideology within Marxist tradition by dividing it into two groups as the early negative conception of ideology which is the distorted understanding of social reality and later positive conception of ideology which refers to the forms of ideas and consciousness⁸ (1983, p. 4). In this sense, the theorization of ideology by Althusser (1971) plays a prominent role for the transformation of the concept from the point of false-consciousness to the material existence; and for constructing the bases for the critical analysis of discourse with respect to ideologies. In this theory of ideology, Althusser (1971) expands the meaning of the concept from a mere system of false beliefs imposed to assure dominance of one ruling class to the systems of representation involving both negative and positive meanings. To Althusser, ideology has a material existence occurring in real forms and producing material effects; and interpellates subjects within a number of institutions which he called ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) (Fairclough, 1992, p. 30). That is, individuals are from the very beginning constituted or interpellated in society as concrete subjects in the way that subjects regard themselves as free agents

⁷ For further in-depth criticisms of early Marxist view of ideology, see Larrain (1983) and Eagleton (1991).

⁸ This categorization has been acknowledged and developed by Purvis and Hunt (1983). They group ideology theories in Marxism as critical and sociological conception of ideology. Critical conception of ideology relies on the distortion of the real while sociological account of ideology embodies plurality and refers to the realm which is constitutive of the social (Yeğen, 1994, p. 35 as cited in Uyanık, 2009, p. 43)

and do not think out of the social order imposed on them. These processes take place through ISAs which exist as the central institutions in social life such as education, law, family and religion. Althusser's theory of ideology has its own limitations such as "acting in a mechanical way that people automatically recognise themselves in terms of the categories they are hailed and neglecting the processes in which people negotiate their own identities" (Thompson, 1986, p. 25). Still, Althusser's concept of ideology is of utmost significance because it opens a gate to the link between ideology and discourse; and therefore to a more discursive approach towards ideology. The idea that ideologies interpellates subjects through a number of ISAs answers how ideologies are imposed, naturalized and internalized. It is through discourse that individuals are constructed as subjects and exposed to ideological effects. In other words, ideologies are practices operating within and through discourses (Purvis and Hunt, 1993). This premise later paved the way for the emergence of analytical approaches to discourse as a social practice such as discourse analysis of Pecheux and CDA of Fairclough both of which will be handled detail in the next section.

A third perspective of ideology in Marxist school which influenced theories on the critical analyses of discourse has been developed by Gramsci. Introducing the concept of hegemony, Gramsci creates a broader space for ideology discussions by emphasizing the existence of a constant struggle to gain dominance and interplay of conflicting ideologies rather than one dominant ideology of one ruling class. In Gramsci's view of hegemony, dominance in the society is not constructed merely by subordination of groups, rather it is ensured by the alliance and consent of the dominated groups (Gramsci, 1971, p. 120 - 140). Fairclough summarizes the key principles of hegemony as follows:

Hegemony is leadership as much as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society. Hegemony is the power over society as a whole of one of the fundamental economically defined classes in alliance with other temporarily, as an unstable equilibrium. Hegemony is about constructing alliances, and

integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through concessions or ideological means, to win their consent. Hegemony is a focus of constant struggle around the points of greatest instability between classes and blocs, to construct or sustain or fracture alliances and relations of domination, which takes economic, political and ideological forms. (1992, p. 92)

Hegemony is accomplished through the institutions in society such as family and education as similar to the ISAs introduced by Althusser. Those institutions influence meanings and naturalize ideologies by transforming them into common sense in a constant struggle. This process proposes that hegemonic struggle involves discursive practices and leads to the investigation of discourse as a facet of hegemony.

Although they have their limitations and criticisms raised mostly by Post-Marxist scholars Laclau and Mouffe and Post-Structuralists such as Foucault who defend a rupture between ideology and discourse; and replace ideology concept with discourse⁹, it is not wrong to note that the theories offered by Marxist scholars on ideology as summarized above have influenced the theoretical and analytical conceptions of discourse to a great extent. Paving the way for the development of critical perspectives towards discourse and discourse analysis, ideology and discourse discussions by the scholars mentioned above had led to the emergence of discourse analytical methodologies in which ideology is centralized as a focus of concern. Furthermore, they enabled the theoretical foundation for the transformation of discourse from a non-critical descriptive standpoint in linguistic theory as explained in Section 2.1, towards a social and political conception in which power and ideologies are practiced, produced, prevailed and transformed. In this sense, the next section aims to discuss critical perspectives of discourse

⁹ Post Marxist and Post-Structuralist views argue that the use of ideology concept is not appropriate since it embodies a truth / falsity dichotomy, it refers to subjects and it requires an external factor such as economic interests. Instead they offer the replacement of ideology with discourse by rejecting the possibility of a relationship between ideology and discourse because of their epistemological differences (Purvis and Hunt, 1993). However, this study does not discuss this perspective involving the theoretical framework based on a rupture between the two concepts putting discourse in opposition to ideology. Instead it is an attempt to reveal the ideological effects on discourses as defended by Althusser, Gramsci, Pecheux, Fairclough and Van Dijk to be discussed in the next section.

problematizing ideology with particular reference to the works of Pecheux, Van Dijk and Fairclough.

2.1.2.2. Ideology in Discourse

Ideologies, as introduced in the previous chapter, have a close relationship with discourse. As Eagleton discusses, “ideology is a matter of discourse rather than of language – of certain concrete discursive effects... It represents the points where power impacts upon certain utterances and inscribes itself tacitly within them” (1991, 223). The idea that ideology is manifested within discourse or that discourse processes are representations of ideological effects has been investigated by a number of scholars among whom Pecheux is of utmost significance owing to his contributions to the field of discourse analysis in social theory. The Althusserian philosopher and linguist Pecheux followed Althusser’s Marxist theory of ideology which became the major source for his discourse analysis method. Pecheux’s work is significant in that he combines social theory of discourse and ideology with a methodology of textual analysis. In his theory, Pecheux (1982) defends that discourse is one of the material forms of ideology drawing upon the ideological nature of it; therefore, discourse both manifests the effects of ideological struggle within language and existence of linguistic materiality within ideology (cited in Fairclough, 1992, p. 30). To Pecheux, words do not have fixed meanings but change their meanings and their relationships to larger structures of language or to other expressions and words according to positions of the actors using those words (1982). This is called discursive formation, a term that Pecheux borrowed from Foucault, which determines what is to be said (1982, p. 111). To put it more elaborately, discursive formations are “linguistics facets of domains of thought, socio-historically constituted in the forms of points of stabilization which produce the subject” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 31). To confirm his hypothesis that ideological struggle lies at the very centre of discourse and that discursive formations do not consist of a stable meaning in themselves, he conducted an experiment in

which two groups of students are asked to read the same economics text but are differently informed about the text. One group is told that the text held a right-wing political orientation while the other group is told that it was a left-wing text although it indeed had a more moderate attitude (Mills, 2004, p. 12). The results revealed that each group interpreted the text selectively with respect to the political view which is presumed to involve. Pecheux's work deserves special attention since he underlines the constant conflict in discourse. As Mills similarly points out, "Pecheux stresses the conflictual nature of discourse: that it is always in dialogue and in conflict with other positions" (2004, p. 12). As a critical approach towards discourse, Pecheux's work enables us to comprehend the fact that discourses do not occur as isolated chunks, rather they function as a site and means of constant ideological struggle through a concrete analysis of ideology in discourse.¹⁰

The critical view of discourse as the site for contestation of meaning and ideological effects has given rise to the emergence of critical theories of discourse among linguists as well as social / cultural theorists. The most recognized linguists who problematized the interplay of discourse and ideology in their studies are Kress & Hodge (1979), Fowler et al. (1979) who developed the approach of Critical Linguistics (hereafter CL); Fairclough (1992) and Van Dijk (1995a, 1995b, 1998, 2006) who are listed among the founders of CDA¹¹. Distinguishing themselves from mainstream linguistics and sociolinguistics, CL scholars rejected the treatment of language as isolated forms separated from meaning and the descriptive correlations

¹⁰ His analytical method of discourse is called 'automatic discourse analysis' in which a corpus of texts are formed to identify discursive formations within the texts. In the first step of analysis, the linguistic texts are transformed into clauses followed by the production of graphs illustrating the relationship between clauses. The process pays attention to key words of political and social importance. As the final step, the results of the computerized data are interpreted (Fairclough, 1992). However, the treatment of texts is criticized for being unsatisfactory since the computerized corpus of texts are homogenized before the analysis. For the details and criticisms of automatic discourse analysis of Pecheux, please see Fairclough (1992), Pecheux (1982), Thompson (1984) and Hak & Helsoot (Eds) (1995).

¹¹ The scope and key principles of CL and CDA will be discussed in detail in section 3, under the title of Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Practice.

between society and language excluding deeper interpretations. Instead, they brought a distinct analysis of language recognizing the role and effect of language in establishing power relations and ideology in society. The main assumptions of CL are that “(i) language is a social phenomenon, (ii) not only individuals but also institutions and social groups have specific meanings, (iii) texts are relevant units of communication, (iv) readers/hearers are not passive recipients” (Kress, 1989, cited in Wodak, 2001a, p. 6). Ideology for CL research is a significant aspect of establishing and prevailing power relations, therefore CL scholars investigate how discourse mediates ideology and how ideology functions in various discourses. Although criticisms against CL framework are voiced from inside and outside of the tradition for CL’s handling ideology discourse interface in a one-sided and top-down way¹², the later developments in CL and its final transformation to CDA provide an effective and multi-dimensional analysis of discourse with respect to ideological meanings and effects of language.

After the appearance of the critical perspective to discourse studies in linguistics with CL research, a number of scholars including CL researchers have developed a multi-layered paradigm of critical analysis of discourse, CDA. CDA, as well as the previous analytical approaches, acknowledges the importance of ideology in discourse and centralizes the investigation of ideology in discourse as its major concern in a more elaborate and multi-layered theorization of ideology and discourse relation. Two prominent CDA scholars Fairclough and Van Dijk have paid particular attention to the socio-political implications of discourse analysis focalising on ideological effects within discourses. Positioning himself in Marxist tradition of ideology theory, Fairclough offers a combination of discourse and ideology theories with a textually oriented discourse analysis method which will be discussed in the following chapters. In Fairclough’s analysis of discourse, discourse refers to a form of social, political and ideological practice in a constant dialectical

¹² Please see Fairclough for criticisms of early CL theory and research methodology (1992).

relationship with social structures. His first and foremost concern is discourse “as a mode of political and ideological practice” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 67). Introducing a three – dimensional model of analysis towards discourse, Fairclough offers that the conception of discourse should be represented in three analytical traditions all of which are essential for discourse analysis. The phases of research respectively comprise of close textual and linguistics analysis; discursive practice embodying processes of production, distribution, interpretation, and consumption of texts; and social practice with particular respect to ideology and hegemony (1992, p. 72-95). In this three-layered diagram, discourse is placed at the centre of power and ideology; and ideology is conceived to be embedded in discourse as Fairclough notes:

I shall understand ideologies to be significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities) which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices and which contribute to the production or transformation of relations of domination... Certain uses of language and other symbolic forms are ideological, namely those which serve, in specific circumstances, to establish or sustain relations of domination. (1992, p. 87)

In Fairclough’s theorization of discourse analysis within the frame of ideology, ideology surrounds both the structures of language and the events themselves. That is, while it is undeniable that ideologies reside in texts, it is not possible to deduce them from solely texts since meanings of texts are shaped according to diverse interpretations and ideologies which belong to a wider social process in addition to the produced texts. For advancing his conception of discourse further, Fairclough conceives the term “hegemony” as an essential part of the analytical process to enlarge the perspective in terms of the dialectical relationship between discursive structures and social events. Through hegemony, the issues of constant struggle and change in relation to the power are harmonized with the view that discourses are shaped by broader processes of change and transformation (1992, p. 88-92).

Applying discourse analysis as a critical endeavour to reveal underlying ideologies residing in discourses and investigating the ideology-discourse

interface, Van Dijk has substantially contributed to the field of discourse studies, therefore his sense of ideology and discourse structures need to be overviewed as well. Van Dijk defines ideology as “the basic frameworks for organizing the social cognitions shared by members of social groups, organizations or institutions. In this respect, ideologies are both cognitive and social” (1995a, p. 17-18). Put it in another way, Van Dijkien sense of ideology is a system of ideas allowing to the formation of ideology as an interface between the cognition of groups embedded in discourses and the socio-political interests of social groups. Van Dijk proposes a multidisciplinary theory of ideology as a triangulation of a social, cognitive and discursive component underpinning the socicognitive nature and discursive reproduction of ideology that earlier discussions failed to theorize (2006, p. 115). In his theorization, ideologies share a number of common characteristics and qualifications. First, ideology is primarily a belief system requiring for a cognitive component to properly comprehend the notion. Second, ideologies as belief systems necessitates to be socially shared. This implies that it is not possible for ideologies to function as individual, personal or private but they involve shared beliefs about social representations of the groups. The third assumption is that ideologies are “fundamental and axiomatic” shared beliefs consisting of the potential and right to control other shared beliefs such as the effect of a feminist ideology on the rights of women or the effect of a racist ideology on the lives of ethnically minority groups. Finally, ideologies are gradually acquired beliefs, leading to the idea that they require to be adequately stable to a certain extent for that acquisition period (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 116). Through this conception of ideology, Van Dijk manages to link the concept of ideology to discursive practices by putting ideology at the basis of discourse, noting that ideologies are expressed, acquired and reproduced by discourses (i.e. through written or spoken interaction). Presenting a model of discourse in which the roles of discourse components such as context, mental models, knowledge, group beliefs and strategic processing, Van Dijk (1995a, 2006) attempts to draw an explanatory

model for the socio-cognitive processes of production and interpretation of ideology within discourse; and aims at revealing the complex and unstraightforward relationship between the two. This relationship presupposes that the acquisition, production and enactment of ideologies in discourses should occur through a number of discursive strategies and structures. Through his model of ideological discourse analysis, Van Dijk attempts to investigate how ideological structures exist in discourses and stress the influence of ideologies on a number of components of language involving context, meaning, form, rhetorical structures and action (2006, p. 126). Overall, theoretical and practical endeavours of Van Dijk enable to comprehend that the ideological production, acquisition and legitimation is mostly discursive¹³; to understand the nature of discourse as a locus for the play of power and ideology; and to develop a multi-dimensional ideological analysis of discourses.

2.1.2.3. Foucault and Discourse as a Locus of Power

Critical and cultural theories of discourse on the basis of ideological struggle, as outlined above, has influenced the conception of discourse within the boundaries of linguistic tradition by bringing a broader perspective to discourse at the intersection ideology and power interplay. Yet, the critically oriented discourse analysis of CDA theorists is particularly indebted to Foucault whose discussions of discourse still maintains at the heart of the critical approach to discourse. With regard to his theory of discourse and power within the Post-Structural tradition, this chapter discusses the major insights Foucault provided to the later conceptualization of textual discourse analysis with particular reference to Fairclough's CDA paradigm. However, the distinction between the Marxist ideology concept discussed above as the basis of discourse and Foucault's oppositional argument should be explicitly

¹³ However, a more generalized argument that ideologies are solely produced by discourse is not accountable. To avoid a misinterpretation of his argument, Van Dijk (2006) underlies the point that ideologies should not be reduced to discourse because it is possible for ideologies to be produced and enacted by other social practices as well.

identified to avoid a theoretical confusion on the position of this study before the contributions of Foucault to the discourse approach of CDA. Foucault strongly argues against the notion of ideology of the Marxist tradition by presenting differences between the notion of discourse and the notion of ideology and by ultimately proposing the replacement of ideology with discourse. He expresses the differences of the notion of ideology and his definition of discourse; and the inappropriateness of using the term ideology in his own words as follows:

The notion of ideology appears to me to be difficult to use for three reasons. The first is that, whether one wants it to be or not, it is always in virtual opposition to something like the truth... The second inconvenience is that it refers, necessarily I believe, to something like a subject. Thirdly, ideology is in a secondary position in relation to something which must function as the infra-structure or economic or material determinant for it. (Foucault, 1979, p. 36 as cited in Mills, 2004, p. 28)

The first point asserts that ideology is positioned in opposition to truth, presupposing a truth already exists. However, to Foucault, “statements have the same status and validity” which implies that they are formed by and within power relations that statements are also a part of. Therefore, a truth is not possible to exist since the defenders of the truth conceptualize truth within the boundaries imposed on them by discursive formations. Second, against the notion of subject who manages to control his/her actions and thereby the discourse, Foucault does not accept the idea of the subject who is able to regard himself/herself as a unitary being thinking and reasoning. Instead, he changes the focus of attention from subject by conceptualizing subject as a result and effect of power who fulfils the roles it is assigned to. Third, the existence of an external economic determinant is challenged by Foucault since he does not take for granted the economic base as the main factor but seeks a more complex relationship between economic, social and discursive structures (Mills, 2004, p. 20-40). Therefore, he defends a rupture between ideology and discourse and offers a discourse theory displacing the notion of ideology. However, as discussed in previous sections, the abandoning of

ideology notion leads to the renounce of a useful distinction as Eagleton remarks. In Eagleton's view, "the force of the term ideology lies in its capacity to discriminate between those power struggles which are somehow central to a whole form of social life and those which are not" (1991, p. 8). Such a removal of the distinction implies that every discourse is ideological, which would be a faulty inference. Thus both Marxist and CDA scholars relies on the ideology notion in their analyses of discourses suggesting both notions may work together for an efficient understanding of discursive structures and this study is no exception. Ideology in this study works as a subsidiary component of discourse and as viewed as "a particular set of effects within discourses" rather than "a particular set of discourses" (Eagleton, 1991, p. 194).

Yet, as stated above, Foucault's views on discourse and power have been adopted by many discourse theorists including Fairclough (1992) as one of the most prominent CDA scholars, and have provided insights for the key principles rooted in the foundation of critical approaches to discourse. Foucault's works are mostly categorized into two with respect to his early archaeological works and later shift from archaeology to genealogy. In *The Archeology of Knowledge*, discourse is identified by Foucault as "the general domain of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements" (1972, p. 80). The description offers that discourse embodies statements which have been produced, have meaning and effects together with the social structures producing statements. In his early archaeological framework, the most salient perspective is a constitutive view of discourse which "involves seeing discourse as actively constituting or constructing society on various dimensions: discourse constitutes the objects of knowledge; social subjects and forms of self; social relations and conceptual frameworks" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 39). A second perspective standing out in his archaeological works is the "emphasis on the interdependency of discourse practices of a society or institution; texts always draw upon and transform other contemporary and historically prior texts"

(Fairclough, 1992, p. 40). The first assumption with regard to the formation of objects puts forward that objects do not exist independently but are (re)produced and transformed via a number of rules of discursive formations – socio-historically variable formations as systems of rules regulating the time, place or institutions of occurrence of statements in discourse–.

With respect to the formation of social subject, the idea of Foucault is that social subjects are not independent of the discourse in which they produce statements, but the statements position social subjects, noting that subjects are constituted by discursive formations. In the formation of concepts, Foucault's concern is the dispersed relationship between concepts in discursive formations. Shifting and changing relations of concepts on various dimensions are investigated in terms of the fields of statements. To sum it up, it is possible to address the archaeology of Foucault as a system of truth in which statements are produced, organized, distributed, circulated and utilized within discursive formations (cited in Fairclough, 1992, p. 37-61).

With the change from archaeology to genealogy in the later works of Foucault, the focus which is centralized around statements has shifted to the concept of power as a key element in the conception of discourse. Power has come to play a prominent role in rethinking and shaping a dialectical interpretation of discourses and modalities of power, which implies for the necessity of attention to discourse in power structures and power in discourse analysis. Foucault attempted to understand the complex nature of power which acts as more than a repressive tool whereby a simple domination of one group over other social groups or violation of rights are achieved. To Foucault, power is dynamic and flexible; and does not belong to the dominating groups. On the contrary, power is implicit in everyday social practices and possesses a productive aspect of the reality rather than embracing only negative attributes. This productive and positive view of power has expanded the meaning of discourse, moving it to a more abstract and complex level. In his book *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault (1978) describes discourse as the effects of power. Discourse is far from being

natural nor neutral, but it is constructed in respect to power relations. Similarly, in *The Order of Discourse*, he states that discourses do not only reflect or translate the domination, struggles or inequalities, rather it is “the thing for which and by which there is struggle” (1981, p. 211). Put it in another way, discourses can be instruments and effects of power but they are also the active practices and constructive forces against which individuals are able to resist when they recognize the forces of power. This mutual relationship between power and discourse provides fruitful insights to textually oriented discourse analysis that Foucault himself does not consider or problematize in his works. Making use of his discussions on discourse within archaeological and genealogical perspectives, discourse analysts in CDA concentrated on the constructive nature of discourses forming objects and subjects; the relationship of discursive formations with each other opening a gate for interdiscursive and intertextual analysis of discourse, the discursive nature of power and social structures; and the political nature of discourses as effects of power (Fairclough, 1992, p. 55).

2.1.2.4. Discourse at the Intersection of Power and Ideology

Upon overviewing major theories on discourse ranging from the linguistic arguments as language beyond the sentence and language in use as a combination of contextual and structural concerns, to the social and cultural theories within which discourse is constructed as a multidimensional concept shaping and shaped by the wider implications of ideological and power issues in social life; it is feasible to claim that discourse plays a major role in understanding social, political and power dynamics and necessitates an interdisciplinary theoretical framework supported with an analytical approach. Discourse, in this respect, offers the most reasonable explanations for the comprehension of a series of further open questions related to the prevailing social issues involving inequality, discrimination, oppression or domination. Within this perspective; discourse is defined as “the flow of knowledge which determines individual and collective doing and/or

formative action that shapes society, thus exercising power” and at the same time, the opposite point that power is exercised over discourses is true (Jager, 2001, p. 34). The production, naturalization, institutionalization, transformation and perpetuation of power and ideology through discourse; the relations of oppression, domination, exclusion within discourse; the constructive feature of discourse as the constitutive of social subjects, objects and social strategies; the privilege of the control of or the access to discourse by a number of dominating groups are some of the concerns to concentrate on in the debates of discourse theories and discourse analytical approaches. Therefore, CDA – the theoretical roots of which has been explored in previous sections – deserves closer attention and discussion within this socio-political framework since it presents an effective analytical approach towards discourse as a social practice and functions as the core paradigm employed in this study.

2.2. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: THEORY AND PRACTICE

2.2.1. Key Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis

It is possible to describe CDA as a school of discourse analysis the main concern and intention of which is to incorporate an explicit socio-political endeavour into discourse analysis. Integrating social theories into discourse analysis and developing a multidisciplinary focus of research, CDA has brought about a critical turn in language studies, shifting from descriptive analyses to a critical perspective of language. Van Dijk expresses this shift by underlining the innovative perspective of CDA for theorizing, analysing and applying throughout the field, which does not exist or exist to a limited extent among areas such as pragmatics, conversation analysis, rhetoric, stylistics, sociolinguistics, ethnography or media analysis (2001, p. 352). Within this regard, Van Dijk (2001) identifies CDA as “a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (p. 352). In other words, CDA may be regarded as an interdisciplinary theoretical framework investigating the discursive practices in discourse which is itself an effect and reflection of power. Similarly, Wodak and Meyer explains discourse as “the flow of knowledge, and/or all societal knowledge stored throughout all time which determines individual and collective doing and/or formative action that shapes society, thus exercising power” (2001, p. 34). Another scholar, Fairclough, characterizes the theory of CDA by discussing what CDA is not. To him, CDA is (i) not just an analysis of texts but “a form of systemic transdisciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other elements of the social process”, (ii) not general commentary on discourse but it includes systemic analysis of texts, (iii) not descriptive but also normative in that “it addresses social wrongs in their discursive aspects and possible ways of righting or mitigating them” (1995, p. 10). In CDA, discourse is seen as a form of practice in which a two way dialectical relationship occurs between a discursive event and other

elements of broader social institutions, structures or situations; that is they have the power to affect and to be affected by each other. The functions of discourse as a discursive and social practice, in other words, implies that discourse shapes the relationship between a discursive event and a particular social structure or situation while it reflects how power and ideology affect dominated groups at the same time. Discourse is then an active proponent for constituting, reproducing and transforming the social relations, knowledge, power and subjectivity in theory of CDA. Thus, it is possible in CDA to highlight the implicit power and ideology links shaped by and shaping discourse, which makes it the most comprehensive theoretical framework for the study at hand. This positioning of discourse and its conceptualization within CDA is best argued by Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak (2011):

Discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially influential, it gives rise to important issues of power. In a dialectical understanding, a particular configuration of the social world (e.g. relations of domination and difference) is implicated in a particular linguistic conceptualization of the world; in language we do not simply name things but conceptualize things. These discursive practices may have major ideological effects; that is they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between social classes, men and women, and ethnic groups through the ways in which they represent things or position people. Both the ideological loading of particular ways of using language and relations of power which underlie them are often unclear to people. CDA aims to make more visible these opaque aspects of discourse as a social practice. (p. 358)

Other main aspects of discourse within CDA are that discourse is structured by dominance; produced and interpreted historically; situated in time and space; and includes dominance structures legitimated by ideologies of powerful groups (Wodak, 2001a). In this sense, it is explicit that CDA mostly deals with power relations, dominance, ideology, politics, ethnicity, discrimination, gender and several other issues and their interplay in

discourse. In Van Dijk's terms, CDA "focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society" (2001, p.353). One significant point for CDA is that it embodies and requires a diverse and multidisciplinary point of view to understand the ideological agenda in discourse beyond what is told or written on text level besides analyzing text from a linguistic perspective. Another distinctive feature of CDA regards its position with respect to objectivity in linguistic studies. CDA takes an explicit position on the side of dominated and oppressed groups against dominating groups in the research, since the foundation of CDA is based on the attempts to understand, expose or reveal discursive practices, inequalities and domination resulting from the power relation in social structures as explained by Van Dijk (2001) below:

Crucial for critical discourse analysts is the explicit awareness of their role in society. Continuing a tradition that rejects the possibility of a "value-free" science, they argue that science, and especially scholarly discourse, are inherently part of and influenced by social structure, and produced in social interaction. Instead of denying or ignoring such a relation between scholarship and society, they plead that such relations be studied and accounted for in their own right, and that scholarly practices be based on such insights. Theory formation, description, and explanation, also in discourse analysis, are sociopolitically "situated," whether we like it or not. (p. 352)¹⁴

Although a number of different tendencies emerge in the approaches of different schools in CDA theory, it shares some common key principles which

¹⁴ This explicit position of CDA has been strongly challenged and criticized by non-critical discourse analysts. Schegloff (1997), for instance, argued that discourse analysis should refuse to impose political or other categories because such an approach would prevent the task of analysing the talk in an unbiased way (as cited in Weiss and Wodak, 2003, p. 39). Another criticism has been outspoken by Widdowson (1995) in which Widdowson questioned the legitimacy of critical approaches by claiming that CDA has an unsystematic nature and a selective approach to data to be analysed. In Widdowson's view, CDA is reductive, partial, politically biased and attempts to reduce discourse analysis to a single interpretation of texts, which is not possible. However, CDA scholars reject the criticisms and defend that CDA is not a less scholarly mode of research because of its political interests. On the contrary, with a careful, systemic analytical frame, CDA is equal to other approaches. Fairclough (1996) argues against those criticisms by questioning the neutrality or freedom of individuals' interpretations of the texts and emphasizes the fact that the purpose of CDA is not reaching a pre-determined result but the critical questioning of the discourses and texts' intentions at a social level as well as linguistic level.

are summarized by Wodak and Fairclough (1997) as follows: (a) CDA addresses social problems, (b) power relations are discursive, (c) discourse constitutes society and culture, (d) discourse does ideological work, (e) discourse is historical, (f) the link between text and society is mediated, (g) discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory, (h) discourse is a form of social action (cited in Van Dijk, 2001, p. 353). A similar listing presented by Wodak (2006) depicts major principles of CDA. These principles suggests that; CDA is an interdisciplinary approach entailing various dimension of social issues to be dealt by avoiding a single perspective. Second, the approach is problem-oriented in which social problems such as racism, social identities, sexism are focused upon. Third, the theories and methodologies of CDA are eclectic, it requires the combination of theory and empirical data and the incorporation of field work and ethnography. Fourth, multiple genres, intertextuality, interdiscursivity and recontextualization are placed at the centre of investigation. Fifth, practice and application are essential in CDA research. Sixth, the historical context of discourses is essentially analysed and integrated into the interpretation of the discourses (p. 188).

2.2.2. Historical Overview and Major Schools in CDA

Having its roots in mainly three domains -linguistics, discourse theories and critical theory-, the emergence of CDA lies back in the critical theory of Frankfurt School the most prominent scholar of which is Jurgen Habermas who delineates language as “a possible medium of domination and social force” (cited in Thompson, 1983). In addition to Habermas, Foucault’s notion of discourse in respect to power and knowledge as discussed in the previous chapter, Gramsci (1971) and his conceptualization of hegemony, Althusser’s ideological apparatus which are reflected through discourses and other scholars inspired the works of CDA scholars. With this theoretical influence, a group of scholars representing different schools of CDA started

to work on the discursive aspects existing in discourse.¹⁵ The most significant names in the research and theorizing of CDA are Fairclough, Van Dijk, Wodak, Fowler and Kress and Van Leeuwen. CDA embodies four different schools that appeared after the 1970s which are the British, Dutch, German and Vienna Schools (Wodak, 1999). British School is represented by Norman Fairclough, Theo van Leeuwen, Roger Fowler, Gunther Kress and Robert Hodge upon whom Foucault's concept of discourse/power and Halliday's (1985) systemic functional grammar theory were influential. The first term they used for their theory was Critical Linguistics which is mostly replaced by CDA today although it still exists. In the British tradition, language was defined as an instrument to reach the ideology coded implicitly behind the overt propositions in Fowler's terms (1996, p.3). As a linguistic instrument, British CDA scholars benefited from the Hallidayan notions of transitivity and nominalization, as well as speech act theory and conversational analysis. In 1989, Fairclough's famous book named *Language and Power* was published and had an intense influence on British tradition of CDA. Fairclough founded his theory of CDA under the impression of Foucault and Halliday. To Fairclough (1992), discourse is a language as a form of social practice and needs to be investigated on both text level and beyond text level. Another influential British scholar is Van Leeuwen who developed his theory of CDA from the standpoint of the positionings of social actors in discourses. In his Social Actors Approach (SAA), Van Leeuwen investigates the agency in discourses through the grammatical active or passive roles that social actors are assigned. The second tradition, Dutch School is represented mostly by Teun Van Dijk who used a cognitive-oriented approach to CDA. He particularly focuses on ideologies and their manifestation in discourse. His

¹⁵ Since the contributions of Altusser, Gramschi and Foucault to the formation of CDA have been discussed earlier in this study, they are not overviewed in this section. Please see section 2 for a full-fledged discussion of ideology, discourse and their contribution to the critical analytical approaches towards language. The discussions of critical and post-structural conceptions of discourse and ideology constitutes the most substantial historical roots of CDA.

notion of ideology as a “set of factual and evaluative beliefs –that is the knowledge and opinion of a group” constitutes the basis for his studies attempting to explore the relationship between ideology, politics and language (1998, p.48). The German School is known for the Jürgen Link, Siegfried Jäger and Utz Maas who concentrates upon Foucault’s discourse definition. In this tradition, Maas’s reading analysis approach in CDA and Jäger’s theory following Duisburg School of CDA directed the field. Maas’s reading analysis is textually oriented as well as historical and sociological context being of utmost importance. In Jäger’s theory of CDA which is called Dispositive Analysis, discourses impact, shape and enable societal reality, which is a parallel thought to Foucault’s discourse (cited in Wodak and Meyer, 2001). The last tradition is the Vienna School represented by Ruth Wodak who is influenced by the Bernstein sociolinguistics and Critical Theory. Wodak approaches CDA from a discourse-historical perspective and names her approach as Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). Tracing the construction of socio-political issues such as racism, nationalism, anti-Semitism through a historical evaluation, Wodak’s approach evaluates discourse processes in three major categories: (a) textual analysis (b) intertextual and interdiscursive relations (c) social variables which are broader to political, social and historical contexts. Below is an illustration of main theoretical and practical CDA approaches summarizing the prominent scholars, theoretical attractors and tendencies of their research (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 20):

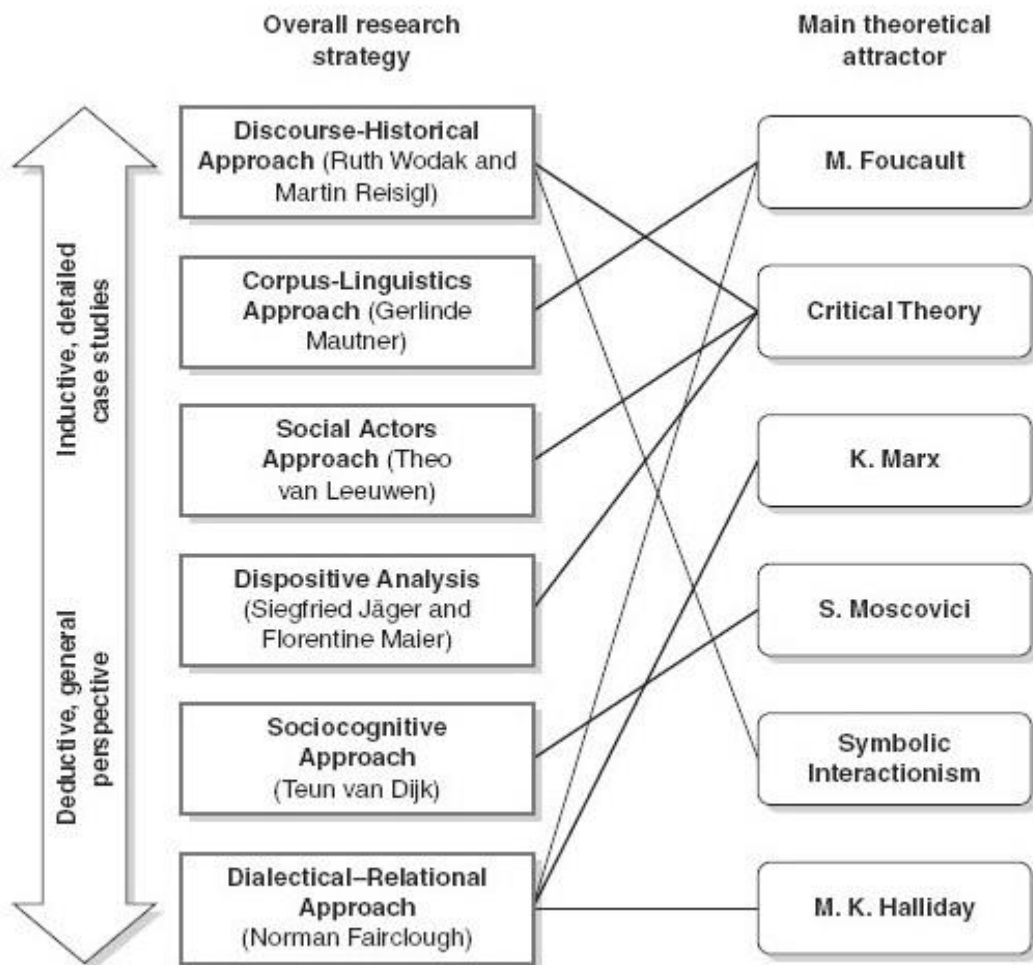


Figure 1: Major research strategies and their theoretical roots (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 20)

2.2.3. Methodological Assumptions of CDA Paradigms

Despite the diverse interpretations and methodological approaches, CDA mostly embodies a three-layered method of analysis as suggested by many of the CDA scholars such as Fairclough, Wodak and Van Dijk. To put it in a more elaborate way, the theoretical framework of CDA is formulated through a three-dimensional conception of discourse attempting to draw from three analytical traditions, (i) analysis of the text or the analysis at the micro level, comprising of the text analysis and the description of the text in terms of formal linguistic features, (ii) analysis of discursive practices at a macro level

focusing upon interdiscursivity; that is, the relationship between text and interaction, intertextual relations between utterances, texts or discourses, (iii) and the analysis of the broader social practice expressing the relationship between interaction and social context, the social interpretations of discourse beyond linguistic elements within a socio-political perspective (Fairclough, 1992). The main tenets of this multi-level methodological conceptualization of CDA is illustrated below by Fairclough (1992):

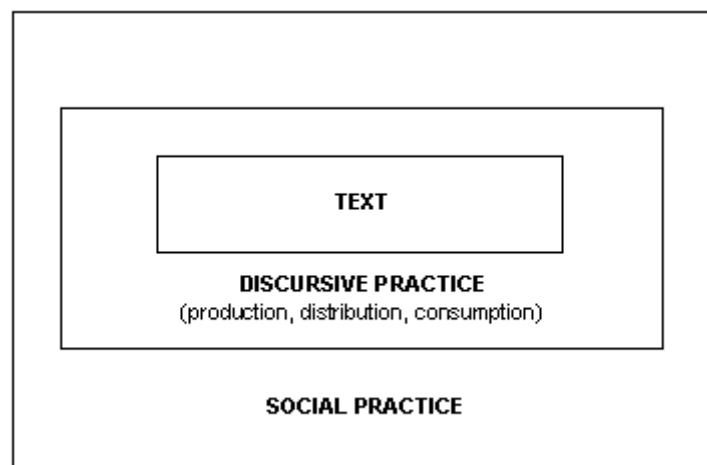


Figure 2: Three dimensional conception of Discourse formulated by Fairclough (1992, p. 73)

2.2.3.1. Micro Analysis of Textual Practice

The analysis of the text aims to explore the linguistic and close textual representations within discourse at the text level. To Fairclough (1992) and Wodak (2001), linguistically oriented in-text analysis is defined as “description” while discursive and broader social analysis falls under the category of “interpretation”. This type of linguistic analysis holds an important place in CDA research since they are the most salient language productions representing and depicting ideologies or discriminatory practices. One point to note is that micro analysis of the texts or spoken productions contain a wide range of linguistic categories embodying the interactional analysis of language (e.g. turn-taking, intonation), lexical

analysis (e.g. wording, word meaning), grammatical analysis (transitivity), analysis of speech acts (e.g. illocutionary force of utterances) and cohesion (e.g. linkage, conjunctions). Fairclough categorizes the groups of analysis at textual level as vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure (1992, p.75). However, rather than investigating the whole categories in the research, one “must make choices, and select those structures for closer analysis that are relevant for the study of a social issue” (Van Dijk, 2001b, p.99). Undoubtedly, this selection requires the knowledge of text-context relationship. Van Dijk exemplifies such a relationship of text-context by suggesting that one would begin for a research on sexism with “an analysis of content, such as choice of topics, propositions and lexical items. The reason is that such forms of meaning seem more directly related to the beliefs and the attitudes and ideologies sexist men enact or express” (2001b, p.99). He determines the content of the textual analysis with the following statements:

...the overall strategy hereby is in line with ideological polarization and other structures, such as self-serving positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. This overall strategy may be implemented by a large variety of forms and meanings that emphasize (or mitigate) positive (or negative) properties of the in-group and the out-group, respectively, for example through intonation, stress, volume, clause structure, lexical selection, implicitness, presuppositions, local coherence, overall topics, rhetorical devices (e.g. metaphors), schematic organization (argumentation, fallacies), the selection of speech acts, and conversational and interactional management (e.g. politeness). (p. 317)

Within the analysis of textual practice, the transitivity analysis of the clauses based on the systemic-functional grammar model offered by Halliday (1985) is extensively used in CDA theories. Transitivity deals with “the types of process which are coded in clauses and the types of participants involved” (Fairclough, 1992, p.178). Put it in another way, transitivity is constituted by (i) the types of processes and (ii) the roles of human participants involved in the processes. Those main process types are material (action, event), mental, behavioural, verbal and relational processes (Halliday, 1985). The participants are divided into two criteria in relation to the processes above to

determine whether (i) they are performing the process actively, or (ii) they undergo the process or are affected by it. In other words, the role allocation of the participants are realized through transitivity choices in a particular discourse. At this point, Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of 'representation of social actors' that originated from Halliday's systemic functional grammar becomes an important device to understand the reason why some participants are signified and activated in processes while some others are passivized or totally excluded from the process. To Van Leeuwen, representations can assign participants to both active and passive roles in discourses and the role allocations based on agency may re-shape the social practices of actors through their assigned grammatical roles. In Van Leeuwen's model of transitivity analysis, the representations mentioned above occur through the strategies of inclusion and exclusion. Exclusion of a participant from the context is realized through strategies such as passive agent deletion, nominalization, using non-finite clauses or de-emphasizing of the actor and pushing him/her to the background. That is, there is no reference to the social actor in the text. As for the inclusion, role allocations of participants is of utmost importance. Participants may be presented through either active or passive grammatical categories to emphasize or de-emphasize particular power structures and ideological positioning of the participants. When activation of participants are aimed at in the discourse, they are coded as 'actors' in material processes, 'senser' in the mental processes, 'behavior' in the behavioural processes, 'sayer' in the verbal processes and 'assigner' in the relational processes while those participants are placed as patient, goal or the affected in case of the passivation (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.33). In this type of transitivity investigation, passivation occurs through the subjection of the passivized actor by positioning him as the goal of a material process and through the beneficialization of the passivized participant by allocating the role of receiver to the participant. Investigation of transitivity choices in relation to the social representations enlightens the theoretical, political and ideological factors to understand which process types or participants are

signified or foregrounded and which are backgrounded. Therefore, suppressed dominant structures or power dynamics on subordinated groups become visible in the choices of transitivity structures in the discourse.

As another essential part of textually oriented discourse analysis, the analysis of the lexical practices in discourses are worth mentioning. Lexical practices may vary and be implemented in many different ways. The focuses of Fairclough in his three-dimensional model of analysis consisting of the study of words under in-text analysis are upon the alternative wordings or rewording of meanings together with their political and ideological purposes; word meaning dealing with “how the meanings of words come into contention within wider struggles” and metaphors with their political imports (1992, p.77). In a similar perspective, Van Dijk investigates the ideological implications of lexical selection under the heading of ‘local meanings’. In his meaning-based category, meanings of words, propositions with their structural and relational overview, coherence, presuppositions and implications are involved in respect to the contextual preferences of the researcher (Van Dijk, 2001b, p. 103). Although the study of lexical items varies in CDA discipline, the research is mostly centered upon the socio-politically constructed meanings and wordings or “ideologically biased discourses, and the ways these polarize the representation of us (ingroups) and them (outgroups)” in Van Dijk’s sense (2001b, p.103). In accordance with the text and context relevance, the investigation draws upon the representation of the social actors in discourses and seeks the answers of the following questions cited in Wodak- (2001b, p.72): (a) How are persons named and referred to linguistically? (b) What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them? (c) From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed?

2.2.3.2. Macro Analysis of Discursive Practice

Discursive analysis of a particular discourse draws upon the processes of text production, distribution and consumption in broad terms (Fairclough,

1992, p.78). It elaborately analyses the varying nature of those three concepts in different discourses; different interpretations of discourses that is the interpretation and production of participants; transformation of texts into other texts or shaping of texts' meanings with reference to prior texts which is called intertextuality; and linking discourses to other discourses which is called interdiscursivity referring to the link between discourses through other topics or sub-topics (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009, p.90). To Fairclough, the principle of interdiscursivity embodies that "orders of discourse have primacy over particular type of discourse" (Fairclough, 1992, p.124). This re-contextualization of discourses may be applied for legitimization, justification or persuasion of a number of discriminatory practices.

The discourse type referring to genres, styles and discourse topics holds a fundamental role in the discursive practices, which is called as semantic macrostructures by Van Dijk (2001b, p. 101). To him, semantic macrostructures are "the global meaning that language users constitute in discourse production and comprehension, and the gist that is best recalled by them" (2001b, p.102). Thus, the analysis of semantic macrostructures is the reasonable starting point for analyzing discursive practices since it provides the overall idea of the texts' content.

2.2.3.3. Analysis of Wider Socio-Political Practice

As discussed in the previous categories of analysis, it is impossible to isolate text and talk analysis from wider societal, political and ideological perspectives and practices. Ideology, power and hegemony are three main concepts proposed by critical linguists to frame the investigation of discourse as a social practice as suggested by Fairclough (1992, p.86-96). The manifestation of power, ideology and hegemony within discourse practices are investigated through a multidisciplinary perspective concerning critical and social issues handled in discourse analysis. This chapter does not provide further information about the wider socio-political analysis since the theorizations of ideology, power and hegemony concepts shaping the

intention of critical discourse analysis have already been discussed in a detailed way in the previous sections.¹⁶

2.2.4. The Study of Political Discourse

One other concept that is significant and notable to the study is political discourse which is highly debated within CDA research. The study of political discourse has always been one of the major concerns of CDA research, concentrating mainly on the hegemonic right-wing rhetoric in Europe which includes indirect strategies to legitimize discrimination, dominance, racism or anti-Semitism (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 18). Questioning of what political discourse is or not constitutes the basis for discussions in political discourse research. The ambiguous nature of the concept political discourse makes it difficult to determine the content, boundaries or limits of political discourse. One view asserts that all discourses to analyse are potentially political due to the analyst's overt opposing stance and the fact that discourse analysis deals with domination, subordination, power, control or conflict. Yet another perspective asserts that political discourse is the discourse of the political actors/politicians and political participants (Wilson, 2001, p. 398). In other words, it is ambiguous whether political discourse means a political approach to discourse or discourse of political actors, governments, parliaments or political parties. At this point, Wilson's perspective which offers that the analyst's explicit political goals targeting a political discourse as in the case of CDA scholars such as Fairclough, Van Dijk, Wodak would become a solution to resolve the ambiguity. In such an approach, the main goal is to consider political language first as discourse, and only secondly as politics (Wilson, 2001, p. 398). Van Dijk (1997) brings a similar view on political discourse as follows:

Without collapsing political discourse analysis into critical discourse analysis, we would like to retain both aspects of the ambiguous designation: PDA is both about political discourse, and it is also a

¹⁶ Please see Section 2.1.2.1 for an in-depth analysis of ideology, power and hegemony in discourse discussion.

critical enterprise. In the spirit of contemporary approaches in CDA this would mean that critical-political discourse analysis deals especially with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance. In particular such an analysis deals with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality that results from such domination (Fairclough 1995; Van Dijk 1993 as cited in Van Dijk, 1997).

In order to identify the understanding of this study of the meaning of political discourse, it is crucial to indicate that political discourse is used to refer to the discourse of Turkey's Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan as a heavily influential political actor in the country. The critical approaches to political discourses -as employed in this study- may analyse socially important issues such as immigration, ethnicity, nationalism, human rights and antimilitarism. Gender inequality, sexism, oppression or positioning of women are other noteworthy components related to the representation and construction of gender in political discourses since those issues are not merely social but political at the same time (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 43).

2.3. THEORIZING GENDER: ANALYSIS OF GENDER IN DISCOURSE

2.3.1. Basic Assumptions of Gender: Sex / Gender Distinction

Gender discussions in feminist scholarship posit that gender is a social and cultural construction imposing a number of norms related to gender categories determined by social beliefs or ideas. The debates on gender in second-wave feminist movement have been centered on the distinction between the categories of sex and gender. In Beauvoir's famous work *The Second Sex* (1973), a cornerstone in feminist philosophy, Beauvoir implied a distinction between biologically determined sex and socially constructed gender with her statement "one is not born, but becomes a woman". Without naming, she formulated the definition of gender and expressed woman as 'the other' positioned according to the perception of man who is 'the one' in the hierarchical order. Beauvoir's work influenced the most influential scholars of gender and feminist theories like Wittig (1992) and Butler (1998) both of whom problematized the biological determinism of sex. After the emergence of sex/gender distinction, sex started to be regarded as an invariable biological category determined by the biological characteristics creating the dichotomous categories as 'male' and 'female' (Hawkesworth, 1997, p. 651). Gender, on the other hand, has been a sum of "socially acquired characteristics which are perceived as masculine and feminine" (Talbot, 1998, p. 7). Giddens et al. describe sex as biological differences while gender represents social, cultural and psychological differences and creates gender norms in respect to the dichotomy of man and woman (as cited in Duman, 2006, p.61). Similarly, to Eckert and Mc-Connell Ginnet (2003), "sex is a biological categorization based primarily on reproductive potential, whereas gender is the social elaboration of biological sex" (p.10).

Within the differentiated sex/gender perception, feminist theories attempted to describe the hierarchical gender orders and offered solutions to eliminate such an order. However, the perspective that gender is the social

attachment of sex or its existence is shaped through a binary sex categorization was challenged since it failed to regard that the boundaries of sex and gender neither exist in a transparent way as defined above nor sex occurs as a biological invariant. Modernist feminist theories were strongly criticized by post structuralist scholars for developing their theories by taking a biologically determined sex for granted and not problematizing sex in their approach. They challenged the idea of anatomy as destiny and the dualisms of female/male, woman/man or masculine/feminine which are the outcomes of an essentialist mode of thinking. One criticism of post structural feminist scholars was that such a dualistic and normative theorizing would force the individuals to choose between female/ male or woman/ man, therefore it would fail to include other identities or sexualities in their theories. Petersen (1998) expresses these limitations by expressing that “although the sex/gender distinction has, arguably, proved useful in the development of a second-wave feminist movement, its practical and theoretical limitations have become increasingly evident” (p. 121). At this point, it is crucial to review the contributions of Butler, one of the most prominent thinkers in feminist scholarship, to the contemporary gender perspective. In her book *Bodies that Matter*, Butler (1993) rejects the idea of a biologically invariable sex and gender which functions as the cultural meaning of sex. On the contrary, sex is both another social construct rather than a natural invariant and a regulatory force rather than a natural fact:

The category of “sex” is, from the start, normative; it is what Foucault has called a “regulatory ideal.” In this sense, then, “sex” not only functions as a norm, but is part of a regulatory practice that produces the bodies it governs, that is, whose regulatory force is made clear as a kind of productive power, the power to produce - demarcate, circulate, differentiate - the bodies it controls. (p.1)

Criticizing the theory of the natural existence of sex anatomically, Butler opposes the definition of gender which is “conceived as merely as the cultural inscription of meaning on a pre-given sex (a juridical conception)” but it must also “designate the very apparatus of production whereby the sexes

themselves are established” (1999). She further rejects a causal relationship between sex and gender. To Butler, there is no reason to assume that men will be interpreted as male body or women as female body even after the assumption of a binary sex system for a moment. She discusses the causal relationship between sex and gender in detail by reinterpreting Beauvoir’s famous quotation “one is not born but becomes a woman”.¹⁷

With the post structural turn in feminist research, one significant contribution of Butler to the gender discussion is her theory of performativity where she defines gender as constructed culturally and through discourse. Influenced by Beauvoir and Foucault, Butler (1999) interprets gender as a process, the effect of repetitive acting, discursive practices and a doing rather than a being in her theory. The theory of performativity rejects the binary biological categories and considers gender a performativity stating that various acts of gender produce the idea of gender. After all, post structuralist theories aim to bring a new perspective to the categories of sex and gender beyond an essentialist and dualistic scope of thinking by deconstructing relationship between these categories. Post structuralist framework of gender objects the dualistic perspective of feminist theories and suggests that both gender and sex are socially constructed, there is no binary sex (male-female) or gender (woman-man or masculine-feminine) and no causal link between sex and gender exists. Contributing to the theory of performativity, Connell underlines the thought of doing gender by suggesting that masculinity or femininity are not fixed or stable by nature, but they are not simply interpreted as the effects of impositions from social pressure or norms either (Connell, 2009, p.6). To Connell, the construction of gender is far from being simple or overt to observe in that it is too complex to think the business of becoming gendered occurring as a result of a series of top-down coercive power actions. On the contrary, “it follows many different paths, involves many tensions and ambiguities, and sometimes produces unstable results” (2009, p.6). In other

¹⁷ Please see Butler’s article “Sex and Gender in Simone de Beauvoir's Second Sex.” for a detailed discussion of Beauvoir’s formulation within Butler’s post structural framework.

words, most people willingly construct their masculinities or femininities in social life to demand a place in gender order or to confirm the role they are given.

2.3.2. Gender and Language Research

Although it is possible to analyse gender in many other sites of social life, language is the most intensively investigated area of gender symbolism. In linguistics, gender research is conducted in three major directions which are the sociolinguistic tradition, feminist linguistics and discursive tradition. Early pre-feminist research on gender and language within sociolinguistic tradition employed a perspective which explores gender differences in speech styles of women and men at phonological or conversation level. Labov (1966), Trudgill (1972) and Milroy & Milroy (1978) are famous scholars investigating gender as a sociolinguistic variable in language, who rely on large – scale correlational and quantitative methodologies to determine some general patterns in differential tendencies between men and women; or boys and girls. Those correlative-quantitative studies focused on the notion of gender with regard to biological sex and the differences of language use between sexes at a micro-level sociolinguistic investigation.

Non-feminist or pre-feminist works focusing on gender-language relations were followed by feminist endeavours towards the analysis of gendered language in three main theoretical positions based on theories of women's language in dominance and difference models. These early feminist linguistics research in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s concentrates on women's language rather than men's by drawing upon the questions (i) what women's language is, (ii) how it differs from men's language and (iii) how gender has come to play a role in differentiating women from men linguistically. The debates of women's language have predominantly focused on the theories of dominance and difference as a response to the theories of women's language as deficient. In the deficiency perspective, women's language are regarded as inferior compared to male language (Litosseliti, 2006, p. 28). The most

famous work in this framework belongs to Jespersen (1922 cited in Jespersen, 1990) who claims that the deficiency in women's language compared to men's language is clearly apparent in "their use of hyperbole, their incoherent sentences, inferior command of syntax, less extensive vocabulary and non-innovative approach to language" (cited in Litosseliti, 2006, p. 28). Jespersen's claims were highly criticized but at the same time has led to the emergence of early pioneering works of feminist linguistics, one of which is Lakoff's *Language and Women's Place*. In her extensively influential book, Lakoff (1975) suggested the existence of a distinct women's language from men's in the way that women's language is less powerful; more hesitant and uncertain; mostly lacking; and dominated by males. Observing mostly white, privileged women in US suburban, Lakoff hypothesized that women have a number of different language habits than men, the most notable of which are excessive politeness, the use of mitigating devices, avoidance of an aggressive language, uncertainty, weakness and lack of confidence (Talbot, 1998). The overall tendency of her study implied that women's language is deficient and inferior. To Lakoff, this was because of the fact that women's language is a result of childhood socialization of women. As Cameron notes, women, in their childhood are raised by parents to gain a distinctive way of speaking loaded with femininity, resulting in an alleged linguistic deficiency (1997, p. 26)¹⁸. Following Lakoff, Spender (1980) produced her influential work *Man-Made Language* which became the major representative of the dominance model in Feminist Linguistics. Objecting to Lakoff, Spender has argued that meaning in language is defined by men as a result of patriarchy and male language is centred as the norm, criticizing Lakoff for her view of women's language as deficient (Litosseliti, 2006, p. 32). In Spender's dominance model, women's language is not deficient, rather, the patriarchal

¹⁸ Although a number of scholars evaluate Lakoff's works among the theories of deficiency (See Litosseliti, 2006; Talbot, 1998), her work emphasizes the dominance and difference models of women's language theorizing a subordinated women's language by authority figures and a distinct content embodying different features of language compared to male's language.

social order is deficient. The difference between male and female speech is therefore a result of this patriarchal order and domination over women in social life. While the deficit and dominance theories associated the concept of women's language with negative connotations viewing women as either insufficient or dominated figures, the difference model has emerged offering a positive perspective towards women and their language. In the works of Maltz and Borker (1982) and Tannen (1990), gender differences in language are treated as cultural differences resulting from single-sex childhood groupings. In this model, miscommunications and differences in female-male conversations occur since the individuals in childhood interact with the same-sex peers. Therefore, different language patterns and communicative strategies between males and females originate. The cultural difference model seemed unconcerned with the dominance of male linguistic power or the deficient women's language. On the contrary, it celebrated the different use of language by women as a positive product of distinctive cultural accumulation. In this sense, difference models in early feminist linguistics were more in line with the variationist sociolinguistics studies providing a close examination to the differences in the languages of both sexes.

Affected by the political atmosphere in 1970s and 1980s when the second-wave feminist movement resisted discrimination of women, both dominance and difference theories in feminist linguistics has focused on a sexist language system, male dominated language and the celebration of the difference of women as a valuable instance (Mills, 1995). Although those non-feminist and feminist research within difference and dominance models above made significant contributions to gender and language research, it should be noted that there is a vast space to criticize those approaches for their conceptualization of gender in a simplistic way and for their presupposition that a difference between men's and women's language practices already exists. To Wodak and Benke (1997), sociolinguistic variation studies produce a binary gender model in language since the studies are based on the biological sex which is already problematized in both gender studies as

discussed in this chapter in the previous section. Another criticism is that these studies evaluate gender in isolation from other aspects of identity such as ethnicity, social class, sexuality, etc. as questioned by Wittig¹⁹ (1992) who discusses sex as an economic and political construct and by Butler (1999) who states that “...gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual, and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities. As a result, it becomes impossible to separate out gender from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained” (p.6).

2.3.3. The Discursive Turn in Gender and Language Research

Early feminist linguistics studies attributing particular importance to dominance and difference concepts as opposed to an understanding of a deficit language of women have provided valuable insights into feminist research in language highlighting the feminist concerns in language. However their insufficiency in theorizing gender, validating the effect of biological sex in linguistics and isolating gender from other social practices in society have created the need to move beyond a descriptive perspective of a dominance-difference language, and further resulted in a theoretical shift. Moving away from the orthodox sociolinguistic investigation of gender in which biological sex is the major determinant and the main concentration is on difference has led to the adopting of a discursive perspective in gender and language research, which resulted in a profound change in the theory and methodology of gender studies in language. After the discursive turn, the essentialist view of gender has shifted to a social constructionist insight resulting in new explanations and perspective in language research from the aspect of gender. The term ‘discourse’²⁰ in a post structuralist meaning has gained a particular

¹⁹ Wittig problematizes Marxism for obstructing the feminist struggle and criticize feminism itself for not questioning heterosexuality. She suggests abolition of gender categories. Please see ‘One is not Born a Woman’ (1992) and ‘Category of Sex’ (1992) for a detailed analysis of her materialist feminist perspective.

²⁰ See Section 2.1. for a detailed overview of discourse and discourse analysis.

importance to analyse construction of gender in language. Wetherall (2002) explains the shift:

Research has moved from language to discourse...by considering how language in use reflects and perpetuates gender stereotypes. So while early gender and language work documented how individual words could be considered sexist, later work examined how texts were constructed in sexist ways. A wide range of different areas of language use has been examined for sexism... (p.76)

As another result of the discursive turn, gender research started to focus on the investigation of discourse as a power and knowledge system in the post structuralist perspective. Gender and discourse studies are today more focused on the social construction of gender through discourses which varies from written texts to everyday spoken talk and investigates effects/outcomes of the power and ideologies on gender and discourse. Wetherall points out (2002):

Knowledge about women's and men's speech styles may not be objective, absolute truths about gender and language but rather an effect of a society where men and maleness are valued over women and femaleness. Thus the term discourse can be used to refer to the ways in which social and political relations are embedded in the ways of thinking and talking about the world. As we shall see below, when gender differences in language are viewed as a discourse that is imbued with social power, it becomes clearer why there has been a tendency for gender and language research to be used in ways that are counter-productive for improving women's status in society. (p. 7)

Current theoretical and methodological positions of feminist linguistics after the discursive shift emphasize the complex discussions on gender ideologies, construction of women and men in discourse, and the role of discourse on doing gender identities. Major theoretical assumptions of feminist linguistics – shared by critical discourse analysis as well – may be summarized as follows: Discourses have the power of “reflecting and constituting social realities, practices, relationships and identities”; the discursive construction of gender is achieved “through an ongoing process of selection, negotiation appropriation and restatement”; gender is theorized as “a process, something we do, produce, accomplish and perform”; “gender

identity is a communicative achievement, an effect of discursive practices, not a priori factor determining linguistic behaviour”; “gender is multi layered, diverse, fluid, shifting and often contradictory” (Litosseliti, 2006, p. 63).

2.3.4. Feminist Approaches to Discourse: Major Methodologies

As we made it clear in previous sections, social practices are not out of discourse, and they involve many interpretations or meanings concerning social life. Gender is no exception to this assumption as a social construction, a performance based on reiterated acts and a discursive practice. Although other sites involving gender relations are available to analyse, discourse is the most intensively investigated area of gender symbolism. Describing gender as discursive practices has led to a more diverse perspective in the investigation of gender. The complex relationship between discourse and gender ideologies beyond a simple variationist and dualistic perspective is mostly investigated with critical discourse approaches instead of descriptive variation methodologies both in critical social science studies and feminist linguistics. Rather than (re)producing a polarization and binary gender system in language structure, the current research paradigms embody a critical and/or a post structural theory which makes diversity, multiple aspects of genders apparent. They further highlight the intersections of gender, power, social structures and ideologies in discourses particularly through the theory of CDA. CDA perfectly fits the purposes of investigating gender construction or gendered discourses from a critical perspective as an approach “fundamentally interested in analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language;... investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimized, and so on, by language use (or in discourse)” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 10).

Overlapping with the research agenda in gender and discourse research, CDA has guided the use of newer approaches with a particular feminist stance. At this point, it is useful to address two recent approaches of discourse

analysis under the umbrella of CDA, which are Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth FCDA) and Feminist Post-Structuralist Discourse Analysis (henceforth FPDA). These two theories function as supportive, supplementary methodologies for this study to make the feminist point of view incorporated in the study with more clarity and definiteness.

A Feminist CDA approach was first raised by Michelle M. Lazar by bringing the critical perspective of CDA as a theoretical and analytical notion together with a feminist point of view within feminist scholarship. Lazar (2005) explains that the need for establishing a feminist perspective in discourse studies is what the feminists in academia sought for in the male-stream disciplines. Until recently, feminist discourse research has been conducted under the flag of CDA due to its overt political stance and its aim to expose the social inequality, oppression and dominance in discourse. To Lazar (2005), the reasons for desiring a feminist CDA is the effort to make the feminist perspective in discourse research more explicit, decrease the dominance and grip of white heterosexual men as the pioneers of discourse related studies and provide diversity among feminist scholars in CDA research. The main theoretical principles of FCDA remains almost identical to CDA with a post-structuralist view, social emancipatory goals and a political praxis as argued in the previous sections. The key components of FCDA are the critique of discourses which sustain a patriarchal social order and develop a feminist analytical resistance; analysis of gender as an ideological structure including the binary opposition of men and women or hierarchical order of dominance and the assurance of difference and diversity among men & women in gender studies with respect to complex power relations (Lazar, 2005).

Another mode of discourse analysis with a particular feminist concern is Feminist Post-Structuralist Discourse Analysis the most prominent scholar of which is Judith Baxter. Baxter defines her discourse analytical method as a “supplementary approach, simultaneously complementing and undermining

other methods” (2008, p. 243). Her description is extended to the analysis of discourses in spoken interaction or texts through the post-structuralist principles of complexity, plurality, ambiguity, connection, recognition, diversity, textual playfulness, functionality and transformation (Baxter, 2003). In FPDA, gender differentiation constitutes the major concern in discourse in terms of its systematic power of polarization. Baxter (2008) acknowledges the fact that FPDA and CDA share the key proponent, the discursive construction of language, and hold the same concerns such as discourse as social practice, performativity, diversity or multiplicity of identities and interdiscursivity. The differences between CDA and FPDA are in Baxter’s words that “the quest of FPDA is epistemological rather than ideological”, “it does not have an emancipatory agenda, but a ‘transformative quest’ and it believes in complexity rather than polarization of subjects of study” (2008, p. 2). Although FCDA and FPDA mostly act as supplementary methodological frames of CDA and are combined with CDA approach, their function to highlight the feminist concerns in discourse studies is worth noting to explicitly draw the feminist frame in this study²¹.

²¹ Drawing upon the combination of feminist CDA with CDA, Wodak (2008) rightfully raises a number of controversial issues in feminist CDA. Focusing mainly upon gender, Wodak states that FCDA carries the risk of ignorance of other identities and discursive practices. Therefore, she notes that multiple contextual factors, multiple identities performed by women and multiple positionings of women should be considered by FCDA researchers. She further suggests that CDA and FCDA need to be combined by conceiving the following principles: (i) Critical research of gender should considered a wide range of gendered identities avoiding simplistic dichotomies, (ii) many other social factors such as social class, ethnicity, religion, culture, profession, etc. should be linked to the critical gender research, (iv) gender relations should be analysed within a socio political perspective as part of a larger social structure, (v) critical gender research should aim at deconstructing hegemony and symbolic violence in socio-political contexts (Wodak, 2008, p. 197).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Research Questions and Research Design

In the light of theoretical framework of discourse, gender, critical discourse analysis and their interplay with respect to power and ideology, this study attempts to investigate the construction and reproduction of gender as a discursive practice and gender norms with reference to women in political discourses in COPSPM through a critical discourse analysis approach and from a feminist perspective. Furthermore, the discursive relationship between power, discourse, and ideology in the case of gender is aimed to be explored within and beyond linguistic level through a critical feminist analysis. The research questions posed within the study which embodies a two-fold research approach –both non discursive and discursive approaches- are as follows:

- 1- Which referential, predicate, argumentation and ideological strategies are used in COPSPM to construct femininity?
- 2- In which discourse topics are women included? In other words, what are the thematic categories of discourses that specifically consists of women as discourse topics?
- 3- Which gender roles and stereotypes are attributed to women?
 - a. What are the most highlighted and frequently addressed roles?
- 4- Which discourses are interlinked to each other for persuading the audience?
 - a. How does the strategies of interdiscursivity or intertextuality appear in COPSPM?

- 5- Which grammatical, discursive and social roles are assigned to the social actors in the discourses?
- a. How does the transitivity in the sentences reflect the social roles of actors and actions?
- 6- Which lexical items are used to produce a categorization of femininity?
- a. What contextual and discursive meanings do the lexical items take on?
 - b. What are the frequency ranks of lexical items used to refer to women?
- 7- How do the neo-liberal and conservative ideologies shape the political discourses with respect to the construction of social roles assigned to women?
- a. What are the arguments used in COPSPM legitimizing neo-liberal and conservative gender policies?

In the study, the main framework of CDA approach of Fairclough, the Discourse-Historical Approach of Wodak, Van Leeuwen's Social Actors Approach and Mautner's Corpus Linguistics Approach within CDA tradition are adopted and integrated for the analyses of Prime Minister's public speeches due to their explicit position towards power & ideology relations in discourse and its theoretically critical stance. This critical positioning enlightens the discursive, dynamic and social natures of gender and discourse by revealing how discourses produce, reproduce and reflect the construction of gender. As addition to CDA, FCDA and FPDA inspired the study for maintaining the feminist concern of gender (re)production in discourses in which the discursive relations are embedded. Adopting an eclectic research design for accomplishing the pre-defined aims, the study is composed of three main stages which are (i) the historical context and overview of Justice and Development Party's (AKP) and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political stance and activities, (ii) a corpus-based analysis of the naming of women, the pragmatic functions of the lexical devices of naming, and the identification of contextual categories in which women are addressed (iii) a three-dimensional critical analysis focusing on close textual analysis –agency of

social actors, transitivity and lexical choices–; the discursive practices in the political addresses –intertextuality, interdiscursivity and other discursive strategies–; and a socio-political interpretation of the speeches through a feminist concern as the final step. The methodological frame of the research is as clarified below:

Stage 1- The Overview of the Historical – Political Context of AKP as the Ruling Party: For conducting the research on politics and political discourses, the historical context always needs to be incorporated into the analysis. The analyst should take the historical, cultural and socio-political elements of discourses and political actors into account to fully understand and reveal the power relations in discourses beyond textual or linguistic level. Since the topics would not successfully be interpreted in the discourse analyses isolated from their cultural, social and historical contexts, the analyst should keep his/her eye on history of those topics and of the political organizations/institutions/actors. Aspects, development, transformation or change and naturalization of discourses are revealed only with the integration of historical context into the analyses. As Reisigl and Wodak explicitly state, “the historical context is taken into account in interpreting texts and discourses. The historical orientation permits the reconstruction of how recontextualization functions as an important process linking texts and discourses intertextually and interdiscursively over time” (2009, p. 103).

Therefore, the first stage of this research discusses the establishment, development, political positioning, political views and tendencies in their political, social and cultural implementations with particular reference to women-related issues. The overview and analysis of the past policies of the party is carried out through revising the official party reports, public speeches and the law drafts prepared by the party on gender-related policies. This brief analysis provides a broader understanding for the reasons why the speeches of the Prime Minister as the representative of the government in Turkey is selected as the focus of analysis and how opaque or transparent gender

ideologies are included within those speeches. In addition to the general socio-historical overview of AKP's and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's politics, each speech which is subjected to analysis in the study is presented with a background survey of its political and historical context.

Stage 2- A Corpus-Based Analysis of Lexical Items (i.e. Naming): Although corpus linguistics is not much referred to in CDA research, it carries a significant potential as a methodological device to enhance the efficiency of CDA studies. As an endeavour to identify systematic patterns in discourses and their link to the wider social events with reference to the lexical items, corpus linguistics is today used in CDA research in quite fruitful directions. To define what corpus linguistics is and how it contributes to the critical research of discourses, Mautner's Corpus Linguistics Approach to CDA is of great help. In Mautner's terms, corpus linguistics "is a methodology that uses computer support –in particular software called concordance programs- to analyse authentic; and usually very large volumes of textual data" (2009, p. 130). Similarly, Baker defines corpus as large bodies of naturally occurring language data stored and encoded electronically on computers (2006, p. 1-2). In the corpus-based approach to CDA, corpus research functions as a supporter and contributor to CDA paradigm rather than undertaking the whole research methodology. Mautner further characterizes her approach as follows:

Corpus linguistics allows critical discourse analysts to work with much larger data than they can when they use manual techniques... Corpus linguistics can help reduce researcher bias, thus coping with a problem to which CDA is hardly more prone than other social sciences but for which it has come in for harsh and persistent criticism... Corpus linguistic software offers both quantitative and qualitative perspectives on textual data, computing frequencies and measures of statistical significance as well as presenting data in such a way that the researcher can assess individual occurrences of search words, qualitatively examine their collocational environments, describe salient semantic patterns and identify discourse functions. (2009, p. 131)

Thus, the second stage of the study employs a corpus-based approach towards the political discourses as a supportive device strengthening the validity and reliability of the study. In this stage, a corpus of the political speeches delivered by the Prime Minister, COPSPM has been built with MAXQDA 11 Qualitative Research and Concordance Software allowing for the features of gathering, coding, transcribing and querying for the frequency analysis of the data. In COPSPM, official public addresses of Erdoğan delivered between the dates 01/01/2012 – 31/12/2013 have been transcribed²² and compiled in MAXQDA 11. The COPSPM contains 528,608 tokens (total occurrences of words) and 60,408 types (words) with 0,1142 type-token ratio. It also consists of 132 official public speeches including nine genres which are (i) official party group meetings, (ii) extended provincial council meetings, (iii) consultation and evaluation meetings, (iii) monthly address to the nation (iv) official congresses, (v) rallies (meetings), (vi) speeches delivered during the organizations held by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies²³, (vii) other official addresses such as the meetings on budget strategic plan preparation, democratization package and the new incentive system. Speeches delivered on unofficial occasions such as opening ceremonies, dinners or festivals have been excluded from the dataset to avoid the difficulty of investigating an extremely vast bundle of data. COPSPM have been mined with the key word search to retrieve the alternative naming²⁴ of women and their multi-word forms together with their frequency analysis compared to naming of men. The thematic categories in which women are

²² The study does not concentrate on the analysis of conversational or phonological implications of Erdoğan's public speeches. Therefore, the study focused on the critical analysis of written transcriptions of the spoken data. The analysis of visual and auditory data was not included.

²³ The speeches in this category holds particular importance and the most of the speeches analysed with CDA have been selected from this category since Erdoğan directly addresses to women and touches upon the issues such as marriage, family and motherhood in the organizations of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies.

²⁴ The possible words for naming were extracted from the texts with the intensive reading of the texts during the data collection, transcription and corpus-building processes.

referred to with emphasis were specified followed by interpretations of the retrieved data.

Stage 3- CDA of Selected Addresses in terms of Textual – Discursive – Social Practices: In this final stage of the research, the three-dimensional model of CDA of Fairclough, DHA of Wodak and SAA of Van Leeuwen has been adopted for the analyses of multiple speeches that Erdoğan gave at various meetings. In the selection process of the speeches that are subjected to the detailed analysis, the content (i.e. issues directly concerning women such as motherhood, family planning, sexuality etc.) of the speeches have mainly been taken into account. Selected speeches have been investigated with the focus on the practices below:

- 1- textual practice: (a) grammatical and discursive roles assigned to social actors, (b) transitivity and (c) lexical preferences –
- 2- discursive practices: (a) intertextuality and interdiscursivity, (b) argumentation strategies
- 3- socio-political practice: a feminist interpretation of the speeches concentrating on their social and political effects.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANALYSES AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS: DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF FEMININITY IN THE POLITICS OF AKP

4.1. An Overview of the Historical Context of AKP and the Party Policies on Gender

Turkey has witnessed serious political and socio-cultural transformations after the 1980 military coup which is seen “as an era of a liberal turn” (Ayata and Tütüncü, 2008, p.364). In the era following 1980, political Islam, which has been represented in Turkey from the period starting in the 1970s²⁵, had noticeably risen as a powerful political movement within the frame of the National Outlook Movement (Milli Görüş Hareketi) of Erbakan. With the establishment of Welfare Party (WP) in 1983 by Erbakan, political Islamism under the roof of National Outlook started to live its strongest period until the end of 1990s²⁶. However, the WP was banned by the Constitutional Court for threatening the secular principles of the nation and the social order (Ayata and Tütüncü, 2008, p. 367), which led to a division of Islamist movements. AKP was established in 2001 in this atmosphere in which the Islamist movements were strictly intervened by either military coups or the Constitutional Court. Formation of AKP from within the movement of

²⁵ In the early 1970s, the National Outlook Movement the founder of which is Necmettin Erbakan has been represented by the National Order Party (Milli Nizam Partisi) and National Salvation Party (Milli Selamet Partisi). The former was closed by the Constitutional Court while the latter was subsequently closed by the military intervention in 1980 for threatening secularism. Following post-coup period in 1983, Erbakan established the Welfare Party (Refah Partisi) in 1983, which became the most powerful defender of National Outlook Movement (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2011, p. 568).

²⁶ Despite the constant tensions between Islamist movements and the Republican movements underlining the significance of secularism and the military with an emphasis on Kemalist ideology, the Welfare Party managed to come into power and formed the 54th coalition government in Turkey with the centre-right True Path Party (Doğru Yol Partisi) in 1996 until the so-called intervention of the military and bureaucratic institutions called the post-modern coup of 28th of February, 1997 followed by the complete closure of the party by the Constitutional Court.

National Outlook by the younger generations of WP who were pioneered by Erdoğan has paved the way for the emergence of a highly debated era of politics in Turkey. In the elections held in November, 2002, AKP came to power as a single-party government ending the long period of coalition governments with the 34, 5 percent of the votes and 363 seats in the parliament from a total of 550 (Arat, 2010, p.871). At the very beginning of AKP's establishment, AKP leaders have moved away from the National Outlook Movement and "put a distance between their parties and previous religious parties... by rejecting the labels of Islamist or Muslim Democrat" (Ayata and Tütüncü, 2008, p. 367). To declare this division from the early Islamist movement better, Erdoğan, as the founder of AKP, underlined their new identity with his famous expression - "we took off our National Outlook shirt"- in one of his speeches (Aydın and Taşkın, 2014, p. 468). Preferring a rupture of the relations with its Islamist roots and denying the legacy of National Outlook Movement, AKP leaders described themselves as the new 'conservative democrats'. It is possible to read this disaffiliation as a pragmatist strategy of AKP attempting to "position themselves in the centre-right of the political spectrum and appeal to a larger constituency" and to achieve the survival and maintenance of the party in a fluid and shifting political environment with a discourse of change and innovation (Çitak and Tür, 2008, p. 455). Following the party's fine adjustment between the past Islamist roots and present conservative identity, and the declaration of change; AKP has initiated a reformist and liberal political program, putting the integration of Turkey to European Union as the first and foremost target which was severely opposed by the former Islamist parties. As an addition to its pro-EU orientation, the party has started to implement an economic system on a neoliberal basis demanding the development of a free-market understanding and the retreat of the state intervention into the market (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2011, p. 559) and managed an economic stabilization after a long time. While AKP reconciled his pro-EU stance and neoliberal economic policies with its understanding of a conservative democracy, the long-

reaching and ambitious efforts of the party further enhanced the electoral achievements. In July, 2007, AKP won the general elections by taking 46, 5 percent of the votes and 341 seats and continued performing as the single-ruling party in the government for another four year-period, which was an indisputable victory in the history of AKP (Aydın and Taşkın, 2014, p. 478). In line with the results of AKP's second term elections, the party won the third term in June, 2011 with 49,8 percent of the votes and 327 seats in the parliament (Aydın and Taşkın, 2014, p. 489) and has maintained its status as the government party until present. Throughout 12 years of its ruling²⁷, AKP's neoliberal policies were implemented both in the market and in social spheres; its desire and even insistence on the imposition of socio-political conservative norms based on an Islamist understanding have been the focus of controversial debates and criticisms. Obviously, the most problematic issues at the focus of criticisms have involved the party's patriarchal gender policies which deserve closer attention.

AKP declared its devoutness in relation to womens issues in Turkey with a promise and encouragement of women in participation in public spheres and politics by founding the Ministry of the State Responsible for Women and Family Affairs.²⁸ The targets of the government proclaimed in their party program related to womens issues in broad terms are summarized by Çitak and Tür (2008) as promoting political and public participation of women, supporting women's civil society organizations, giving educational activities on sexual, economic exploitation of women and/ violence against/killings of women, and finally schooling of girls (p. 456). The Directorate of the General Status of Women (Kadının Genel Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü) -a separate

²⁷ Please see Aydın and Taşkın's book titled 'Yeni Türkiye Tarihi' (The History of the New Turkey) for an in-depth survey of the political movements and orientations in Turkey starting from 1960s until today including (currently) the twelve years of AKP government.

²⁸ The Ministry of the State Responsible for Women and Family Affairs was replaced by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies in the third term of AKP. The change of the Ministry was protested by many women's organizations in Turkey at that time with respect to the foregrounding of family and leaving aside women issues.

branch of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies- declared the amendments regarding women by the AKP government in its latest report in 2014 with respect to the criteria of CEDAW (The Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women). The report underlines the amendments in the legal field to ensure gender equality in the Constitution, the Civil Code, the Labour Law, the Penal Code and the Public Servants Law. Other than the legal field, the report expresses the improvements of education and schooling of women and participation of women in work life and politics. Some of the noticeable amendments observed in the report are the establishment of family courts concerning cases within the Family Law; regulating equality between spouses in marriage in terms of social and economic rights and responsibilities; legislation for the violence against women (Kadına Şiddet Yasası); increasing the period of paid-maternal leave of working women and the establishment of shelter houses for women and children.²⁹

Although the party programme involves those amendments concerning women issues, it is not possible to claim that gender policies and discourses of AKP favours women and feminist thought with regard to neither encouragement of women participation in the public and political spectrums nor the equality of women in legal, labour and family domains in contrast to the promises of the party. On the contrary, a constant tension between the government and women's rights organizations have been felt due to the inadequacy of the amendments regarding women, disinterest and even hostility of the government at times to feminist demands and/or feminist ideology³⁰ and regulation and fine-tuning of amendments without consulting

²⁹ Please visit <http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/tr/28222/> to read the report titled "Women in Turkey", published by the Directorate of the General Status of Women.

³⁰ AKP's distaste of and opposition to feminist ideology is expressed by the members of the party many times on several occasions. The leading party members including the Prime Minister has endorsed this opposition by claiming that feminist ideology and movements targets to disrupt the institution of family, social and cultural values of the nation. Please refer to Coşar and Yeğenoğlu (2011) and Ayata and Tütüncü (2008) for specific examples of party members' discourses of feminism.

women's organizations. Furthermore, the claims of the party in relation to gender issues, their gender policies and the actual practices are found to be in contradiction. One might grasp that this striking opposition between promises and practices is an obvious indicator of the patriarchal structure of AKP. To put it more precisely, a patriarchal order marrying the neoliberal and conservative principles constitutes the basis for the gender policies of AKP and its approach towards women's issues, which is called by Coşar and Yeğenoğlu as "neoliberal-conservative patriarchy" (2011, p.560). With the powerful alliance of neoliberalism and conservatism in the policy-making of AKP, the party intertwines religious norms and politics, in which the patriarchal order is visibly tracked. Most of the gender-related practices of AKP serve directly or indirectly to perpetuate this patriarchal mode as a constant practice of surveillance over women of the state. In the patriarchal route of AKP, the most salient emphasis is put forward on the significance of family as the nucleus of the society. In this regard, the party propagates norms and allegedly social values on women and promotes a shift from public to the domestic realm, a shift from women's right to the protection of the family institution and a shift from gender equality to positioning women as the objects of the patriarchal family by giving particular references to Islam although the party itself denies its Islamist roots in the first terms of its rule. The debates on adultery is the most striking example revealing the party's tendency on gender to be interpreted within the frame of this neoliberal-conservative patriarchal structure uplifting family while subordinating women. During the legislation of a new Penal Code as a requirement for integration process to EU in 2004, the demand that adultery should be recriminalized and added to the new Penal Code has been outspoken by Erdoğan at the last minute.³¹ Claiming that banning and recriminalizing

³¹<http://www.cnnturk.com/2004/dunya/09/13/turkiye.zinayi.abye.tasidi/35400.0/index.html>,
<http://www.cnnturk.com/2004/turkiye/09/04/erdogan.zina.yasasi.esitsizligi.giderecek/33272.0/>

adultery³² would become to the benefit of wives and to the integrity of the family, the government insisted on adding adultery as a crime to the new Penal Code for ensuring gender equality not for discrimination and advocated that penalizing adultery is a necessary act for protecting the family and social order. This surprising demand took harsh criticisms from feminist organizations and the EU Commission and finally the government has drawn it back after the objection of EU authorities (Ayata and Tütüncü, 2008; Çitak and Tür, 2008). One similar attempt of AKP was to recently demand the banning of abortion in 2012.³³ Expressing continuously his disfavour of abortion, caesarean sections and contraception methods, Erdoğan declared that he charged the Minister of Health for legislating a new law which bans abortion and limits caesarean sections, defending that abortion is no different than murder and a negative intervention to decrease the population of Turkey, therefore it needs to be banned. Although the law has not been added to the Code, the debates on abortion has occupied the agenda of AKP for a long time. The two examples above help to make the sharp contrast between the reformist promises of the party programme on gender policies and the actual practices explicitly apparent. Investigating gender in the context of AKP, one may come to the conclusion that AKP's patriarchal gender politics as a product of the conservative and neoliberal ideologies directly make demands on the rights of women's bodies by interfering with the issues of sexuality, abortion, contraception and motherhood (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2011, p. 561). In this respect, investigation of the discourses of AKP becomes a valid reference point to reveal the discriminatory practices and the patriarchal structure in the process of women's socio-cultural constructions by the political elites. Therefore, the arguments proposed in this study relies on the

³² In the old Penal Code of Turkey, adultery was a criminal act for men and women but required unequal punishment discriminating against women in marriage (Ayata and Tütüncü, 2008, p. 380). The law was annulled for men in 1996 and for women in 1998 by the Constitutional Court (Çitak and Tür, 2008, p. 461).

³³<http://www.sabah.com.tr/Gundem/2012/05/29/kurtas-yasasi-geliyor>,
http://www.radikal.com.tr/politika/erdogan_kurtaj_yasasini_cikartacagiz-1089484

feminist readings of Erdoğan's and more generally AKP's political discourses and policies on gender.

4.2. A Corpus-Based Analysis of Erdoğan's Political Speeches

In the process of the corpus-based analysis of the speeches delivered by Erdoğan who is selected as the most powerful representative of AKP and the party politics, a number of steps have been followed in a respectively long period of time within the scope of the pre-planned research design. The first phase of the corpus research consists of the systematic listening and reading (if the transcription of the speech is available) in a two-year time period starting from the date of January 1, 2012 to December 31, 2013. In this selective reading process, the categorical classifications of the speeches and the inclusion – exclusion criteria for the speeches have been determined. A limitation of the time period and genres is implemented with the intention of configuring a manageable and convenient research procedure by creating a relatively small but specialized corpus to solely serve the purposes of this study. The major information indicating the categorical and numerical features of the speeches included in COPSPM are as illustrated below:

Table 1. General Information and Frame of COPSPM

Medium	Domain	Domain II	Interaction	Genres of Speech in COPSPM	Number of Speech	Token	Type
Spoken (transcribed)	Public	Politics	Monologue	1. Weekly Party Group Meetings	51		
				2. Extended Provincial Council Meetings	20		
				3. Consultation and Evaluation Meetings	7		
				4. Monthly Address to the Nation	18		
				5. Official Party Congresses	20		
				6. The Series of National Official Rallies titled 'Rallies of Respect to the National Will'	5		
				7. Other Official Meetings (Meetings on Budget Strategic Plan Preparation, Democratization Package and the New Incentive System.)	4	528,608	60,408
				8. Organizations held by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies (Summit of International Family and Social Policies, International Day of the Girl Child, International Women's Day, Introductory Meeting of the Project titled 'Being a Family')	5		
				9. Congresses of Women Labour Unions	2		
Total Number of Speeches Included:					132		

While the public speeches of Erdoğan delivered in formal settings such as the parliament, party congresses, formal meetings and rallies are included in corpus, the informal addresses such as the speeches given on events such as dinners, weddings, opening ceremonies of private institutions, mass housing openings and other informal meetings were excluded from COPSPM. However, seven of the speeches in COPSPM which took place in the organizations held by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and by two women labour unions are exceptions to this filter. This exception results

from the fact that those seven speeches are organized by either women's associations or the Ministry responsible for women and their content incorporate women-related issues addressing women as audience; hence the speeches are quite likely to serve as the sites where ideologies and power relations within AKP's gender politics might be revealed. Similarly, TV programs and press meetings in which Erdoğan answers a set of questions have been excluded since the type of interaction of selected speeches for COPSPM are only monologues. The unbridged videos or the transcriptions of the speeches was gathered from the official website of AKP, the website of Cihan News Agency (Cihan Haber Ajansı) and Youtube. Once the data selection and collection phases are completed, the speech videos has been transcribed, compiled and categorized on a genre basis in MAXQDA 11 Qualitative Data Analysis software. After all, COPSPM which is a small-sized and context-specific corpus composed of the public political speeches of Erdoğan has been built for a close analysis of politics and gender interplay at different discoursal levels. COPSPM is comprised of a total of 132 speeches ranging from 15 minutes to 2 hours; 528,608 tokens (total occurrences of words) and 60,408 types (words) with 0,1142 type-token ratio.

4.2.1. Morphological and Cluster Analysis of Lexical Units

As for the analysis of the formal and/or morphological features of the lexical items in COPSPM with key word and cluster search, it seems to be the case that each lexical item occurs as frequently as or more frequent than a part of a multi-word unit (cluster)³⁴ and a suffixed unit as it does as an isolate unit as illustrated below:

³⁴ To draw the distinction between multi-word units and clusters require the consideration of morphological or orthographic variances. Both clusters and multi-word units refer to the use of more than one lexical item in a systematic pattern. Clusters are found without including various morphological, orthographic or prosodic (in conversation analysis) variations of lexical unit. Therefore one cluster may involve more than one multi-word units with different word-orders and morphological features. However, this distinction is strictly applied in this study. Multi-word units and clusters are used interchangeably.

Table 2. Numbers of single-standing, suffixed and Multi-word Units of extracted tokens

Token	Single- Standing	Suffixed	Multi-Word Units/Clusters ³⁵	Frequency
<i>Kadın</i>	106	372	133	596
<i>Anne</i>	56	276	40	387
<i>Hanım</i>	13	29	193	235
<i>Kız</i>	15	100	115	230
<i>Eş</i>	6	64	-	70
<i>Bayan</i>	18	10	-	28

It seems to be the case that the numbers of occurrences of isolated, suffixed and multi-word units (hereafter MWUs) suggest that the suffixed and MWUs deserve special attention and a closer look to be able to track a number of patterns of uses in COPSPM. Ranking the first in order, *kadın* occurs 106 times as an isolate unit, 372 times as a suffixed unit and 133 times as a MWU. Following *kadın*, *anne* occurs 56 times as a single-standing unit, 276 times as suffixed and 40 times with its MWUs. *Hanım* ranks the third in the list with 13 isolate, 29 suffixed and 193 MW units from which it is deduced that *hanım* has a systematic use in a contextual pattern with the extensive number of its MWUs and relatively insignificant numbers of isolate and suffixed forms. *Kız* in the fourth order occurs 15 times as an isolate word, 100 times as a suffixed word outnumbered by 115 MWUs. The last two items *eş* with 6 isolate and 64 suffixed forms, and *bayan* with 18 isolate and 10 suffixed forms are comparatively preferred less and do not occur as multi-word units. Mostly, the highest form of the words is their suffixed versions which is understandable as a typical feature of an agglutinative language. On the other hand, the multi-word units rank either as the first in frequency order (i.e. *hanım* with 193 MWUs) or outnumbers the isolate forms (i.e. *anne* with 133 MWUs, *kız* with 115 MWUs), which require a more detailed contextual

³⁵ Note that MWUs such as *başörtülü kızlarımız* (our girls with head covers) also occur as suffixed items but included in MWU category rather than the category of suffixed forms due to the systematic use of the expressions.

interpretation. Therefore an elaborated list consisting of suffixed and multi-word expressions and their variations together with their number of occurrences is presented as follows:

Table 3. Classifications of selected tokens

TOKEN SAMPLES and NUMBERS OF OCCURENCES		
Isolate	Suffixed (No. of Occurrences)	MWU/ Cluster
kadın (106)	<i>kadınlar (93), kadınların (63), kadına (38), kadınları (38), kadınlara (30), kadının (14), kadınlarını (19) kadınlarına (11), kadınlarla (11), kadınlarının (10), kadını (9), kadınlarımız (6), kadınlarımızın (5) kadınlarımızı (3), kadınlarda (2), kadınlardan (2), kadını (2), kadınına (2), kadınıyla (2), kadındır (2), kadından (1), kadınca (1), kadınlıkta (1), kadınının (1), kadını (1), kadınına (1), kadını (1), kadınlarımız (1), kadınlarımızın (1)</i>	<i>kadın kolları</i> (women's branches) (83) <i>dünya kadınlar günü</i> (World women's day) (35) <i>kadına yönelik</i> (towards woman) (15)
anne (56)	<i>anneler (65), annelerin (40), annenin (20), annelere (16), anneye (16), anneleri (14), annelerine (14), annelerini (10), annesinin (9), annelerinin (7), anneliğin (7), anneyi (7), annelik (7), annesi (7), annene (4), annesine (3), annem (3), annesinden (3), annelerden (2), annelerinden (2), annelerimiz (2), annelerimize (1), annelerle (1), annelerinize (1), annemi (2), annemin (2), annesini (2), anneliği (2), annedir (2), anneden (2), annenizden (1), annenizi (1), annenize (1), annen (1), annesiz (1), annesiyle (1)</i>	<i>anne baba</i> (mother - father) (32) <i>anneler günü</i> (mothers' day) (8)
hanım (13)	<i>hanımın (4), hanımı (4), hanımlarla (3), hanımlar (3), hanımdan (2), hanımları (2), hanımlara (2), hanımların (1), hanımlarına (1), hanımlarımıza (1), hanımla (1), hanımının (1), hanıma (1), hanımını (1), hanımlarımızı (1), hanımdan (1)</i>	<i>hanımefendi(ler)</i> (ladies) (66) <i>hanım kardeşlerim(iz)</i> (our lady sisters) (127)

Table 3. Classifications of selected tokens (continued)		
kız (15)	<p><i>kızların (16), kızlar (13), kızlarımız (10), kızımız (10), kızımızı (8), kızlarımıza (7) kızlara (7), kızlarını (7), kızlarımızın (6) kızlarımızı (4), kızım (4), kızı (4), kızları (3), kızlarının (2), kızlarım (2), kızımızın (2), kızımı (2), kızın (2), kızlarından (1), kızlarıyla (1), kızlardan (1), kızlarda(1), kızımıza (1), kızıma (1), kızını (1), kızının (1)</i></p> <p>SUFFIXED MWUs / CLUSTERS</p> <p><i>[kız çocuklarının (19), kız çocuklarına (12), kız çocuklarını (10), kız çocukları (8), kız çocuklarımızın (8), kız çocuğunu (4), kız çocuklarımıza (4), kız çocuğumuzu (3), kız çocuğu (3), kız çocuklarımızı (3), kız çocuklarımız (2), kız çocuğuna (1), kız çocuğumuz (1), kız çocuğumuzun (1), kız çocuklarımızda (1), kız çocuklarıyla (1)]; [kız öğrenci (6), kız öğrenciler (1), kız öğrencilere (1), kız öğrencilerimizin (2), kız öğrencilerimiz (1)]; [kız kardeşlerimiz (1), kız kardeşlerimize (2), kız kardeşimi (1), kız kardeşimin (2)]</i></p>	<p><i>kız çocuk</i> (female child) (82)</p> <p><i>başörtülü kız</i> (girl with headcover) (18)</p> <p><i>kız öğrenci</i> (female student) (11)</p> <p><i>kız kardeş</i> (4) (sister)</p>
eş (6)	<p><i>eşleri (9), eşi (8), eşleriyle (6), eşlerini (5), eşlerin (5), eşine (5), eşim (5), eşler (4), eşimle (3), eşimin (3), eşlerine (2), eşinin (2), eşlerinize (1), eşlere (1), eşlerinize(1), eşimi (1), eşime (1), eşe(1), eşiyile (1)</i></p>	-
bayan (18)	<p><i>bayanların (7), bayanlar (2), bayanlara (1)</i></p>	-
Raw Total:		1451

Morphological variations of suffixed lexical units illustrated above deserve closer attention with respect to type of suffixes. Arrayed in a descending order, lexical units take mostly inflectional suffixes including case suffixes of genitive (*-in, -in*), dative (*-e, -a*), accusative (*-ı, -i*), cases; plural suffixes (*-ler, -lar*); and possessive suffixes of first person plural (*-imiz, -ımız*), first person singular (*-im, -im*), third person plural (*-leri, -ları*), third person singular (*-ı, -i*). Other fewer suffixes added to the words are case suffixes of locative (*-de, -da*) and ablative (*-den, -dan*); and predicative of first, second, third person singular and plurals (*-ım, im; -sın, -sin; -dur, dir; -ız, iz; -sınız, -sınız; -dirler, durlar*); the possessive suffix of second person singular and plural (*-ın, -in; -unuz, -iniz, -leriniz, -larnız*) and derivational

suffixes (*i.e.* *-lik*). The frequency numbers of suffixes here play a significant role to reveal the grammatical role allocations assigned to women in COPSPM. The use of accusative and dative case suffixes (*e.g.* *anneye, anneleri, kadınları*) gives the clues with respect to transitivity and role allocation of social actors included in discourse. In this sense, the numbers of locatives and datives suggest that women are grammatically positioned as the goals/patients of transitive verbs rather than being placed in the agentive role. Another salient point inferred from the types of suffixes regards the use of first person singular and plural possessive suffixes (*e.g.* *kadınlarımız, kızımız, kızlarımızın*). In a broader perspective, possessive suffixes or pronouns signal the control of the state and patriarchy over women by implying a status of women as objects. A counter argument to this assumption might claim that the use possessive pronouns indicates the inclusive discourse of a state president to embrace each and every person and group. However, this counter argument is invalidated when the use of possessives in lexical items referring to men with a comparative analysis. The intentional use of possessives in lexical units for women becomes more apparent when COPSPM is searched with the key-words *erkeklerimiz* (our men), *oğullarımız* (our women), *babalarımız* (our fathers). The results reveal a sharp contrast between the frequency of 1st person singular and plural possessive suffixes in that *erkeklerimiz* and *oğullarımız* or their other morphological variants are found 0 times, while *babalarımız* with its morphological variants occur only 7 times in COPSPM.

MWUs searched and extracted with cluster analysis constitutes another area of interest. MWUs or clusters refer to the co-occurrence of two or more units in a frequent and systematic pattern in naturally occurring language. COPSPM, in this respect, includes a number of MWUs with reference to women and deserves a close look. The first lexical unit *kadın* have been found in a number of MWUs which are *kadın kolları* (women's branches) with 83 occurrences, *dünya kadınlar günü* (world women's day) with 35 occurrences and *kadına yönelik* (towards woman) with 15 occurrences. *Kadın* in those

three MWUs function as a common name making reference to a specific type of gender. Similarly, MWUs of *kadın* involve general expressions defining a group, a specific day and a prepositional phrase as a pattern describing a specific type of behaviour with its complement. Similarly, the item *anne* constitutes fixed patterns of *anneler günü* (mothers' day) with 32 tokens and *anne-baba* (mother-father) with 8 tokens. While *anneler günü* points to a specific day celebrated for/by a specific group, *anne-baba* holds the meaning of the common word parent. The third item *hanım* has a particular significance owing to its MWUs since an excessive number of occurrences of *hanım* belong to its MWUs while the isolated and suffixed forms are insignificant in number. The first MWU for *hanım* is *hanımefendi(ler)* which occurred 66 times in COPSPM as a term of address to women participating in the meetings. The second MWU *hanım kardeşler* followed by 1st person singular and/or plural possessive suffix similarly acts as a fixed expression of address to the women who are available in the meetings as audience, as distant listeners and as members / supporters of AKP. With this function, *hanım kardeşler* signals a referential strategy establishing an in-group representation including pro-AKP women and excluding women and women groups which are opponents of AKP rule. The fourth lexical item *kız* composes 4 MWUs and their morphological variants, *kız çocuk* with 82 occurrences, *başörtülü kız* with 18 occurrences, *kız öğrenci* with 11 occurrences and lastly *kız kardeş* with 4 occurrences, each one of which are mostly suffixed with the 1st person singular and/or plural possessive markers. This marking of possessive suffixes indicate a possible representation for two major purposes; the first of which is state-policing or control over women, and the second of which is the representations of in and out groups become apparent in the analysis of MWUs of the item *kız* as well. While marking *kız çocuk* and *kız öğrenci* with possessive suffixes reflect a covert dominance and control specifically when they refer to single adult university students, the use of *başörtülü kız* and *kız kardeş* seem to be a typical inclusion strategy of women placing themselves within conservative thought. Though the initial results of the corpus analysis

provide hints for referential strategies of Erdoğan’s discourses, the semantic content and contextual information are required for further interpretation, which is handled in the next section.

4.2.2. Lexical Analysis

COPSPM was searched to identify the lexical units which are most frequently uttered for referring to women with the concordance query in ANTCOnc 3.2.4w. Pre-determined keywords which are, *kadın*, (woman), *kız* (girl and daughter), *hanım* (lady, wife), *bayan* (lady, ms. female), *eş* (wife) and lastly *anne* (mother) were searched for in COPSPM and listed according to their frequencies after they were queried separately to find out the pragmatic roles assigned to those keywords. The keywords, as noted earlier, were identified during the selective reading/listening process of the speeches. The list of the most frequent lexical referential entities uttered to name and address women are as figured below:

Table 4. Frequency of lexical items used for referring to women in COPSPM

	Lexical Item	Type (Single-Standing, Suffixed, Multi-Word/Cluster)	Frequency of Tokens
1.	<i>Kadın</i> (woman)	isolated, suffixed, cluster	596
2.	<i>Anne</i> (mother)	isolated, suffixed, cluster	387
3.	<i>Hanım</i> (lady, wife, ms.)	isolated, suffixed, cluster	235
4.	<i>Kız</i> (girl, daughter)	isolated, suffixed, cluster	230
5.	<i>Eş</i> (wife)	isolated, suffixed	70
6.	<i>Bayan</i> (lady, ms., female)	isolated, suffixed	28
Total Number of Tokens Included:			1451

As figured in Table 2, the most frequent lexical item, *kadın*, occurs 596 times in COPSPM, followed by *anne* with 387 occurrences. *Hanım* occurring 235 times is in third frequency rank followed by *kız* with 230 tokens. The last two lexical items are *eş* with 70 occurrences and *bayan* with 28 occurrences.

The frequency ranks of the entities reveal specific lexical preferences over others and contextual differences of use of each item. However, the analysis makes no claims of statistical significance but it does aim to highlight pragmatic and contextual properties of lexical entities. As a result of the key word and cluster search in COPSPM, it seems to be the case that each lexical item has its own contextual and social attributions. The production of different lexical items for women according to several factors is a controversial issue in feminist theory and in feminist stylistics in particular. Therefore, as the first step, the definitions of the entities as exist in the Turkish dictionary of Turkish Language Association (TDK) need to be described to probe the interrelated, overlapping and sometimes conflicted meanings of those five lexical items. *Kadın*, having a number of definitions in TDK dictionary, is defined as (i) an adult female human as opposed to males, (ii) the person having required values and skills for motherhood and house management, (iii) married girl, (iv) a paid housekeeper, (v) a title replaced by *bayan*. As the definitions imply, the ways both to talk about and address women in public are always a controversial issue and remain high in the agenda of feminists as a field of struggle in Turkey. In the case of *kadın*, which is the equivalent of woman in English, it is observable from the definitions that the word is directly linked to the institutions of marriage/family and loaded with the meanings of motherhood; some socially constructed values or skills, the content of which is unidentified; management/supervision/cleaning of houses as the primary locus of family. Therefore, the word *kadın* only incorporates legitimate meanings within the institution of family, which are essentially related to motherhood as it is explicitly observable in COPSPM as well as in the way it appears in the dictionary definitions. In other cases where the women stay outside the circle of family, the word *kadın* is associated with negative connotations with respect to their marital status and virginity. In fact, this is the reason for the distinction that exists between *kadın* (woman) and *kız* (girl), reinforcing the dichotomy of the marital/sexual involvement and staying outside

marriage/extramarital sexuality of women as it is depicted in definition 3. This dichotomy might appear more overtly when two nouns for the concepts *kadınlık* (womanhood, femininity) and *kızlık* (girlhood) is searched in TDK dictionary. While *kızlık* is defined as (i) the status of a *bayan* (woman) who has not experienced sexual intercourse, virginity, (ii) pre-marital period of life of women; *kadınlık* refers to the (i) the status of being a woman, (ii) the status of having required values and qualifications, and (iii) using the features of femininity. As the opposing and complementary definitions of *kadınlık* and *kızlık* puts forward, the status of being a girl is synonymous to the status of being a virgin. As the last dictionary definition expresses, *bayan*, which does not have long historical roots, is offered as a replacement due to the negative attributions of *kadın* to cover the sexual-implications of the word, which is strictly opposed by the feminist organizations in Turkey. The second ranking word *anne* (mother) is defined as (i) the women with children, (ii) a title used to show respect to older women or to female religious figures who are accepted as prominent. The definition and associations of *anne* displays the existence of motherhood as an alleged sacred institution to be respected and the highest level of motherhood, as discussed within the definition of *kadın*. Similarly, the dictionary definition of *hanım* in the third rank signals an effort to avoid using *kadın* due to its explicit meaning indicating gender and the social production of negative meanings. *Hanım* (lady, wife, Ms.) is described in TDK sözlük as (i) a title given to women and girls, *bayan*, (ii) wife, (iii) a woman belonging to the upper social class, (iv) a woman who carries all the good qualities of womanhood. In parallel with the arguments presented in the discussion of former lexical items, *hanım* mostly functions as an alternative lexical device to *kadın* to mitigate the sharp content of *kadın*, avoid foregrounding the sexual identity of women in public and finally to construct an image of women with some un-identified positive qualities which seem to refer to characteristics helping to sublime family and motherhood. *Kız* (girl, virgin), ranking fourth in the frequency order, refers to (i) the female child, (ii) an address type to a female person by another older person and (iii) virgin

(in the older dictionaries). As the definitions of *kız* propose, the distinction of *kız/ kadın* in naming of women is available at many social settings. This distinction is constructed by two major social factors which are age and sexuality. Social meaning attributed to *kız* is more related to marital status and sexuality. While an unmarried woman and a virgin is named as *kız*, a married woman who is sexually active is called *kadın*. Manifesting the uses of both lexical items at different contexts with different meanings, the data extracted from COPSPM supports the arguments discussed here as well, which will be exemplified later in this section. Another lexical item *eş* (wife) is identified in TDK dictionary as (i) each one of the wife and husband and (ii) life partner. The word *eş* refers to each one of the spouses in the family. In COPSPM, the word is uttered as a reference to both women and men who are married. In some circumstances, *eş* is interchangeably used with *hanım*. The last lexical item subjected to the analysis, *bayan* has some special implications to discuss. In TDK dictionary, *bayan* is defined as (i) an honorific title used before women's names/surnames, (ii) woman, and (iii) wife. Although the first definition is never heard in naturally occurring language (e.g. *bayan Ayşe*, *bayan Erdoğan*), the second definition is a direct substitution for *kadın*. Harsh feminist criticism raises against the use of *bayan* in an increasing rate in public in Turkey. The criticisms are rejected by claiming that *bayan* functions as a symbol of politeness. However, such an argument presupposes that the use of *kadın* in public is an inappropriate and rude act, therefore it needs to be replaced by another mitigating lexical device. This presupposition further brings to the fore the fact that *kadın* is truly associated with sexuality which is regarded by society as a dishonoring and immoral activity for women. Though the feminist struggle against the use of *bayan* spreads through protests, academic articles, feminist journals and social media, it is progressively preferred. Yet, it is the least uttered entity of COPSPM with 28 occurrences compared to other lexical selections. However, it should be noted that although *kadın*, *hanım* and *kız* are preferred over *bayan* by Erdoğan and the occurrence rate of *bayan* seems statistically insignificant, the number of

the isolated form of *bayan* with 18 occurrences outnumbered *hanım*, *kız* and *eş*, which becomes a clue for its contextual importance. The samples of the lexical items in context are exemplified below:

Table 5. Sample Excerpts Exemplifying the Contextual Uses of Key-Words

Tokens	Sample Excerpts from COPSPM
kadın	<p>(1) <i>Bir kadının hissiyatını en iyi anlayacak olan yine bir kadıdır. Erkeklerin egemen olduğu, aynı zamanda eşitsizliğin, adaletsizliğin, savaş ve çatışmanın egemen olduğu bir dünyaya ancak anneler, ancak kadınlar bir alternatif üretebilir. (SP030713)</i> The best person who will understand the feelings of a woman is another woman. Only woman, only mothers can make a difference in this world where men are dominant, but inequality, injustice, war and conflicts are dominant at the same time. (SP030713)</p> <p>(2) <i>Kadınların ve annelerin haklarını elde ettikleri bir toplumun tüm bireyleri umut dolu bir toplum meydana getireceklerdir. Bunu biliyor ve bunun için mücadele ediyoruz. (SP070313)</i> In a society where women and mothers got their rights, all members will constitute a society with full of hope. We know and struggle for this. (SP070313)</p> <p>(3) <i>Sevgili kardeşlerim, bizim topraklarımızda, bizim medeniyetimizde, kadın, hem toplumun hem de toplumun çekirdeği olan ailenin temelidir. (SP080313)</i> My dear brothers and sisters, woman in our homeland and in our civilization is the basis of both the society and the family as the core of society. (SP080313)</p>
anne	<p>(4) <i>Çok enteresan, ne diyorlar biliyor musunuz? Ne demek diyor anne, niye diyor kadın demiyorsunuz da anne veya ana diyorsunuz? Bu kesimin mantığı, anlayışı bu. Evet biz anne diyoruz, annenin ayaklarının altı öpülür diyoruz, biz bu değerlerden geliyoruz. (SP020612)</i> This is very interesting, do you know what they say? They say “what is mother, why do you not use woman instead of mother?” This is the reasoning and understanding of this group. Yes, we do say mother, we say that we kiss the heels of their feet, we have these values. (SP020612)</p> <p>(5) <i>Bu parasal desteği bakın biz çocuğa vermiyoruz, babaya da vermiyoruz, anneye veriyoruz. Niye? Çünkü anneye verdiğimiz değer sebebiyle. Çünkü anne diyoruz ki onu çocuğuna harcar, sigaraya harcamaz, alkole falan da harcamaz, çocuğuna harcar. (SP070313)</i> We deliver this financial assistance grant either not to the father or to the child himself, but we do deliver it to the mother. Why? Because we value the mother. Because we think that the mother does not spend the money for buying cigarettes or alcohol but she spends for her child. (SP070313)</p>

	<p>(6) Ülkemin tüm annelerine anne oldukları için, kalplerindeki analık sevgisini yüreklerindeki o şefkati merhameti bu topraklara cömertçe sundukları için tek tek teşekkür ediyorum. (SP260512)</p> <p>I thank all the mothers of my country for becoming mothers, I thank each of them for giving the love of motherhood in their hearts, the affection and compassion generously to these lands. (SP260512)</p>
hanım	<p>(7) Kız çocuklarımızın ya da hanım kardeşlerimizin sorunlarını çözerken bu alanda dünyadaki gelişmeleri takip ettiğimiz kadar, kendi tarih ve medeniyetimizi de bir ölçü olarak alacak, ecdadımızın izinden gideceğiz. (SP261113)</p> <p>While we solve the problems of our female children or our lady sisters, we will take our own history and civilization into consideration and will follow our ancestors. (SP261113)</p> <p><i>Hanım kardeşlerimizin sorunlarını, hanım kardeşlerimizle birlikte çözeceğiz dedik. Hükümetlerimiz döneminde, Türkiye'nin her meselesinde, hanım kardeşlerimizin görüşlerini aldık. Her meseleye, her çözüm sürecine, hanım kardeşlerimizin hassasiyetlerini, dikkatlerini, güçlerini dahil ettik. (SP260512)</i></p> <p>We said that we will solve the problems of our lady sisters with our lady sisters. We took the advices of our lady sisters in each matter Turkey faced during our period of ruling. We included the power, attention and sensitiveness of our lady sisters in each issue, each process of solution. (SP260512)</p> <p>(8) Değerli kardeşlerim, çok değerli hanımlar, burada bir hususu tekrarlamakta fayda görüyorum. Biz ayrımcılığın her türüsüne karşıyız. (SP060313)</p> <p>My dear brothers and sisters, dear ladies, it is useful to repeat one matter at this point. We are against each type of discrimination. (SP060313)</p>
kız	<p>(9) 9 yılda eğitim noktasında, kızların okuması noktasında önemli başarı elde ettik. Kızların okullaşma oranını yükselttiğimiz kadar üniversitelerde kız çocuklarına kılık-kıyafetlerinden dolayı uygulanan faşizan dayatma ve baskıya biz son verdik. (SP060312)</p> <p>We achieved significant developments with respect to girls' education in 9 years. We ended the fascist oppression and imposition towards girl children due to their clothing as well as we increased the rate of girls' schooling. (SP060312)</p> <p>(10) Doğuda olduğu kadar batıda da, hatta en gelişmiş, en demokratik, en özgür ülkelerde de kızların ve kadınların hala o eski adetlerden, o eski geleneklerden etkilendiğini, dışlandıklarını, bir meta olarak değerlendirildiklerini ve istismar edildiklerini görüyoruz. (SP261113)</p> <p>We observe that girls and women are affected by the older traditions, are excluded, are regarded as meta and are abused in the most developed, democratic and free countries in the West as they are in the East. (SP261113)</p> <p>(11) Okumamış kız çocuğu sadece ekonomik bir kayıp değildir, eğitim imkânı bulamayan bir kız çocuğumuz, bir hanım kardeşimiz aynı zamanda istikbalin bir annesi olarak, doğacak çocukları için de bir kayıptır, bir dezavantajdır. (SP261113)</p>

	An illiterate girl child is not just an economic loss. Our girls, our lady sisters are losses, disadvantages for their future children as the mothers of futurity. (SP261113)
eş	<p>(12) <i>Bizler eş ve çocuklarımızdan başlayarak ailemizin tamamıyla gurur duyan, tamamını seven, tamamı için her türlü fedakârlığı yapan, yapacak olan insanlarız.</i> (SP180613) An illiterate girl child is not just an economic loss. Our girls, our lady sisters are losses, disadvantages for their future children as the mothers of futurity. (SP180613)</p> <p>(13) <i>Hiç kimse yanımızda olmasa da anneler için bu mücadeleye devam edeceğiz. Tahriklere rağmen, sabotajlara rağmen, engellere rağmen, tüm kadınlar için, tüm anneler için, tüm eşler için, tüm çocuklar için bu çabayı sürdüreceğiz.</i> (SP060313) We will struggle for our mothers even if no one supports us. Despite instigations, sabotages and obstacles, we will continue struggling for all women, all mothers, all wives, all children. (SP060313)</p> <p>(14) <i>Bu gençler ölmeye devam edecek mi? Çocuklarımız yetim ve öksüz kalmaya; eşler dul kalmaya devam edecek mi?</i>(SP301113) Will these young people keep dying? Will our children keep being left as orphans, will the wives keep becoming widows? (SP301113)</p>
bayan	<p>(15) <i>BDP’li bir bayan milletvekili şunları söylüyor, dikkat edin çok manidardır, bir bayan milletvekili bunu söylüyor. Diyor ki, bu tür şeyler savaş süreçlerinde olabiliyor.</i> (SP260512) A women member of Parliament from BDP says those, please pay attention, this is significant, a woman MP says this. She says “these kinds of things can happen in the processes of war”. (SP260512)</p> <p>(16) <i>En az üç çocuk. Dün maşallah Ankara’daki uluslararası Hak İş’in toplantısında arkadan bir bayan en az beş dedi. E Siirt’te de zaten en az beş de kurtarmaz.</i> (SP080313) At least three children. Yesterday, a woman from the back rows in the assembly of Hak İş called out “at least five”. E, even five children is not enough in Siirt. (SP080313)</p> <p>(17) <i>İlçe kongresinde bayanlara tekme, tokat vurarak dışarı atıyorlar. Hani demokrasydi senin ya, ne oldu?</i> (SP130312) They are hitting women and throw them out in their district congress. Where is your democracy? What happened? (SP130312)</p>

Sample excerpts extracted from COPSPM put forward a number of significant arguments contributing to the discussion above. First, there exist a preference of the use of one lexical item depending on (i) the context, (i) the gender of the audience, and (iii) aforementioned people as the topics and grammatical patients of the discourse. While the word *kız* (girl) comes to the

foreground to a large extent in educational contexts as exemplified in excerpts 10 and 12, *anne* is preferred over other lexical items in war and terror contexts. As for the gender of the audience, it is highly likely to state that *hanım* in its cluster *hanım kardeş* with various morphological variations outnumbers the other items when the majority of the audience consist of women as it happens in the congresses of women's branches or in the organizations held by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. The third factor proposes a similar parallel link between the features of women mentioned as the topic of the discourse and the referential strategy. The lexical selections referring to women are made based on the factors which are (i) age, (ii) marital status, (iii) social status and the social/ political groups the women are involved in. The second argument interpreted from the excerpts is that the referential strategies within the discourses emphasize and reinforce the distinction between *kadın* and *kız*, the major factors of which seem to be the age and the sexuality implied in marital status as observed in excerpt 11 where both *kadın* and *kız* are consecutively uttered referring to two different images of women. At this point, it should be noted that proposing age as one of the reasons for the distinctive use of two terms is valid in the cases where Erdoğan mentions female students under university level. However, such a reasoning might lead to a faulty interpretation since age becomes no more an alternative factor for referring to unmarried adult women at university education level, yet *kız* is extensively used for single adult women specifically. Therefore, it is possible to track the signs of an implied sexuality through this distinctive uses of *kız/kadın*. The third interpretation of the excerpts suggest a hierarchical pragmatic construction of lexical items at the top of which *anne* stands with the positive, sacralised pragmatic attributions as excerpt 4 represents. Other lexical entities, on the other hand, are positioned under *anne* in this hierarchical order established by the assigned meaning-attributions.

After all, the discussions and controversies on the uses of lexical devices lead us to the fact that ideologies of gender are served to a certain extent

through meaning-attribution, selection and use of several lexically referential items. One of the most visible implication of this ideological naming is the parallel categorization of marriage with sexuality and bachelorhood with virginity. Such a categorization implies that sexuality is legalized only in marriage while sexuality outside marriage is regarded as a transgression and a threat. Naming women in a dichotomous pattern is further the obvious sign of the power practice in the attempt of controlling and possessing of women's sexuality considering the fact that there is no distinction of reference between married/unmarried and sexually active/inactive men such as naming bachelors or sexually inactive males as *ođlan* (boy) unless the person has reached puberty and married/ sexually active males as *erkek* (man). For statistical comparison, COPSPM was searched for with the queries *erkek* and *ođlan*. However, the search query *ođlan* resulted with 0 occurrences while *erkek* occurred 67 times in total in COPSPM. This comparison proves the existence of a patterned dichotomy of *kız/kadın* while the opposite situation of *ođlan/erkek* dichotomy is out of the question.³⁶

4.3. Critical Discourse Analysis of Sample Speeches

In the light of the overview of party policies and hypotheses obtained from the corpus data in the first two stages of the research, it is not wrong to claim that the discourses of the Prime Minister interfere outright with the body, lifestyle and more broadly the citizenship of women with an intention of a perpetual policing by women-specific policies, rules and regulation. However, it would be faulty to assume the process of controlling as a simple, straightforward, top-down intervention. On the contrary, in many of the discourses of Erdoğan, the egalitarian and emancipatory discourses intricately go hand in hand with the strict control of women's membership in the society. This tangled political and social structure is best reflected in the speeches concerning reproduction, motherhood and family. Therefore a closer analysis

³⁶ Note that the number of occurrences of *erkek* and *ođlan* are possible to be affected by the themes of speeches or the data selection criteria.

is required of the speeches selected in accordance with their content. In this respect, this section focuses on six speeches of Erdoğan in which state policies towards women are issued within a CDA framework under three major categories which are the discourses of (i) family and motherhood, (ii) abortion and birth control, (iii) mixed-sexed housing of unmarried opposite sex individuals. At this point, it is essential to keep in mind that the speeches have no such clear-cut contents as categorized above. The speeches placed within the discourses of family involve arguments or discussions of abortion and family as it might easily be foreseen. The categorization is implemented with practical concerns to clarify and simplify the analytical structure of the study. General information about the frame of analysis is as illustrated below:

Table 6. Categories of Sample Speeches

Thematic Categories of Analysis	Number/ID of Speech	Speech Genre (Delivered in / Delivered on)	Audience
Women in the Discourses of Family and Motherhood	Speech 1 (SP180613)	The Introductory Meeting of the Project Titled “Forming Family” Hosted by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies / 18. 06. 2013	Unidentified
	Speech 2 (SP020113)	International Family and Social Policies Summit / 02. 01. 2013	Unidentified
	Speech 3 (SP070313)	HAK-İŞ (Union) Meeting of Global Woman Labour / 07. 03. 2013	Union Members
Women in the Discourses of Abortion	Speech 4 (SP260512)	3th Ordinary Congress of AKP Women’s Branches (WBs) / 26. 05. 2012	Female Members of AKP WBs
	Speech 5 (SP020612)	AKP Provincial Congress of Diyarbakır / 02. 06. 2012	Citizens
Women outside Periphery of Family/ Marriage	Speech 6 (SP051113)	Party Group Meeting / 05. 11. 2013	MPs and Party Members

Each speech is investigated in terms of their (i) textual features of transitivity, role allocations of social actors and lexical preferences other than referential strategies for naming women and (ii) interdiscursivity and intertextuality. Following the analysis of each speech separately, a wider socio-political analysis and further arguments of all speeches are discussed in another section³⁷. Before the investigation of the texts, an initial observation concerning the common features of speeches is useful to be outspoken. The speeches share a number of formal characteristics. Each speech carries the main features of the public speaking and is formed in the style of a semi-informal monologue with an authoritative rhetorical mode. The overall argumentative structure of the speeches are characterized by declarative sentences, argumentations, assertions and propositions which are formulated in most cases to validate and legitimize the propositions. The salutation parts and the parts in which Erdoğan addresses many different issues ranging from healthcare to the budgeting systems are excluded from the study.

4.3.1. The Discourses of Family and Motherhood

4.3.1.1. Discursive Practices: Interdiscursivity

The analysis of discursive practices and recontextualization strategies constitutes a solid starting point for presenting the overall content of the text. In our case, the discursive analysis is conducted through the description of discourse topics of the Prime Minister's speeches to comprehend the overall content and idea and later to analyze interdiscursivity which refers to relating discourses to other discourses for observing the link between various discourse topics for particular argumentation strategies; intertextuality which corresponds to the link between different texts; and finally their effects on the interpretation of the whole discourse. In this sense, the discourse structures of Speech 1, Speech 2 and Speech 3 are discussed consecutively and

³⁷ Note that the social analysis of the speeches are not discussed separately but collectively for the reasons that the contents of the speeches are quite similar and tangled; and that a collective interpretation draws a broader framework to provide a clear perspective and valid arguments for the state-policies over women.

collaboratively. The reason for gathering three speeches under the same category is due to the resemblance of the content and discursive practices of the texts.

Table 7 illustrates the discourse topics or macropropositions included in Erdoğan’s address delivered in the introductory meeting of the “Forming Family” project hosted by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies (see Appendix A for full speech)

Table 7. Discourse Topics in Speech 1

Sequential Discourse Topics/Arguments in Speech 1	
1-	Declaration of the family as the ultimate purpose of the party due to their conservative identity
2-	The significance of the family for the future of a nation
3-	Reference to Adam and Eve for the history of the family
4-	The essentiality of the marriage
5-	An anecdote from the prophet Mohammed on marriage
6-	The members of the family
7-	The benefits of the family to the nation
8-	The benefits of high population
9-	Effect of population and human power in economy
10-	The request of three children from families
11-	The damages of the modern age on the family
12-	The damages of contraception
13-	Depiction of abortion and C-sections as harmful sterilization methods and as murder
14-	Economic aspects of C-sections
15-	Sterilizing aspects of C-sections
16-	Deceiving families about undergoing C-sections for profit
17-	Deceiving families about undergoing C-sections for decreasing the population
18-	The request from mothers not to decide on abortion or C-sections
19-	The respect of the party to the basic rights of life, freedom and democracy
20-	The difference between freedom and attack to the family and values
21-	The determination of the party for protecting national values and the institution of family

The survey of sequential discourse topics throughout the text suggest some notable implications. With the discourse topics listed above, it becomes possible to realize the interplay of different discourses in one speech either to legitimize and validate the arguments of Erdoğan and AKP or confront and invalidate the counter-arguments. In this speech, the major discourses might be counted as the discourse of family, discourse of population growth,

discourse of economy, discourse of discourse of democracy/democratic rights, each of which interrelates with other discourses. This intricate relationship of discourses is illustrated in Diagram 1 below:

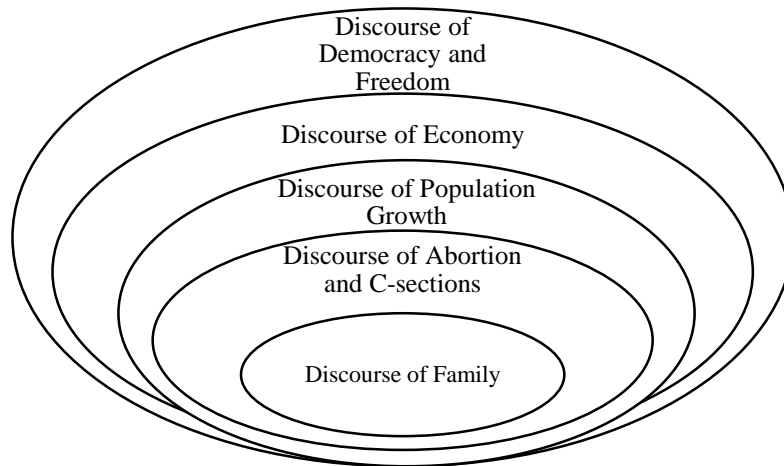


Diagram 1. Overlapping and Interrelated Discourses in Speech 1

The speech delivered on a special meeting honouring the institution of family centers on the significance of the family as the main discourse. The arguments of Erdoğan throughout the speech emphasizes the promotion of family. Among these arguments, the existence and permanence of family as a pre-condition for the existence of a nation, increase of a young, dynamic population and therefore for the permanent success of economic revival. In this chain of reasoning, family functions as the major source for the continuation of mankind and production of labor force which is needed for the economic improvement. From the perspective of interdiscursivity, the discourse of family is linked to the discourses of population growth and economic success to persuade the audience to a claim of a normative truth that family constitutes the basis for the society and that each member of the society specifically women with their reproductive skills need to establish families to continue humankind and to produce a young population as labour force. At that point, another discourse on abortion and mostly C-sections foregrounds on the nexus of the discourses of family and population growth. C-section procedures are linked to the previous discourses with its effects on

the population and on the institution of family. The last discourse on the speech about the democratic rights and freedoms of individuals is strikingly related to the discourses of C-sections and family with the argument that undergoing C-sections are not possible to be counted as a part of democratic rights since such an act damages the institution of family. In this tangled order of discourses within the text, the interdiscursive recontextualization of discourses allow Erdoğan to convey his ideological position on the construction of family, economy and democracy. Sample excerpts exemplify the links between discourses better:

(18) *Muhafazakâr demokrat bir kimliğe sahip olarak bizim partimizin hedefinde aile vardır. Düzenli aile, güçlü aile ve hedefimizi bunun üzerine bina ettik. Çünkü bir milletin eğer aile yapısı çökmüşse o millet çökmüştür, çökmeye namzettir. Ama aile yapısı ne kadar güçlüyse o millet o kadar güçlüdür. Ve aile kurumunun tarihi unutmamalım insanlığın tarihi ile eşittir. Adem Aleyhisselam ve Havva Validemizden beri, insanlar bir aile ortamında dünyaya gelmiş ve hayatlarını bu şekilde sürdürmüşlerdir. Kadın ve erkeğin birlikteliği aynı zamanda insan soyunun devamı için de elzemdır. Bunu özellikle tabi bekârlara söylüyorum. Burada hassasiyetimiz çok önemli. Nitekim Peygamberimiz evlenin ve çoğalın, ben sizin çokluğunuzla iftihar edeceğim diyor. Yine Peygamberimiz ümmetine evlenmekten korkmayınız tavsiyesinde bulunuyor. (Speech 1, SP180613, 18.06.2013)*

With our conservative democrat identity, family is the ultimate purpose of our party. We built our targets on the regular family, strong family. Because, a nation is doomed to collapse if its family structure has collapsed. But that nation maintains strong if its family structure is strong. And do not forget that the history of the family is equal to the history of humankind. Since the time of Adam (peace be upon him) and our mother Eve, people have been born to families and kept living in this way. The relationship of woman and man is also essential for the continuation of humankind. Of course, I specifically address this to bachelors. Your attention to this issue is important. Thus, our prophet says “get married and reproduce, I will be proud of your reproduction”. Again, our prophet advises his ummah “do not fear marriage”. (Speech 1, SP180613, 18.06.2013)

In excerpt 19, the parallel relationship between the existence of nation and the family is made clear as the ultimate policy of the conservative ideology, followed by the argument of the necessity of marriage and family for the continuation of humankind. In the excerpt, the discourse of family is linked to the discourse of the reproduction of the nation. The excerpt also reveals a complete rejection of the other gender roles of femininity except from motherhood. One other salient example of recontextualization or more specifically intertextuality in the excerpt is the inclusion of the prophet Mohammed's sayings about marriage and reproduction into a non-religious discourse where the social policies of family and society are discussed. By the addition of a past discourse embodying the sayings of the prophet of Islam which encourage marriage, starting a family and producing children into the contemporary settings, the demand of the state for the establishment of families is validated and the claim of the normative truth about the sacredness of family is affirmed.³⁸ The use of another term, *ummah*, is also interesting since it refers to the religious ideal in which the ultimate unity of Muslims beyond geographical and physical boundaries. With its religious connotations, *ummah* help us trace the discourse links between the political and the religious in Erdogan's addresses. Clearly, he prefers *ummah* for urging the audience to consider themselves as parts of this ideal religious unity and to fulfill the necessities, one of which is forming a family by marriage, for staying within the circle of *ummah*.

Another excerpt reveals how the discourse of family intersects with the discourse of economy as a discursive strategy:

(19) *Israrla bizi güçlü kılan şeyin, genç, dinamik nüfuslar olduğunu unutmamalıyız ve şunu da unutmamalıyız. Ekonomideki başarının sırrı insandır, diğer bütün her şey insanın türevidir. Emek insanın türevidir, sermaye insanın türevidir, tüketim insanın türevidir, üretim insanın türevidir, yatırım insanın türevidir. İnsan varsa bunların hepsi var, insan yoksa bunların hiçbiri yok. İnsanda da genç nüfus çok büyük önem arz ediyor.*

³⁸ Note that recontextualization of religious anecdotes, sayings and hadiths are frequently observed in the other public addresses of Erdoğan as well.

Onun için Beypazarlı amcaı unutmuyoruz. Bir olur garip olur, iki olur rakip olur, üç olur dengi olur, dört olur bereket olur, gerisi Allah kerim diyeceğiz, yola devam edeceğiz. (Speech 1, SP180613, 18.06.2013)

We should not forget the fact that a young, dynamic population is what makes us powerful. The secret of success in economy is human, everything is the production of humans. Labour is the production of humans, capital is the consumption is the production of humans, manufacture is the production of humans, investment is the production of humans. If humans exist, all of these exist. In humanity, the young population is of utmost importance. Therefore, we do not forget the old man in Beypazarı. One child is alone, two are competitors, three are equals, four means richness and God knows the rest. We will keep proceeding. (Speech 1, SP180613, 18.06.2013)

The excerpt above is one of the most explicit expression for observing the use of interdiscursivity as a legitimizing discursive strategy. The discourse of family is inserted to the discourse of economic developments. In this way, the family takes on the new meaning as a necessary precondition and the provider of the surveillance, improvement and permanence of the economic success. Similarly the discourses of the youthful population and economic development are integrated in the way to necessitate the constant existence of family in the society. It is possible to frame this interdiscursive structure in the excerpt as a transformation into a complex set of intertwined discourses proceeding in a linear order of reasoning starting from the essentiality of the family to the reproduction of the young population and finally to economic recovery.

The second speech (see Appendix B for full speech) to be investigated under the category of family discourses has mainly the similar discourse topics and argumentations with a particular focus on motherhood and the incentives of the government such as financial assistance programs to children and women. The sequential content of the speech and the overlapping discourses are as follows:

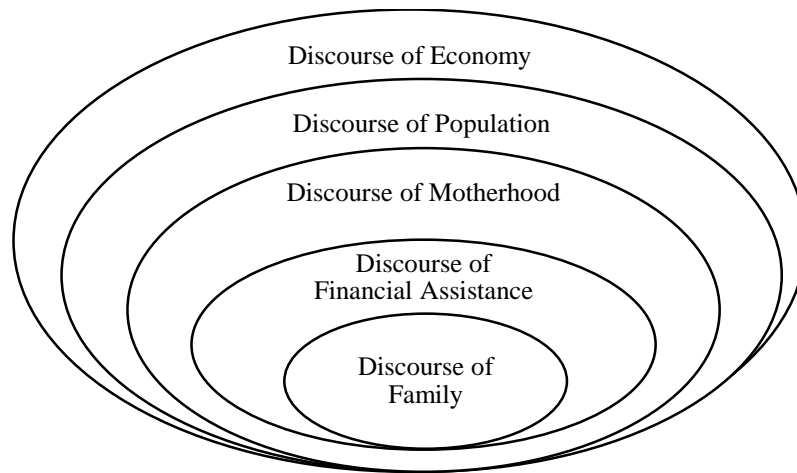


Diagram 2. Overlapping and Interrelated Discourses in Speech 2

Table 8. Discourse Topics in Speech 2

Sequential Discourse Topics / Arguments in Speech 2
1- Beginning of family with the prophet Adam and Eve as the first mother
2- The significance of the family for values and for the nation
3- The significance of the family for children
4- Attacks to the family
5- Survival of the family despite the attacks
6- Definition and content of family
7- The function of family beyond marriage as the locus of morale, love and transfer between generations
8- The significance of morale in the family as the core factor
9- The danger of transformation of the family losing its essence.
10- The emphasis of the conservative democrat identity of the party
11- Declaration of the family as the ultimate purpose of the party due to their conservative identity
12- Efforts of the party to protect family against the transformation in the world
13- Financial Assistances distributed to families
14- Conflicts with some group on womanhood and motherhood
15- Motherhood as the most supreme position for women
16- Religious significance of mothers
17- Mothers as the milestones of family
18- Reforms on woman problems such as employment, violence and social visibility
19- Reforms for children, older people and the disabled.
20- Definition of reforms as the means for developing family
21- The request of three children from families
22- The need for the young and dynamic population
23- Comparison of the East to the West in terms of population
24- The request to spread the idea of having children

Speech 2 basically follows a parallel discourse structure and content to speech 1. Delivered during the International Family and Social Policies

Summit organized by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the speech focuses on the importance of institution of family, the morale essence of family, reforms, amendments and financial assistances to protect family, exalting motherhood, the need for the young population and the uplifting of the economy through the young human labour force. Interdiscursivity in this speech occurs through the inter-contextualization of discourses concerning economy and population to the discourse of family. Similarly, the discourse of motherhood is positioned at the intersection of family reforms and economic development as the reproducer of the population. Once again, an economic-based notion and function of family in conservative politics of AKP is introduced and further rationalized as the normative truth. As for the intertextual links within the text, the recontextualization of religious elements is still observed. Two sample excerpts from speech 2 illustrates the interdiscursive construction of motherhood below with respect to the linking economic discourse to motherhood and intertextual use of religious elements:

(20) *Bir tane çocuk iflas, iki çocuk iflas, üç çocuk ancak yerinde saymak. Ve gelecekte yaşlı bir nüfus getiriyor, yaşlı bir nüfus. Şimdi bizim dinamik genç bir nüfusa ihtiyacımız var. Dinamik ve genç nüfus buradan geçiyor, bunu halletmemiz lazım... Alalım ekonomiyi, fakat bunu iyi bilmemiz lazım. Ekonomideki başarının tek sırrı vardır. Fakat bize ekonomide hep şunu öğretmişlerdir. Emek, sermaye, tüketim, üretim vesaire. Aslında işin bütün sırrı bunların hepsini bir kenara koyuyorum, insandır. (Speech 2, SP020113, 02.01.2013)*

One child means bankruptcy, two children mean bankruptcy, and three children mean that we are not improving but not receding either. And we face the risk of an aging population in the future, an aging population. Now, we need dynamic and youthful population. We need to solve this... Let's take economy, we should be aware of one thing. There is only one secret to success in economy. They always taught us labour, capital, consumption, production and so forth. But I put all of these aside. The secret of economy is the human. (Speech 2, SP020113, 02.01.2013)

- (21) *Aile sahip olduđu maneviyat ile dıřarıdan gelen tım saldırılara göđüs germeli, dünya ve toplum ne kadar deđiřirse deđiřsin, Hazreti Adem ve Hazreti Havva'daki aile řuurunu, oradaki özü muhafaza edebilmelidir. (Speech 2, SP020113, 02.01.2013)*

The family should endure all the attacks from outside with the morale it consists of, should protect the essence and conscience of his holiness Adam and her holiness Eve. (*Speech 2, SP020113, 02.01.2013*)

In the analysis of the third speech (see Appendix C for full speech), the main discourses within the speech is very close semantically and rhetorically. The links between the larger discourses are ensured by the discourse topics listed below which, most of the time, fall under more than one discourse because of the slippery transitions between discourses. Overriding and interlinked discourses of the speech are demonstrated below followed by the sub-topics in order:

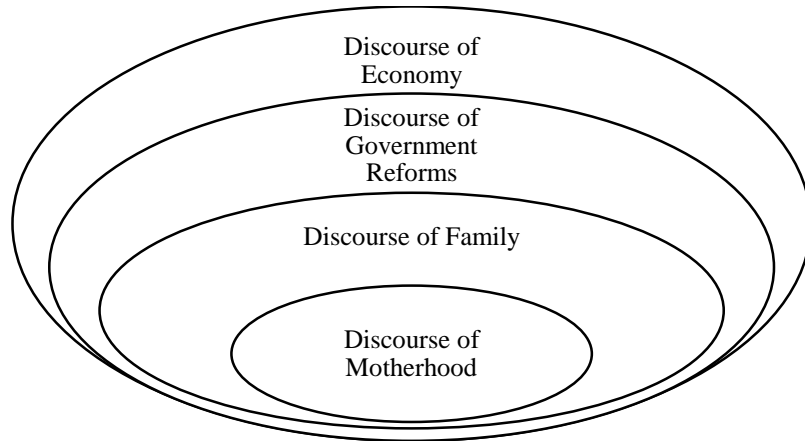


Diagram 3. Overlapping and Interrelated Discourses in Speech 3

Table 9. Discourse Topics in Speech 3

Sequential Discourse Topics / Arguments in Speech 3
1- The difference of change and improvement from cultural alienation
2- The need for adapting the developments to one's own values and culture
3- Approach of the party to women's issues in an adaptation perspective
4- Value of women in these lands and civilization
5- Religious significance of mothers
6- Motherhood as the most supreme position for women
7- Mothers as figures who are hierarchically at a higher level than other women
8- Anecdotes of Erdoğan with his own mother
9- Sacrifices of mothers to raise children and the prominent figures in a society
10- The reforms on the flexible working hours for mothers
11- The relaxing effects of flexible working hours for mothers
12- Definition of reforms as the means for developing family
13- Financial assistance to widows and to students in primary and higher education levels
14- The reasons for delivering financial assistance to mothers instead of fathers
15- The request to spread the idea of having children
16- Description of "having three children" as an act to be proud of rather than to view as a problem
17- The need for a young and dynamic population
18- Human as the source of power, capital, consumption and investment
19- The need for stabilizing and increasing the number of young population.

Upon analysing speech 3 for its discursive structure, a systematic pattern of rhetoric and discourse structure becomes more visible. As one might conclude from the main discourse frames and sub-topics within discourses, conservative ideology and the needs of the neoliberal economic system go hand in hand in the discourses of family. Speech 3 is no exception to this assumption. In speech 3, the arguments regarding the immunity and exalting of the family is reinforced through the sub-topics of commendation of the civilization and culture of Turkey and the religion of Islam. As an inseparable component of the forming of a family, motherhood with its cultural and religious qualifications is motivated throughout the text. The reform packages of government towards working or stay-at-home mothers. Lastly, the necessitation for the younger population in the work life to stabilize and enhance economic developments. Overall, three speeches reiterates an interdiscursive pattern where family, motherhood, population and economic system are closely intertwined by means of persuasive arguments in favour

of family and motherhood and intertextual religious elements as exemplified below:

- (22) *Bakınız burada bir inceliği söylüyorum. Bizim dinimizde cennet, babaların ayağı altında değil, kadınların ayağı altında da değil. Ya, cennet annelerin ayağının altında. Yani, kadından sonra bir irtifa var, bir yükseliş var. O yükseliş neresidir? O, anne olmaktır. Anne olmanın kadınlıkta farklı bir yeri var. (Speech 3, SP070313, 07.03.2013)*

Look, I will talk about a delicate subject. In our religion, heaven is not under the feet of fathers, it is not under the feet of women either. Heaven is under the feet of mothers, which means that there is a position above womanhood. What is that position? It is motherhood. Motherhood constitutes a significant place in womanhood. (Speech 3, SP070313, 07.03.2013)

4.3.1.2. Role Allocations of Social Actors and Actions

Based on the transitivity choices of the producers, the representation of social actors and actions in the critical analysis of the texts occur through a number of strategies such as activation/passivation of actors or inclusion/exclusion of the actors or actions from the process (Van Leeuwen, 2008). In this study, transitivity choices are dealt with especially from the perspective of representation of participants in Erdoğan's discourse. The study seeks to explore what transitivity choices Erdoğan applies in his discourses systematically to construct or prevail particular gender stereotypes or gender oppression and what ideological dynamics are imposed. In the analysis, the representation of participants as active or passive, Erdoğan's positioning of women, men and himself as social actors in his speeches are highlighted as significant aspects of the analysis. When the discourses of Erdoğan are investigated in terms of agency and role allocations, it is observed that the role of agency is mostly allocated to the government or to Erdoğan himself within the discourses of family and motherhood:

- (23) *Bir aileyi tehdit eden ya da tehdit edebilecek her sorunun üzerine tam bir kararlılıkla gidiyor, sorunu çözmek için tüm imkânlarımızı en güçlü şekilde seferber ediyoruz. (Speech 2, SP020113, 02.01.2013)*

We decisively address the problems which threaten or which are possible to threaten the family, we use every means we have to solve those problems. (Speech 2, SP020113, 02.01.2013)

- (24) *Aileye yönelik her saldırıyı doğrudan insanlığa yönelik bir saldırı olarak görüyor, hiçbir şekilde müsamaha göstermiyoruz. Eğitimle aileyi güçlendirmek, sağlıkla, sosyal politikalarla, ekonomiyle aileyi güçlendirmek, siyaseti ailenin hizmetkârı haline getirmek ve böylece Türkiye'yi bunun üzerinde büyütmeyi bugüne kadar başardık, bundan sonra da aynı şekilde başarmaya devam edeceğiz. (Speech 2, SP020113, 02.01.2013)*

We consider each attack to the family as a straightforward attack to humanity and never tolerate such actions. So far, we achieved to strengthen the family by means of education, health, social policies and economy; to transform politics into the servant of the family; and to develop Turkey on this structure. And we will keep achieving these in the future as well. (Speech 2, SP020113, 02.01.2013)

- (25) *Bugüne kadar demokrasi hak ve özgürlük davası peşinde olanlarla beraberdik, bundan sonra da beraber olmayı sürdüreceğiz. Buna karşılık bu kavramların arkasına sığınarak aile kurumumuzu, milli ve manevi değerlerimizi tahrip etme peşinde olanlara asla geçit vermedik, vermeyeceğiz. (Speech 1, SP180613, 18.06.2013)*

To this day, we were acting together with the ones who fought for democracy, rights and freedom and we will continue supporting them. However, we never allowed or we will never allow the ones who secretly aim to destroy the institution of family and our national values hiding behind the concepts of democracy and freedom. (Speech 1, SP180613, 18.06.2013)

Excerpts 23, 24 and 25 reveal that the overriding rhetoric of Erdoğan is made up of transitive sentences. The grammatical position of agency is allocated to the government, AKP or Erdoğan. While the government functions as the agent and social actor of the sentences with the use of first

person plural pronoun *biz* (we), the grammatical objects of the sentences become the goals who are affected by the action processes. While the goal of the sentence is ‘*aileyi tehdit eden ya da edebilecek sorunlar*’ (problems which threaten or may threaten the family) in excerpt 23, the goals of except 24 are ‘*aileye yönelik saldırı*’ (attacks towards family) in the first clause and ‘*aileyi güçlendirmek*’ (strengthening family) in the second clause. Excerpt 25 takes ‘*derdi özgürlük mücadelesi olan*’ (the ones who fight for freedom) and ‘*aile kurumu ve değerlerimizi tahrip eden*’ (the ones who aim to destroy family and values) as goals of the sentences. At this point, it is necessary to put forth an observation regarding the function of the assigned grammatical roles in transitive sentences. By positioning the government as the agent and processes or people that have semantically negative meanings as the patients or the goals of the sentence, the construction of in-groups and out groups clarifying the sharp distinction between we and them becomes apparent. One salient example of the in-grouping and out-grouping as a discursive strategy regarding the roles of social actors in the discourse is shown below:

(26) *Modern çağın, insanlığın pek çok değeri gibi aile kurumu üzerinde de ciddi tahribatlara yol açtığını biliyoruz. Bu ülkede, yıllarca doğum kontrolü mekanizmalarını çalıştırdılar. Adeta bizim vatandaşlarımızı, halkımızı kısırlaştırdılar. Bununla ilgili, tıbbi müdahalelere varıncaya kadar her şeyi yaptılar. (Speech 1, SP180613, 18.06.2013)*

We know that the modern age causes serious destructions on the institution of family as well as many other values of humanity. In this country, they operated birth control mechanisms. So to speak, they sterilized our citizens, our people. They did everything to achieve it, going as far as medical intervention. (Speech 1, SP180613, 18.06.013)

In excerpt 26, a direct reference to a certain group of people is not made. Instead, a strategy of blurring the identities of the negative-others is preferred to strengthen the influence of the speech by creating a faceless, dangerous and threatening community of opponents. In this excerpt, Erdoğan’s transitivity choice is operated in a different way. The negative others who are referred to

as ‘*onlar*’ (they) are positioned as the grammatical and contextual agents of the sentences in this excerpt. Therefore, the threatening acts of the out-group over the family and over the society is emphasized.

Another notable observation inferred from the excerpts analysed so far is that women and men who are the people establishing families are totally excluded from the processes in sentences. They are basically represented with the name ‘family’ as a social institution rather than individually mentioned in most of the sentences throughout the speeches. In some cases, however, they are directly addressed:

(27) *Onlar gecelerini gündüz eyledi, onlar yemediler yedirdiler, onlar içmediler içirdiler, onlar yaz kış demeden bizi bugünlere taşıdılar. Öyleyse, o makam gibi bir makam olabilir mi? Dünyada krallar, cumhurbaşkanları, başbakanlar, milletvekilleri, bunları kim yetiştiriyor? Anne yetiştiriyor, siz yetiştiriyorsunuz, sizlerden geliyor.*(Speech 3, SP070313, 07.03.2013)

They burned the midnight oil, they fed their children before themselves, they raised us regardless of difficulties. If so, is there a better position than motherhood? Who raises the kings, presidents, prime ministers, parliamentarians? Mothers raise them, you raise them, they are born from you. (Speech 3, SP070313, 07.03.2013)

(28) *Bu oyunu birinci derecede bozacak olan sizsiniz. Burada tavrınızı koymak durumundasınız. Bir Türk annesi olarak, bir Türk kadını olarak bunu bozacak olan birinci derecede sizsiniz.* (Speech 1, SP180613, 18.06.2013)

You are the ones who will spoil this trap primarily. You need to show your attitude here. As a Turkish mother, as a Turkish woman, you are the people who will reveal this trap. (Speech 1, SP180613, 18.06.2013)

Excerpts 27 and 28 are two of the few examples in which women are put as the grammatical agents of the transitive sentences. Their agentive position however, contrasts with the discursive meanings of the context. Women becomes agents as mothers who raise the future prominent figures of the

society with an underlying implication that those figures refer to males and as mothers who are asked to oppose the so-called traps of birth control. In fact, while the grammatical agency of women is promoted in the sentences, their discursive and social positioning exposes the desire of women's existence only within private sphere as the reproducers of the patriarchal family. Therefore, it is not wrong to state that, the grammatical agency in the sentence interestingly functions as a device to decrease the social agency of women. However, a more common use of women in the sentence occurs either with the positioning of women as the patients or the goals affected by the action of the government as the social actor or they are totally excluded from the process of action:

(29) *Tabi belli kesimlerle anlayamadığımız bir nokta var. Biz tabi kadını yücelten makamın anne olduğuna itibar ediyoruz, muhafazakâr bir iktidar olarak. Onun için de diyoruz ki bizim değerlerimizde cennet annenin ayakları altındadır, babanın ayakları altında değil. (Speech 2, SP020113, 02.01.2013)*

Of course, we are in conflict with some certain circles. We respect the belief that the position exalting women is motherhood as a conservative government. Therefore, we say that heaven is not under the feet of fathers but of our mothers in our values. (Speech 2, SP020113, 02.01.2013)

(30) *Tekrar böyle bir toplantıda ekranları başında bizi izleyen milletime tekrar sesleniyorum ve diyorum ki en az üç çocukla beraber güçlü aileler. En az üç çocuk. Ve ailelerimizi güçlü kılmanın yolu buradan geçiyor. Bunu bir defa başaracağız ve güçlü aile istiyorsak bunun olması lazım ve güçlü millet istiyorsak bunun olması lazım. (Speech 2, SP020113, 02.01.2013)*

In this meeting, I address once more my nation watching me on their TVs at the moment. I urge on strong families with at least three children. At least three children. This is the way to strengthen our families. We need to achieve this and it is essential if we want strong families and a strong nation. (Speech 2, SP020113, 02.01.2013)

The two excerpts constitutes a typical sentence structuring in which the government and Erdoğan perform once again the role of social actor in the agentive position to persuade the audience. In excerpt 29, Erdoğan, as the social actor and persuader of the sentence, redefines the meaning of womanhood and motherhood with a special reference to a hierarchical structure at the top of which motherhood is placed. Woman and mother, on the other hand, are figures who are not allowed to express opinions on the concepts of womanhood and motherhood but only affected by the definition of Erdoğan. In excerpt 30, the women who are demanded to give birth to at least three children are totally excluded from the discourse. Instead, the demand is reiterated to the audience of the speech. In this way, the exclusion of women as the source and primary addressees of the demand help give the impression that having children is a must for the families regardless of the women's opinions. The women's right to express opinions on the matter of giving birth which is directly related to their bodily functions is therefore seized. The women are further pictured as the people who do not qualify to decide on their reproduction but the state does as the owners of both women and their reproductive skills.

4.3.2. Discourses of Abortion and Contraception

The debates on abortion in Turkey within the last 2 years have led to conflicts and divisions among the government and the opposition parties and civil society organizations involving particularly feminists. Abortion has been legalized in Turkey in 1983 within the “Law Regarding Population Planning” (Resmi Gazete, 1983, article no. 2827). With the abortion law in 1983, women are able to undergo abortion procedures until the 10th week of their pregnancy upon request in both state and private hospitals. Although the law required spousal consent for married women and parental consent for minors, which was intensively problematized by feminists, the abortion upon request are legally carried out even if a medical obligation or a life threatening medical problem does not exist. With the new Penal Code in 2004, the

requirement for spousal consent for married women is removed from the law. Today, abortion in hospitals are carried out within the first ten weeks of pregnancy without the requirement of the spouse according to the law. However, the procedure has always been a problematic issue in the Muslim society in which abortion is regarded as a major sin and crime in contrast to the law. The most intensive opposition to abortion was outspoken by the Prime Minister Erdoğan in 2012. Erdoğan expressed that he and the government consider abortion as murder. He further declared that the party is in preparation of a new law draft banning abortion completely. Thereupon, the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and the Ministry of Justice jointly prepared a law draft to ban and criminalize abortion. However, the draft was turned into limiting the conditions of abortion and later it was totally suspended when the explanations caused a drastic public unrest. Although abortion is not criminalized and still legally possible in Turkey, some unofficial practices in a number of hospitals such as rejecting to carry out abortion operations, demanding spouse consent for abortion from both married and unmarried women have been headlined by the media following the outburst of Erdoğan against abortion.³⁹ Erdoğan's explanations have been criticised and protested by the feminist circles, unions and some of the opposition parties in the parliament. Given the brief overview on the recent debates and conflicts on abortion, it is understood that the government has taken an explicit side on the issue. Therefore, it is necessary to analyse the speeches Erdoğan delivered about abortion under a separate category in this study.

4.3.2.1. Discursive Practices: Interdiscursivity

Speeches 4 and 5 were delivered by Erdoğan in 2012 in the Congress of Women's Branches and Provincial Congress of Diyarbakır. The focus of both speeches are centralized on the medical procedures of abortion and caesarean

³⁹ <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25499787/>,
<http://bianet.org/bianet/kadin/146346-kurtaj-yasada-hak-hastanelerde-yasak>

sections. The major discursive structures, interdiscursive links and sub-topics of speech 4 (see Appendix D for full speech) are displayed below:

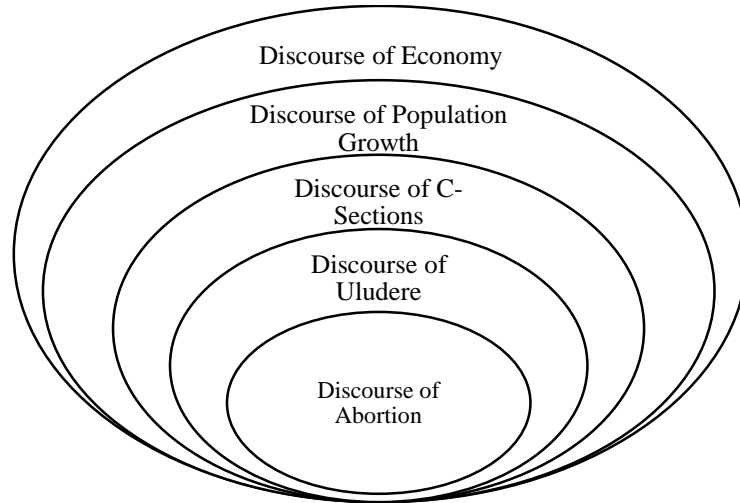


Diagram 4. Overlapping and Interrelated Discourses in Speech 4

Table 10. Discourse Topics in Speech 4

Sequential Discourse Topics / Arguments in Speech 4	
1-	The opposition of Erdoğan to C-section
2-	C-section as an intentional procedure with a hidden agenda to stop the population growth
3-	C-section as an additional financial source
4-	The definition of abortion as murder
5-	Addressing to the circles opposing the definition of abortion as murder
6-	Associating Uludere with abortion
7-	Identifying each abortion as equivalent to Uludere
8-	The need for fighting against abortion to stop murders of unborn babies
9-	Abortion as a plan having a secret agenda of erasing the nation from the world
10-	Reaching the level of contemporary countries as the ultimate purpose of the party
11-	The need for a young and dynamic population as the basis of the economy
12-	Human as the source of power, capital, consumption and investment
13-	The need for making efforts to increase the population not to face an old population in 2037

In this speech, Erdoğan officialy announces his thoughts and plans regarding abortion and C-sections for the first time in an official event. Denouncing his perspective on abortion, Erdoğan describes it as murder and as a tool for wiping Turkish nation off the global stage. The overriding

discourses in his discourse are the discourses of abortion, discourses of murder and mass murder, the discourses of population and economy.

(31) *Kürtajı bir cinayet olarak görüyorum ve bu ifademe karşı çıkan bazı çevrelere, medya mensuplarına da sesleniyorum, yatıyorsunuz kalkıyorsunuz Uludere diyorsunuz, her kürtaj bir Uludere'dir diyorum. Anne karnında bir yavruyu öldürmenin, doğumdan sonra öldürmekten ne faydası var farkı var soruyorum sizlere. Ve bunun mücadelesini de hep birlikte vermeye mecburuz. Ve bu milleti dünya sahnesinden silmek için sinsice bir plan olduğunu bilmek durumundayız.(Speech 4, SP260512, 26.05.2012)*

I consider abortion as a murder and I ask to those groups and media members who object to my statement: You constantly discuss 'Uludere'. Every abortion is an Uludere. What is the difference between killing a baby in the womb of the mother and killing a baby after birth? We have to struggle against this altogether. We have to know that it is an insidious plan to eliminate this nation from the world stage. (Speech 4, SP260512, 26.05.2012)

This excerpt above consists of a very striking example of interdiscursivity. Describing abortion a typical action of murder, Erdoğan uses the metaphor of Uludere for confirming his claim. The incident of Uludere here refers to the airstrike of Turkish army's warplanes on a group of Kurdish civil cigarette smugglers while the group were crossing into Turkey from the Iraq-Turkey border near Uludere. After the airstrike, 35 civilians were killed. The government later explained the airstrike as an unfortunate operational mistake and the civil group was thought to be Kurdish militants of PKK, a Kurdish terrorist organization.⁴⁰ The incident has been named and headlined as 'the Massacre of Uludere' by many national and international media organs. In the speech, building an analogy between abortion and the incident of Uludere, Erdoğan aims to add a new meaning to the concept of abortion by breaking Uludere airstrike off its own context and recontextualizing it in a new context which becomes the context of abortion.

⁴⁰ http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/uludere_katlami-1074002,
<http://www.economist.com/node/21556616>

With the recontextualization of Uludere within the discourse of abortion, the notion of abortion acquires a new and extensively negative meaning of a massacre. As a result of linking Uludere to abortion, the procedure of abortion, loaded by the effects and content of Uludere, turns into a major crime as big as mass murder.

In the fifth speech (see Appendix E for full speech), both abortion and C-sections are denounced as secret tools to wipe the Turkish nation off the world stage in a similar argumentation structure and discursive practice as illustrated below:

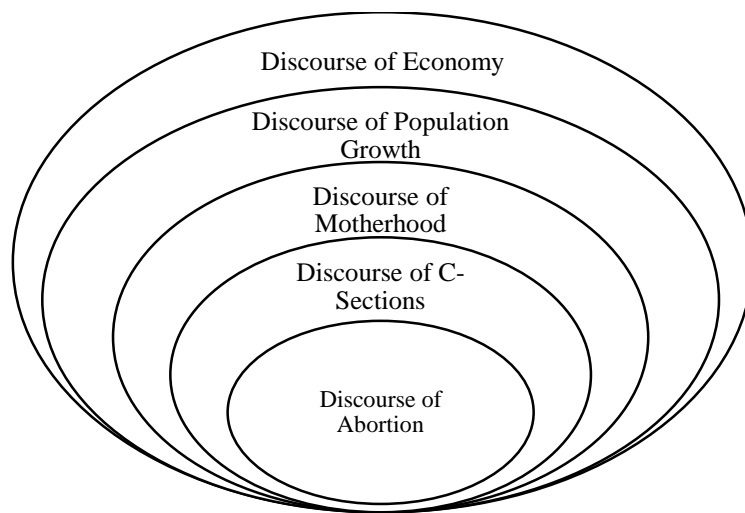


Diagram 5. Overlapping and Interrelated Discourses in Speech 5

Table 10. Discourse Topics in Speech 5

Sequential Discourse Topics / Arguments in Speech 5	
1-	Explanation of two opposing arguments concerning abortion and C-sections
2-	Arguments of opponents who defend the motto “my body, my decision”
3-	Propagations of feminist circles
4-	Arguments of the party based on the right of life
5-	Defining abortion as murder
6-	Dangers of abortion in terms of health
7-	The difference between mother and women made by feminists
8-	Defining the distinction as a faulty understanding of some circles
9-	Defending the use of mother instead of women
10-	The significance of mothers in cultural values and in Islam
11-	Reminding the conservative democrat identity of the party
12-	Defending the decision of including the banning of abortion in the party program
13-	Blaming the opponents of the idea of banning with reacting ideologically
14-	C-sections as a plan to stop the population growth in Turkey
15-	The limitation of number of children possible after C-section procedures
16-	C-section as a financial source for some circles
17-	Rates of C-sections in state and private hospitals
18-	Preparation of the draft for banning C-sections and abortion
19-	The need for the young and dynamic population for a powerful economy

This speech emphasizes the place of mother in Turkish and Islamic culture with references to the saying of the prophet which is “heaven is under the feet of the mothers”. The discourse of motherhood is defended against caesarean procedures as a medical option of deliveries in hospitals:

- (32) *Sezaryen olayı, sezaryen olayı bu ülkede nüfusu dondurmaya yönelik bir adımdır değerli kardeşlerim. Niye? Efenim, sezaryenle doğum yaptık, 1 tane, 2 tane çocuk olabiliyor. Aslında tabi 3 de olabilir, 4 de olabilir ayrı mesele de, ama 2 daha fazla olamaz. Böyle bir yaklaşım tarzı, dert başka aslında, dert ne biliyor musunuz? Money, money, money. Daha rahat doğum yapıyormuş, hayır. Oralarda gayet iyi para götürüyorlar bundan, bundan. Ve biz bu konuları iyi biliyoruz, bunların çalışmalarını da yaptık... Genç, dinamik nüfusa sahip olmalıyız yaşlı nüfusa değil. Çünkü ekonominin en önemli gücü, insandır, hep beraber biziz...(Speech 5, SP020612, 02.06.2012)*

Caesarean births, caesarean births are steps to stop the birth rate in this country, my dear brothers and sisters. Why? Well, they say “we gave birth with caesarean section, therefore we can have at most 2 children.” They may have 3 or 4 children indeed. Anyway, it is a different matter. Do you know the real reason? Money, money, money. They say they undergo an easier

delivery. No, it is not that. They make good money. This is the reason. And we are aware of this, we are working on this... We should have a dynamic youthful population rather than an old population. Because the most important strength of economy are humans, it is us all together... (Speech 5, SP020612, 02.06.2012)

The excerpt 32 suggests that caesarean births function as devices to decelerate, stop and eventually destroy the population in the country and unofficial procedures used for making extra money by hospital administrations. These two functions of caesarean births, therefore, help Erdoğan to build an argumentation strategy for illegitimizing caesarean sections. The discourses of medical frauds and population are interlinked to the discourse of caesarean births by the negative contextualization of the two in caesarean discourse.

4.3.2.2. Role Allocations of Social Actors and Actions

The role allocation of women within the discourses of abortion, family planning and caesarean births is investigated with a particular interest since each action forms a focus of controversy within the social order as stated above. The representations of social actors and actions concerning abortion and caesarean sections are exposed through the excerpts below:

(33) *Hani son zamanlarda gündeme oturan başlık, konu; kürtaj ve sezaryen olayı. Kardeşlerim, bakınız burada iki yaklaşım tarzı var. Bir; diyorlar ki, bu vücut benimdir, ben tercih hakkımı kullanırım. Bunu daha çok feminist kesim bunun propagandasını yapıyor. Bir de ne var değerli kardeşlerim? Bunun yanında yaşam hakkı var. Biz nereden hareket ediyoruz? Biz yaşam hakkından hareket ediyoruz. (Speech 5, SP020612, 02.06.2012)*

This is a headline coming to the fore lately: the incidents of abortion and caesareans. My brothers and sisters, look, here are two different approaches to these issues. First, they say “this is my body, my decision”. The feminist circles mainly propagates this idea. And what is the other approach, my dear brothers and sisters? It is the right of life. From which point do we approach to the issue? We approach it from the perspective of right of life. (Speech 5, SP020612, 02.06.2012)

(34) *Ve bu kesim, aynı zamanda annelik makamını da kabul etmeyen kesimdir. Çok enteresan, ne diyorlar biliyor musunuz? Ne demek diyor anne, niye diyor kadın demiyorsunuz da anne veya ana diyorsunuz? Bu kesimin mantığı, anlayışı bu. (Speech 5, SP020612, 02.06.2012)*

And this group also does not acknowledge the position of motherhood. Very interesting, do you know what they say? They say “what is mother, why do you not use woman instead of mother?” This is the reasoning and understanding of this group.

In excerpt 33, two social actors in the discourse with opposing arguments is apparent. Both the government and the feminist circles are represented as the actors of the action process. However, the discursive roles assigned to feminists explicitly reflect a negative image with respect to the policies of the government on abortion. Erdoğan name women who attempt to gain the right to decide on their bodies as feminists, as a negative and false ideology. Positioning feminists against the arguments of the government and the right of living, Erdoğan not only reinforces the distinction between the positive in-group and the marginal-other, but he also loads the meaning of feminist with negative connotations. Thus, the arguments of feminists become no longer acceptable in terms of national values, religion and democratic rights. The use of agentive location of actors other than the government itself performs once more for identifying the illegitimate acts of an opposing group. Another interesting inference is that, in spite of the agentive positions of feminists, they are not allowed to participate in the decision-making process regarding abortion. The authority who has the right to decide on the implementation of abortion becomes the government party since the arguments of feminists are falsified. Similarly, excerpt 34 focuses on the actions of feminists who are named this time as ‘this group’ as a typical referential strategy to highlight the outside status of negative others in the discourses. Located as the agents in the discourse, the actions of feminists concerning the distinction between motherhood and womanhood is invalidated by the speaker in the following excerpts:

- (35) *Bunu diyenler, hepsi ideolojik yaklaşım içerisinde bu ifadeleri kullanıyorlar. Biz ise şu anda gerekli her çalışmayı yapıyoruz ve ondan sonra da gerekli adımı atacağız. (Speech 5, SP020612, 02.06.2012)*

The ones who say these use these expressions in their own ideological views. But we, at the moment, are working on this issue and we will take action. (Speech 5, SP020612, 02.06.2012)

- (36) *Ve biz, annenin kıymetini bilen ve onu bildirmeye çalışan bir anlayışın mensuplarıyız. Biz muhafazakar demokrat bir partiyiz, bizim anlayışımızda bu var. Ve biz bu anlayışla çalışıyoruz, halkımıza karşı da bunu anlatıyoruz. Ne demek? Sen yine bildiğini oku, o ayrı mesele. Ama biz, bunu aynen bu şekilde yapmaya devam edeceğiz. (Speech 5, SP020612, 02.06.2012)*

And we are members of an understanding valuing mothers and attempting to teach valuing mothers. We are conservative democrat party, this lies in our understanding. And we are working with this understanding, and explaining it to our people. What does this mean? You may take your own path, it is an irrelevant matter. But we will keep doing it in our own way. (Speech 5, SP020612, 02.06.2012)

In excerpts 35 and 36, the invalidation process of feminist demands occurs through the exchange of the agency of social actors. Emphasizing the normative claims of rightness and truth of his arguments within the perspective of conservatism, Erdoğan passivizes feminist propagations against the law draft of abortion. Turning back into the usual agentive structuring of sentences, Erdoğan declares his own arguments as the normative truths and signals the ownership of access to the decision-making processes regarding abortion.

- (37) *Ben sezaryenle doğuma karşı olan bir başbakanım ve bunların planlı yapıldığından özellikle planlı yapıldığını biliyorum... İki, kürtajı bir cinayet olarak görüyorum. (Speech 5, SP020612, 02.06.2012)*

I am prime minister who is against births with caesarean sections and I know that they are planned acts... Secondly, I consider abortion as murder. (Speech 5, SP020612, 02.06.2012)

(38) *Onun için, çok gayret edeceğiz ve genç nüfusu arttırmanın gayreti içerisinde olacağız. (Speech 5, SP020612, 02.06.2012)*

Therefore, we will struggle and make an effort to increase young population. (Speech 5, SP020612, 02.06.2012)

Excerpts 37 and 38 uncover Erdoğan's thoughts on C-sections and abortion. In excerpt 37, the thoughts of Erdoğan are presented as factual statements. While Erdoğan assigns the role of the authority both grammatically and discursively to himself, he completely excludes women from the process of deciding on the medical operations to be carried out on women's bodies. It is inferred from both excerpts that the structure of transitivity in sentences in the speeches attributes the role of major social actor to Erdoğan and gives him the discursive and social possession over women's reproduction and bodies as the sole decision-maker. Another noteworthy comment regards the grammatical passivization and the exclusion of agents from the action process. Attaching the content of a conspiracy theory to the abortion and C-sections by identifying those actions as planned acts carried out by invisible agents who are obscured with the help of passive sentence structure. Using the strategies of passivization of the sentence structure and deletion of the agent from the process help to obscure and negate the meaning of the social action while it constructs invisible and dangerous agents who are responsible for the negative and planned action.

4.3.3 Women outside the Periphery of Family

In the previous categories of CDA analysis, it is observed that Erdogan puts forward arguments related to women mostly on their bodily rights and actions such as abortion, birth control and caesarean births by centralizing his politics on the permanent existence of the family. Thus, he solely addresses to or talks about married women as equivalents of mothers. The findings of

COPSPM support this hypothesis as well. Unmarried adult women are generally completely excluded from the discourses of Erdoğan. In other cases, they are either mentioned as minor students who are under the responsibility of their parents or individuals assigned with negative characteristics as it happens in the case of feminists. Speech 6 of Erdoğan, in this sense, constitutes a solid example for Erdoğan's attitude and party politics towards the sexuality of adult single women through a suggestion of Erdoğan for a new regulation concerning mixed-sexed accommodation of university students in the country in 2013. Erdoğan's proposal for a regulation has suggested the separation of sexes in private housing of university students. Erdoğan, urging for the regulation, has declared that the government has succeeded in separating state dormitories according to sexes at a rate of %75. As the next step, he put forward the banning of private mixed-sexed accommodation. Although the regulation has not been legislated, it caused police intervention to private properties where students live in some provinces. Therefore it caused public criticism and opposition to a great extent.⁴¹ This speech is analysed below with reference to its implications on premarital sexuality of women.

4.3.3.1. Discursive Practices: Interdiscursivity

In speech 6 (see Appendix F for full speech), there are a two main hybrid discourses including discourse on student housing, discourse on conservatism and discourse on gender and sexuality in an implicit way. Discourse on conservatism is presented through several party policies, Erdoğan's self-description of himself and the unjust treatments towards conservatives in Turkey. Discourse on student housing is constructed through the objection of government to the student dormitories and houses in which both male and

⁴¹<http://uk.reuters.com/article/2013/11/05/us-turkey-erdogan-students-idUKBRE9A410N20131105>
http://www.todayszaman.com/erdogan-defends-stance-against-mixed-gender-housing_331217.html
<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/female-male-students-living-together-is-against-our-character-turkish-pm.aspx?pageID=238&nID=57343&NewsCatID=338>

female students reside, the new regulation on separate student housing for different sexes, efforts of government to accelerate the process of applying new regulation, pedagogical reasoning for the new regulation and families' support on the regulation as it is depicted in Diagram 6 and Table 11 below:

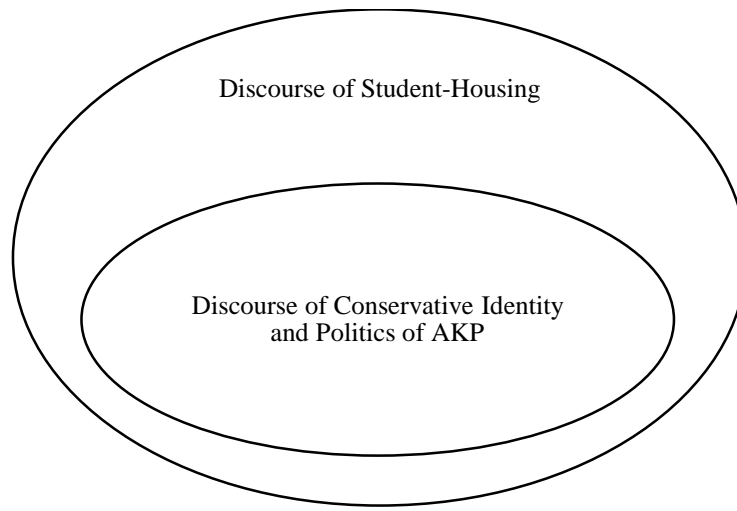


Diagram 6. Overlapping and Interrelated Discourses in Speech 6

Table 11. Discourse Topics in Speech 6

Sequential Discourse Topics / Arguments in Speech 6
1- Erdoğan's description of his personal characteristics
2- Definition of the party as conservative
3- The complaint of the claims for his intervention to the life-styles of people in Turkey.
4- Refutation of the intervention to the life-styles
5- Description of conservatives as the real sufferers in Turkey
6- Self-description of conservative party as the guardian of university students as representatives of parents
7- Objection of government to the mixed-sex dormitories
8- Explanations on the process of building one-sexed dormitories
9- Efforts to build one-sexed housing system with the help of police and governorship
10- Pedagogical reasoning for the regulation
11- Questioning the protesters of the decision of one-sexed student housing
12- Questioning the reasons for protests
13- Parents' and neighbours' disturbance of the mixed-sexed housing
14- Explaining the responsibility of the government with a conservative identity to separate the living spaces of male and female students

Throughout the speech, discourse on sexuality is covertly implied and interrelated through the discourses of both conservatism and student housing. The analysis of the excerpt below reveals how and why different discourses are linked to each other:

(39) *...Değerli arkadaşlar şunu bir defa bilmemiz lazım. Biz sorumluk makamında mevkiinde olan muhafazakar bir demokrat parti olarak muhafazakar demokrat bir kimliğe sahip olarak bu ülkede anne babaların ebeveynlerin herkesin çocukları bize emanettir. Biz kızların erkeklerin devletin yurtlarında karışık kalmasına müsaade etmedik müsaade etmiyoruz. (alkış) Müsaade etmiyoruz! (alkış) Efendim bazı gazeteler şöyle yazmış köşe yazarları böyle yazmış ne yazarlarsa yazsınlar. Dünyada eğitim öğretim psikolojisinin içerisinde bile bunun verimlilik açısından hiçbir zaman izahı yapılamaz... (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)*

...Dear friends, we need to know this well. As having the identity of a conservative democratic party and government, we have the responsibility of the children, of mothers, fathers, parents and everyone. We did not and do not allow girls and boys to reside together in the dormitories belonging to the state. (Applauses) We do not! (Applauses) Some newspapers or journalists wrote about it, it does not matter whatever they write. There is no reasonable explanation for this from the perspective of productiveness even in the field of educational psychology... (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)

In this excerpt, Erdoğan links the discourse of student housing to the discourse of conservatism through the sub-topics of parents' sensitivity on the housing of their children and the absence of positive psychological implications of the unisex housing in relation to productivity and achievement. Recontextualization of conservatism within the debate of regulations on university students' housing through a number of propositions such as the fulfilling the protection that parents demand and support or the negative psychological or pedagogical outcomes of unisex housing is used by Erdoğan to legitimize and justify this particular regulation. The interdiscursive practices further invoke the covert discourse on oppression of gender and woman sexuality by presenting conservatism as the most valid and true power dynamic for the individuals living in the country. The

regulation for the separate-sexed housing of university students and the use of conservatism through the topics listed above imply that common places allowing for the socialization of both sexes pose the danger of an alleged illegitimate sexuality which cannot be supported neither by the government nor the parents. Therefore, through the emphasis on conservatism in his speech, Erdoğan reproduces gender oppression by implicitly illegitimizing the women sexuality in the discourses of his speech and more broadly women's presence in the public sphere and by constructing one-sexed social environments to avoid sexuality of unmarried women.

4.3.3.2. Role Allocations of Social Actors and Actions

In speech 6, main participants of the discourses are Erdoğan, female and male university students, families, neighbours, governors and the police. The majority of the speech is composed of declarative sentences of the Prime Minister as the ultimate agent of the discourses. Although the strategies of role allocations vary, the agentive position of Erdoğan outweighs the number of agency of other social actors in the action processes.

(40) *Biz kızların erkeklerin devletin yurtlarında karışık kalmasına müsaade etmedik, müsaade etmiyoruz. (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)*

We did not and do not allow girls and boys to reside together in the dormitories belonging to the state. (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)

In excerpt 40, an overt exemplification of the ideological role allocation of the participants appears. As discussed above within the social representation model of Van Leeuwen (2008), the main sentence reflects an agentive social actor presented with the personal pronoun 'we' and the passivized participant who is grammatically categorized as the 'goal' of the action process of the verb 'allow' and described as the 'affected' participant of the process of allowing. One important point is that while the agent 'we' refers to the government formulated as the in-group or representation or positive self-representation by Erdoğan in the discourse, the goal of the

sentence ‘girls and boys’ is a reference of the out-group representation or negative other-representation embodying participants who are not included in the ‘we’ group. Through the representation of social actor in the sentence, Erdoğan manages to produce ideologically separated two different groups one of which is oppressed with the role assignment of goal while the other is foregrounded with the agent role. Although the sub-clause explicitly presents the agency of ‘girls and boys’ in the process of ‘residing’ which is another action process, Erdoğan replaces the agency of ‘boys and girls’ with the patient role at the receiving end of the action by using the strategy of changing grammatical category of ‘boys and girls’ through the inclusion of a new process ‘allow’ signifying that the in-group as the agent has the authority to decide on the process of ‘reside’ of the out-group. Thereby, Erdoğan poses his ideology on gender norms within the framework private living sphere to the public with the help of his transitivity choice.

(41) *Bazı yerlerde yurtlar noktasında ihtiyaca cevap veremediğimiz için bazı yerlerde de evlerde kalma noktasında sıkıntılar yaşıyor. (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)*

In some places, a number of problems are experienced about residing in houses since we could not meet the demand for dormitories. (Speech 6,SP051113, 05.11.2013)

Unlike excerpt 40, excerpt 41 indicates the exclusion of social actors from the process type of action. As Van Leeuwen suggests, exclusion is practiced through the background of representations in the process. Although the representations are mentioned elsewhere in the text, they are not explicitly referred to in this particular sentence. This choice is worth analyzing since it is unusual compared to the overall tone of the speech in which the social actors are deliberately presented as ‘we’ and the in-group representation is overemphasized to reiterate the authority and power of the in-group. This sentence, on the contrary, deemphasizes and backgrounds the existence of social representations of the process through the exclusion strategies of passive agent deletion and inserting nonfinite clauses. The sentence leaves a

number of questions unanswered such as who experienced the problems, who are affected by the problem, who resides in the houses and what some problems refer to. Those questions aid to determine the reasons why participants are excluded from the process. It is quite probable that Erdoğan implies an unapproved type of lifestyle including the allegedly illegitimate sexuality of university students. Since the students approve and maintain the choice of the lifestyle in the private sphere and do not consider mixed-sexed housing as a problem, it is obvious that they cannot become the agents the process of experiencing problems, rather, the agent is the government who regards the mixed-sexed housing as a threatening problem for the country. However, Erdoğan prefers not to display the social actor and the goal of the process since the passive agent deletion and nonfinite clause of ‘residing’ suggest that the experiencers are the ‘girls and boys’ who are mentioned in other contexts within the discourse.

(42) *Aynı apartmanın içerisinde bakıyorsunuz ki daire komşuları bu tür şeylerin ihbarını yapıyor... Ondan sonra anneler babalar feryad ediyor devlet nerde diye. (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)*

Inside the same apartment, you see that neighbors denounce such kinds of things... Then, mothers and fathers cry out asking where the state/government is. *(Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)*

Excerpt 42 is one interesting example which deserves closer attention since the representations of male and female university student defined as the goals of actions throughout the discourse are excluded from the process. Rather, two new participants, neighbors and parents, apart from the government itself, is represented as the social actors within the process of implementing the regulation on student housing. The re-contextualization of neighbors and parents in a discourse of student housing as the agents, as explained above in the section on interdiscursivity, aims at structuring a hegemonic possession in which the government, neighbors and parents do have the authority and the right to regulate housing on surface interpretation

and sexuality in a deeper interpretation although women lack the authority and the right to be positioned the experiencers and actors of the process regarding directly their own lifestyle choices. The agent selection of the excerpt in this sense disqualifies women as the decision making mechanism; instead justifies the authority of the three participants on women sexuality. One other noteworthy point is regarding the meaning of the selected verb ‘denounce’ (Tr. ihbar) and its negative connotations.

- (43) *Bazı yerlerde yurtlar noktasında ihtiyaca cevap veremediğimiz için bazı yerlerde de evlerde kalma noktasında sıkıntılar yaşanıyor. (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)*

In some places, problems are experienced about residing in houses since we could not meet the demand on dormitories. (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)

- (44) *Ve bu istihbari bilgilerden hareketle de valiliklerimiz bu durumlara müdahale ediyorlar. (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)*

With reference to the intelligence information, our governorships interfere in these situations. (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)

- (45) *Aynı apartmanın içerisinde bakıyorsunuz ki daire komşuları bu tür şeylerin ihbarını yapıyor. Çünkü buralarda nelerin olduğu belli değil karmakarışık her tür şeyler olabiliyor. (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)*

Inside the same apartment, you see that neighbors denounce such kinds of things. Because what is happening in such places is not definite, every kind of unclear things may happen. (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)

- (46) *Çünkü ben bir başbakan olarak bu Anadolu’nun topraklarını bilen bu ülkede annelerin babaların kahir ekseriyetinin bu işlere asla müsaade etmeyeceğini bilen bir insanım. (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)*

Because as a prime minister, I am a person who knows the land of Anadolu well and who knows that a great majority of parents never consents for these issues. (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)

- (47) *Nerde nasıl nidaların seslerin yükseldiğini bilen bir insanım. Ve bunun şikâyetini de sürekli dinleyen bir insan olarak bu işte biz*

kararlı adım atmaya mecburuz. (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)

I am a person who knows what kind of cries arise and where they arise from. And as a person who is constantly listening to the complaints about this, we need to take a determined step in this issue. (Speech 6, SP051113, 05.11.2013)

In excerpts 43, 44, 45, 46 and 47, representations of social action is investigated. The alternative wordings depicting the action as the basic reason to implement the new regulation on housing and the descriptive characterizations attributed to the social action are displayed. The first reference to the social action resulting in the need of a new regulation for student housing occurs in excerpt 43 by means of the word *sıkıntı* (*problem or trouble*). Following excerpt 43, the action is referred in other excerpts as *durum* (*situation*), *şey* (*thing*) and *iş* (*issue*), all of which function as generic filler words. The qualifications of the action are similarly described with demonstrative pronouns such as *bu* (*this, these*), pre-determiners such as *böyle* (*such*) or adjectives to which the meanings of uncertainty or taboo are attached such as *karmakarışık* (*unclear*). Interestingly, the action is never defined overtly throughout the speech though the underlying implications signify non-marital sexuality. On the contrary, a deliberate attempt of Erdoğan to hold the ambiguity and uncertainty of the content of the social action at maximum level is observed. Instead, he excludes overt expressions defining and describing representation of action but loads the action with the meaning of ambiguity causing negative-connotation of mixed-sexed students' houses and its defenders. The social representation of the action occurring in mixed-sexed houses and dormitories are associated with the ambiguity, a possible threat or danger through lexical items with a particular focus on attributed meanings to those lexical items. Erdoğan's avoidance of explicit naming of the social representation of action implies that non-marital sexuality of women are transgressive and disruptive to be named in society. Imposing this impression functions as a device of persuasion that is required to construct alliances for implementing the regulation on housing and a device

of legitimization to possess, dominate and regulate women sexuality, resulting in the patriarchal hegemony that deprives women of agency of their own sexuality.

4.3.4. Overall Evaluation of Discursive Strategies

So far, a three-staged analytical approach has been implemented in the study benefiting from the historical perspective towards discourses, a corpus-based analysis and a CDA approach integrating the point of views of Fairclough (1992), Wodak (2001b) and Van Leeuwen (2008). Following the completion of the triangulated research design of the study, it is useful to address to the Discourse Historical Approach of Reisigl and Wodak (2009) one more time to summarize and outline the most salient discursive strategies within the discourses of Erdoğan. In DHA, discursive strategies are analyzed through a systematic survey of discourses in terms of the nomination strategies, predication strategies, argumentation strategies and perspectivization strategies (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009, p. 101). The questions are historically oriented towards revealing the namings and linguistic representations of social actors (nomination), characterization of social actors and actions (predication), persuasion of the audience to normative truths (argumentation) and finally the positioning of the speaker ideologically (perspectivization). Although these strategies are investigated in an in-depth analytical perspective, table 12 below is a useful tool to help the comprehension of the most significant points and arguments proposed in the discourses of Erdoğan. Note that the template of the table belong to Reisigl and Wodak (2009, p. 101) which is used in Wodaks's Discourse Historical Approach:

Table 12. Overall Discursive Strategies of Speeches

Discursive Strategies	
<p>Nomination Strategies</p> <p>Naming and referring to social actors, objects, phenomena and events</p>	<p>Social Actors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>biz</i> (we), <i>onlar</i> (they), <i>bunlar</i> (these) (deictics) • <i>kadın</i> (woman), <i>erkek</i> (man), <i>anne</i> (mother), <i>baba</i> (father), <i>insan</i> (human), <i>öğrenci</i> (student) (common names) • <i>aile</i> (family), <i>nüfus</i> (population) (collectives) • <i>muhafazakarlar</i> (conservatives), <i>feministler</i> (feminists) (ideological anthroponyms) <p>Objects/Actions/Phenomena/Events</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>evlilik</i> (marriage) • <i>ekonomi</i> (economy) • <i>emek</i> (human power), <i>sermaye</i> (capital), <i>tüketim</i> (consumption), <i>yatırım</i> (investment), <i>üretim</i> (production) • <i>kürtaj</i> (abortion) • <i>sezaryen</i> (C-section) • <i>barınma</i> (student housing)
<p>Predication Strategies</p> <p>Characterization and qualifications of social actors, objects, phenomena and events</p>	<p>Social Actors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>biz</i>: supporter and protector of family, improvers of economy, opponents of abortion, contraception and C-section, protectors of national and cultural values • <i>onlar/bunlar</i>: attackers (towards family, national/cultural values), supporters of abortion, contraception and C-sections, supporters of murder, frauds (implementers of C-sections) • <i>anne</i>: the sacred and supreme, milestone of family, biological reproducer of human generation, source of economy, producer of labor force and prominent figures in the society • <i>kadın</i>: equivalent of mother with reproductive skills • <i>erkek, baba</i>: supporters of their wives not to undergo abortion/C-section, labour force, prominent figures • <i>insan</i>: labour force • <i>aile</i>: milestone of the nation, means of population growth and economic development • <i>nüfus</i>: a must for the continuity of economic success • <i>muhafazakarlar</i>: real sufferers, guards of social/cultural/national values, protectors of family, supporters of equality/freedom/democracy, defenders of “right of life”, opponents of abortion/contraception/C-section • <i>feministler</i>: defenders of abortion/contraception/C-section, defenders of murder, enemies of motherhood <p>Objects/Actions/Phenomena/Events</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>evlilik</i>: an essential process for opposite-sexed single people to officially live together, to form family, to raise children

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>ekonomi</i>: a powerful, successful, developing system • <i>emek, sermaye, üretim, tüketim, yatırım</i>: constituents of economy in need of human labour force • <i>kürtaj</i>: murder, mass murder (metaphor of Uludere), illegitimate intervention to the right of life, a sterilization mechanism, a harmful plan against population growth, a means for erasing the nation, • <i>sezaryen</i>: a false so-called medical procedure, a sterilization mechanism, a harmful plan against population growth, a means for erasing the nation, a means for fraud • <i>barınma</i>: a harmful illegitimate way of accommodation in case of the mixed-sexed housing, leading to a social indignation 	
<p>Argumentation Strategies</p> <p>Persuasion of audience of the truth and normative rightness of claims</p>	<p>The speeches have 5 central claims of truth/rightness</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • claims of truths regarding the harmful and dangerous effects, hidden reasons, avoidance and condemning of abortion/C-sections/contraception • claims of rightness regarding banning abortion and C-sections • claims of truth regarding sacredness of motherhood and condemning of women's not-mothering • claims of rightness regarding women's responsibility of reproducing young population and labour force • claims of truth regarding the improperness and danger of mixed-sex housing of adult single men and women to the society
<p>Perspectivization Strategies</p> <p>Positioning speaker's point of view; expressing involvement or distance</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • conservative ideology versus feminist ideology • conservative ideology versus the whole of non-conservative perspectives

As the table 12 suggests, the political discourses of Erdoğan involve nomination, predication, argumentation and perspectivization strategies for either legitimizing or delegitimizing the gendered roles of women. The nomination strategies are mostly based on the idea of creating in-groups or out-groups. By naming the social actors with deictics, common names, collectives and ideological anthroponyms, Erdoğan allocates negative or positive roles to the social actors through agentive or passive grammatical

positions and through meanings attached to the lexical items selected for the naming of actors. Similarly, social actions are named regarding ideological effects of the naming process. The predication strategies draw upon the characterizations and qualifications of the social actors and actions. The actors who are included within the in-groups are qualified as the participants of the actions with the desired characteristics and social roles whereas the actors opposing the party politics are excluded from action process and are depicted with the negative attributions. The argumentation strategies emphasize five central claims of truths or facts with the purpose of convincing the audience of the truth and normative rightness of those claims throughout the discourses. The last category of the strategies highlights the ideological standpoint of the speaker/the party and makes a dualistic distinction between the speaker's ideological view and the other ideological views. Ideological perspectives other than the government's perspective are completely rejected and delegitimized in the discourses of Erdoğan.

4.4. A Socio-Political Discussion of Results

As discussed in the previous categories of analysis, it is impossible to isolate text and talk analysis from wider societal, political and ideological perspectives and practices. Therefore, a critical look towards policies and discursive productions of government is needed regarding the relationship between gender, state and the state-sanctioned neoliberal-conservative ideologies. As David expresses in her book *Gender and Nation*, women's membership in their nation state has a double-faceted nature. Women are both accepted as members of their society and subjected to women-specific laws, regulations and policies (1997, p. 37). This double-faceted positioning of women becomes in the state more visible when the reproductive rights of women are at stake. As verified by the findings of this study as well as the remarks of Davis (1997), reproductive rights of women are strictly controlled

by the policies and the laws of the nation-state⁴². For the current study, the controversial debates put forward at regular intervals in AKP rule concerning women sexuality, marital status, and interventions to reproductive rights exemplify the efforts of the state to police women body and control women's reproduction. The demands for banning adultery in 2004 and banning delimiting abortion and caesarean births, the hostile attitude towards contraception and family planning policies of earlier governments and the intervention in the mixed-sexed accommodation of adult female and male students are the most salient examples of government control over women's reproduction and sexuality. The inclusion of the emphasis of the conservative ideology in political discourses discussed in this study makes intervention and marginalization processes stricter. As Imam (2000) notes, women's sexuality is shaped by Muslim religious right movements with the objective of "control over women including women's sexuality by men and the wish to legislate what women can or cannot do and to punish non-conformers" (p. 85). Such an assumption is also true for the conservative ideology of AKP. As the Prime Minister overtly declares in most of his speeches, the conservative movement does not tolerate or allow for women sexuality which is not supervised by the state and the institution of family. However, it would be wrong to claim the AKP movement finds its motives about women policies only in its religious roots. As the discourse data in the study revealed, the conservative ideology is tightly linked to the neo-liberal economic system demanding a high rate of cheap workforce for maximum profit. In each discourse of motherhood and family, the Prime Minister touches upon the need for the young population as the labour force to increase the rate of success and profit the neoliberal economic market. The discourses on women's reproduction involve direct references to both religion and economy. In this sense, the integration of the two ideologies brings about more worrying results for women's rights on their

⁴² Davis rightfully notes that women are not the passive victims of the strict policies and control mechanisms. Rather, they are empowered to decide the rules applied over other women who are constructed as the marginal others. In this way, women, especially older women in the society are given the active role of cultural reproduction of the nation (1997, p.37).

reproduction and sexuality. Within the conservative neo-liberal perspective, all women are considered as either mothers or the marginal others who attack societal values, religion and the nation with the aim of destroying the nation. Furthermore, mothers are ascribed the role of the biological reproducers of the family, the young and dynamic population as the labour force, the success in the economy and finally the nation. Therefore their sexuality and reproduction is controlled by the patriarchal nation state to ensure the continuation of the reproduction cycle. The women who try to break this cycle are labelled as the threatening destroyers of values and the nation. Although the state control over women's bodily performances is realized through top-down strategies of delimiting or banning the access for women to pre-marital sexuality, family planning methods, abortion or the preference of not mothering, it would lead to false assumptions to identify the process of control as only forcible and oppressive. On the contrary, as it might be discerned in Erdoğan's discourses, the control process is realized by the persuasion of other women as allies of the women policies. At this point, reminding of Gramsci's hegemony which refers to the consent of dominated groups provide a better portrait of the social and discursive strategies embodied to regulate gender policies. This hegemonic construction is best observed in the discussions of motherhood and abortion in which the women audience are persuaded in favour of motherhood and family and against the medical procedures regarding reproduction. Furthermore, the hegemonic structure and the discriminatory discourses against women's social practices are accompanied by the discourses of democracy and freedom, which implies that the production of femininity on the nexus of family and nation-state is far from being simple. Rather, a number of conflicting discourses are operated to legitimize the gender policies of the government. After all, women facing the pressure of the neo-liberalism and conservatism are constructed as the objects and goals of the discourses and deprived of accessing the decision making mechanisms on the body politics of women. While neoliberal policies require the cooperation of women as the devices of production, this

cooperation is ensured by the transformation of women into commodities of the patriarchal state and the family. The conservative ideology steps into the process at this point since it naturalizes and reinforces this transformation within the social order. Womanhood and motherhood at the intersections of neo-liberalism and conservatism are reproduced with a particular emphasis on their reproductive abilities through discourse.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study attempted to present an interdisciplinary analytical approach towards the construction of gender in the discourses present in the Turkish political context by means of a close theoretical look on the concepts of discourse and gender. Leading theoretical debates, formulations and foundations related to discourse as the instrument and the site of ideologies; production of gender as a discursive and social have been explored. The first section reviewed the notion of discourse both within the disciplines of linguistics and social sciences. Upon discussion of traditional understanding of discourse as a language unit in context above sentence level in linguistic approach, a broader conceptualization laying a particular emphasis on the social aspect of discourse in social theory was examined. The definition of discourse as a social practice underpinned the major perspective to theorize the concept of discourse adopted in the study. Therefore, the long-established historical roots of discourse within social and critical theory was handled. Likewise, the notion of ideology which formed the basis of the critical approaches towards discourse was argued with respect to its diverse ever-changing perceptions in Critical and Post-Structuralist theories. The study adopted a theoretical perspective of ideology from the critical theorists who emphasized the notion of ideology as the material existence and constant area of struggle embedded in discourses. While the study disclosed the dialectical and complementary link between ideology and discourse, the notion of discourse was discussed particularly from the viewpoint of Foucault. His idea that discourse is a dynamic social structure as a site of struggle and power relations in a dialectical way was looked into. Following the analysis of discourse in social theory mainly with Foucault's principles, the emergence of a critical approach in discourse analysis named Critical Linguistics or Critical Discourse Analysis was presented with its theoretical foundations

originating from critical theory and post-structuralist influences, the key principles, important schools & scholars of the theory and methodological actions. It was concluded that CDA was an approach analysing power, ideologies and their effect in the reproduction of dominance or inequality within discourses. It is theorized and practiced by various yet interrelated traditions which are British, Dutch, German and Vienna Schools. Lastly in the first section, political discourse has been briefly defined as both the political approach to discourse and the discourse of political actors. Secondly, the study outlined and highlighted the important discussion for gender theories in second wave feminist movement and post structuralist feminist theory followed by the linguistic endeavours to expose gender practices in language. It was argued that gender is a discursive, diverse and multiple practice constructed through performances. It was further discussed that neither gender nor sex consists of a normative, invariable structure, rather both are social constructs. Therefore gender research cannot be reduced to a dualistic approach of sex as a biological destiny and gender as the cultural meaning of sex. The research on gender and discourse was revised in this proposal as well emphasizing the impact of discursive turn within gender-discourse studies. Upon the review of feminist research paradigms in sociolinguistic and discourse-based traditions, two recent methodologies FPDA and FCDA the roots of which lies in CDA was outlined by highlighting their major concern which is the need for the feminist emphasis in discourse analysis. Within these theoretical borders, the third chapter indicated the importance of this study, its research aims, limitations and methodological aspects such as data collection, data analysis, research paradigms and the instruments of the study. The main research purpose of the study is to understand the interconnection of power and ideology in terms of gender construction in political discourses through a CDA approach within a feminist post structural position. In order to confirm the hypothesis that gender is socially constructed through a number of discursive practices, a three-dimensional analytical process was followed. The analytical part of the thesis

mostly relied on the naturally occurring spoken (transcribed) data of Turkish Prime Minister as the most influential representative of the government party. The data was analysed through the lens of –discourse-historical, corpus-based and critical discourse analytical approaches. The results of the study exposed that the governmental gender-policies and discourses are attempts of reconstructing norms and perceptions concerning women filtered by the conservative and neo-liberal ideologies. They further function as persuasion devices to produce and prevail alliances with the institutions of family and parenthood, law-enforcement and the local authorities; struggles to manage the constant dichotomies of oppression/subordination, conservatism/sexual-liberation, the government and its allies as in-groups/protesters represented as the marginal other, agency/ objectification. Through the dualist propositions listed above and through the authoritative or polemical rhetoric in the speeches, Erdoğan builds up a hegemonic structure the society presenting himself as the absolute decision mechanism in accordance with his own ideological views and practices. From the feminist perspective, the speeches establish discriminatory discourses particularly against women where gender oppression through hegemony is legitimized. It attributes women’s uncontrolled sexuality to the meaning of an attack to societal values, to the institution of family, to the conservative ideology functioning as the sole reliable protector of the society and finally to the existence of the nation. The discourses socially reconstruct gender and sexuality through political and ideological filters. They delineate socially-constructed norms and stereotypes in relation to gender and sexuality of women; commodify women by ensuring the constant oppression and control over women’s bodies; and impose hybrid neo-liberal conservative ideology. Therefore, the study supports and validates the theoretical views of Foucault who defines discourse not as a neutral fact but as a social construction in relation to dialectical power dynamics; and of Butler, to whom gender is performed culturally and through discourse, as dealt with earlier.

The study has significant implications for the future critical discourse studies in Turkish and international contexts. Considering the few numbers of critical studies in the discipline of linguistics especially in Turkey, this study might lead the path to the emergence of more critically orientated language research. The political arena is the most solid and salient site for power and ideology struggles in which the political elites operate many specific policies, sanctions and control over diverse communities with regard to their nationality, gender, ethnic identity or religion. Yet, the study of politics in linguistics stands as a far neglected area of research. This is partly because of the opposition to the involvement of the researcher's explicit sided position and partly because of the uneasiness resulting from the government's mostly negative and threatening attitude against the members of academia who criticize or oppose government policies. However, it is important to keep in mind that critical linguistic studies go in many fruitful directions and allow for the remarkable findings regarding the reflexive, nonneutral and ideological nature of discourses. In this sense, discourse research which avoids these dimensions of language might result in missing or faulty interpretations. As for gender-related implications, the study contributes to the literature of gender policies in Turkey with a specific focus of construction of norms, stereotypes or arguments concerning femininity. It is a reflection of the relationship of gender and patriarchy in which gender is culturally determined, becomes normative through hegemony, and is transformed into the oppression and inequality of women as a consequence of cultural gender practices. It helps for a more concrete comprehension of the politically-constructed categories of femininity. Furthermore, it reveals the roles of women in the reproduction and perpetuation of the conservative and neo-liberal ideologies. In this regard, it becomes possible to observe the positioning of women both as goals to persuade and the objects of ideology through and by language.

Some further recommendations for future studies should be noted at this point. Although the production of the discourses expose many linguistic,

discursive and political strategies to legitimize power and ideology over groups, a study cannot fully cover an issue unless it investigates the distribution and consumption of the discourses. One should note that discourses are not only passive devices of ideologies and domination but are also sites of power struggles. Therefore, it needs to comprise how discourses are transferred to the dominated groups and how those dominated groups transform the discourse. In this sense, a new space for further research might be created regarding the representations of gender and the effects of discourses on the addressed circles. Another perspective of research might focus on the reproduction of masculinities as representation of gender. Therefore a two-folded interpretation would be provided for the constructions, assigned roles and the permanence of femininity and masculinity in political contexts. In other words, the study might be improved with new perspectives of research. After all, the study constitutes a plea for the multidisciplinary in discourse and language studies as well as contributing to the theorization of gender politics.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTION OF SPEECH 1

Introductory Meeting of the Project Titled “Forming Family” Hosted by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies

18.06.2013

...Bildiğiniz gibi, sevgili dostlar, biz bu yola çıkarken bir şey söyledik, o da şuydu. Muhafazakâr demokrat bir kimliğe sahip olarak bizim partimizin hedefinde aile vardır. Düzenli aile, güçlü aile ve hedefimizi bunun üzerine bina ettik. Çünkü bir milletin eğer aile yapısı çökmüşse o millet çökmüştür, çökmeye namzettir. Ama aile yapısı ne kadar güçlüyse o millet o kadar güçlüdür. Ve aile kurumunun tarihi unutmayalım insanlığın tarihi ile eşittir. Adem Aleyhisselam ve Havva Validemizden beri, insanlar bir aile ortamında dünyaya gelmiş ve hayatlarını bu şekilde sürdürmüşlerdir. Kadın ve erkeğin birlikteliği aynı zamanda insan soyunun devamı için de elzemdir. Bunu özellikle tabi bekârlara söylüyorum. Burada hassasiyetimiz çok önemli. Nitekim Peygamberimiz evlenin ve çoğalın, ben sizin çokluğunuzla iftihar edeceğim diyor. Yine Peygamberimiz ümmetine evlenmekten korkmayınız tavsiyesinde bulunuyor. Tabi aile kavramının bizim medeniyetimizde, bizim kültürümüzde çok daha geniş, çok daha kapsamlı bir anlamı var. Bizim kültürümüzde hem anne hem baba tarafından aile büyüklerinin tamamı aynı şekilde buradan başlayıp aşağıya doğru genişleyen halkanın tamamıyla aile kavramının içindedir. Bunun yanında komşularımızı, arkadaşlarımızı, ahbablarımızı da bu halkaya dahil edebiliriz, ahbab yani sevgililer, bunu da buraya dahil edebiliriz. Diğer taraftan aynı inançları, aynı idealleri, aynı duyguları paylaştığımız insanlar da bizim kardeşlerimiz statüsündedir. Dolayısıyla bunlar da o geniş ailemizin bir parçasıdır. Bizler eş ve çocuklarımızdan başlayarak ailemizin tamamıyla gurur duyan, tamamını seven, tamamı için her türlü fedakârlığı yapan, yapacak olan insanlarız, böyle olmak durumundayız. Tarihimizin bize bıraktığı miras budur. Bizim sonraki nesillere devredeceğimiz miras da bu olmak zorundadır. Aile bağlarımızın güçlülüğü, devamlılığı ve samimiyeti sayesinde biz yüzlerce binlerce yıldır maruz kaldığımız tüm tehditleri bertaraf ettik. Bu sayede tüm dünyanın hayranlıkla takip ettiği medeniyetler inşa ettik, devletler kurmayı başardık ve bir şeyi burada özellikle ifade etmek durumundayım. Israrla bizi güçlü kılan şeyin, genç, dinamik nüfuslar olduğunu unutmamalıyız ve şunu da unutmamalıyız. Ekonomideki başarının sırrı insandır, diğer bütün her şey insanın türevidir. Emek insanın türevidir, sermaye insanın türevidir, tüketim insanın türevidir, üretim insanın türevidir, yatırım insanın türevidir. İnsan varsa bunların hepsi var, insan yoksa bunların hiçbiri yok. İnsanda da genç nüfus çok büyük önem arz ediyor. Onun için Beypazarlı amcayı

unutmuyoruz. Bir olur garip olur, iki olur rakip olur, üç olur dengi olur, dört olur bereket olur, gerisi Allah kerim diyeceğiz, yola devam edeceğiz.

Bazı komşu ülkelerimizde olduğu gibi nüfusu azaltmak suretiyle kalkınma olmaz. Bakın, biz şu son 10 yılda her yıl ortalama nüfusumuz 1 milyon arttı ama bu artarken de bizim milli gelirimiz bire üç katladı. Gelen unutmayın rızkıyla geliyor. Kimse maharet bende diye havaya girmesin. Hepsi rızkıyla geliyor. Bunu böyle bilin. Modern çağın, insanlığın pek çok değeri gibi aile kurumu üzerinde de ciddi tahribatlara yol açtığını biliyoruz. Bu ülkede, yıllarca doğum kontrolü mekanizmalarını çalıştırdılar. Adeta bizim vatandaşlarımızı, halkımızı kısırlaştırdılar. Bununla ilgili, tıbbi müdahalelere varıncaya kadar her şeyi yaptılar. Sezaryen denilen olay budur, kürtaj denilen olay budur. Hep bunları yaptılar ve bunları yaparken de adeta cinayet işlediler, adeta aldattılar. Ölüyorsun, seni ölümden kurtaracağız dediler, onun için sezaryen dediler. Halbuki dert başkaydı. Dert hem fazla para kazanmak hem de maalesef öyle kampanyalar başlattılar ki sezaryenle ikiden fazla doğum yapamazsın. Bunu da aldattılar ve inandırdılar ve birçok anneler aileler buna inanmak zorunda kaldı. Eğer sezaryen olmazsam ne olur diye buna inandılar. İşin aslı bu muydu, değildi. Dert başkaydı, dert bu milletin nüfusu azalsın ve bu millet milletler yarışında geri kalsın. Ama bu oyunu artık bozuyoruz, bozmamız lazım, onun için ailelere bu ülkede çok büyük iş düşüyor. Ben Özellikle annelere sesleniyorum, özellikle kadınıma sesleniyorum. Bu oyunu birinci derecede bozacak olan sizsiniz. Burada tavrınızı koymak durumundasınız. Bir Türk annesi olarak, bir Türk kadını olarak bunu bozacak olan birinci derecede sizsiniz, ikinci derecede de babalara sesleniyorum. Sizler de bu oyunun bir tarafı olmamalısınız. Sizler de eşlerinizle dayanışma içinde bunu çözmek durumundasınız. Bizim, demokratik haklar, temel insan hak ve özgürlükleri konusunda hiçbir sıkıntımız yok. Biz bu hakların en kuvvetli en samimi savunucusuyuz. İcraatlarımızla da bunu şüpheye yer vermeyecek şekilde ortaya koyduğumuza inanıyorum. Milletimizin kadim değerlerini hedef alan saldırıların, demokrasiyle insan haklarıyla hiçbir ilgisi yoktur. Evet derdi demokrasi olanla, derdi hak ve özgürlük davası olanla, derdi bu ülkeyi ve milleti var eden, güçlü kılan ebedi kılan değerleri örselemek olan arasındaki farkı biz çok iyi biliyoruz. Bugüne kadar demokrasi hak ve özgürlük davası peşinde olanlarla beraberdik, bundan sonra da beraber olmayı sürdüreceğiz. Buna karşılık bu kavramların arkasına sığınarak aile kurumumuzu, milli ve manevi değerlerimizi tahrip etme peşinde olanlara asla geçit vermedik, vermeyeceğiz.

Değerli arkadaşlarım, hanımefendiler, beyefendiler, bugün imzalanacak olan protokol işte bu bakımdan önemli bir adımdır. Bu proje ile inşaattan iletişime, turizmden sağlığa, tekstilden ulaşıma kadar tüm alanlarda atılacak her adımda öncelikle aile, ailenin ihtiyaçları hassasiyetleri gözetilecek. Kamu kurumları yanında üniversiteler, sivil toplum kuruluşları ve yerel yönetimlerle de işbirliği içinde her alanda aile odaklı bir yaklaşım geliştirilecek ve hayata geçirilecektir. Bu projeye destek veren, yapılacak çalışmalara katkı sağlayacak olan tüm kurumlarımıza, tüm arkadaşlarımıza şimdiden

řükranlarımı sunuyorum. Aile ve sosyal politikalar bakanımızı ve ekibini öncülük ettikleri bu projeden dolayı özellikle tebrik ediyorum, bir kez daha projenin hayırlı olmasını diliyor, sizleri sevgiyle saygıyla selamlıyorum.

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTION OF SPEECH 2

International Family and Social Policies Summit

02.01.2013

Hazreti Adem Aleyhisselam ve Hazreti Havva validemiz bir aile teşekkül ederek nesiller boyunca, bin yıllar boyunca sürekli çok önemli bir temel attılar. İlk insanla Hazreti Adem ve Hazreti Havva ile başlayan aile kurumu tarihin her döneminde ve her toplumda insani değerlerin yaşatılmasına, insani değerlerin nesilden nesile aktarılmasına zemin teşkil etti. Aile her zaman bireyleri ve toplumu bir arada tuttu. Tamamen donanımsız halde dünyaya gelen çocukların yani insan neslinin ayakta durabilmesini sağlayan da yine aile oldu. İlk ve en önemli eğitim zemini olarak aile, bir okul gibi iyi ve güzel değerlerin korunmasını, kötülüklerin dışarıda tutulmasını sağlıyor. Aile güçlü olduğunda bireyler güçlü oldu, toplum güçlü oldu. Aile zayıfladığında, zayıflatıldığında, aile saldırıya uğradığında, çözüldüğünde maalesef bireyler çürüdü, toplum çürüdü. Tarihte aileyi yok etmeye, aileyi zayıflatmaya, işlevsiz hale getirmeye yönelik girişimler de oldu. Bu girişimlerin tamamı başarısız kaldı. Bunu deneyen devlet ve toplumlar yok oldu. Ama aile her zaman varlığını sürdürdü. Burada şu hususun altını özellikle çizerek ifade etmek istiyorum. Aile mekanik teknik şekli bir yapı asla değildir. İnsan nasıl sadece fiziki bir bedenden oluşmuyorsa, yani insan bir makine, bir bilgisayar, bir robot değilse, insan nasıl ki ruh ve beden bir uyumuysa, aynı şekilde aile de şekil ve maneviyatın bir uyumudur. Bakın bizim aile hususunda yeni nesillere genç nesillere özellikle bu noktayı çok iyi, çok anlaşılır şekilde anlatmamız gerekiyor. Evlilik akdinin imzalanması elbette önemlidir. Aynı çatı altında aynı yuva içinde yaşamak elbette önemlidir. Evin eşyaları, evin geçimi, toplum içindeki ilişkiler elbette önemlidir. Ama en önemlisi bir çifti çocuklarıyla birlikte aile yapan maneviyattır, sevgidir. Aile kutsiyetin o şuurudur. Aile kurmak bir yuva oluşturmaktan öte bir maneviyat çatısını çatmak, hem muhabbeti yaşatmak hem sevgiyi yaşatmak, hem de o muhabbetin nesiller boyunca yaşamasını devamını temin etmektir. Ailenin şeklen var olması ama manen zayıflaması da takdir edersiniz ki son derece tehlikelidir. Şeklini muhafaza eden ama maneviyatını kutsiyetini kaybetmiş bir aile açıkçası yok hükmündedir. Aile sahip olduğu maneviyat ile dışarıdan gelen tüm saldırılara göğüs germeli, dünya ve toplum ne kadar değişirse değişsin, Hazreti Adem ve Hazreti Havva'daki aile şuurunu, oradaki özü muhafaza edebilmektir.

İktisadi şartların, sosyal şartların özellikle de toplumsal çürümenin nüfuz ettiği bir aile yani değişirken özünü yitiren bir aile çürüyen yok olmaya yüz tutan bir teşekkül haline dönüşür. Bakınız biz siyasi parti olarak yola

çıkarken, muhafazakâr demokrat olduğumuzu ilan ettik, bu ilkeye sürekli vurgu yaptık ve tüm politikalarımızı da bu muhafazakâr demokratlık çerçevesi içinde gerçekleştirdik ama hedefimize de aileyi koyduk, hedefte aile dedik. Hem parti olarak he hükümet olarak aileyi toplumun en temel taşı olarak görüyoruz. Hazreti Adem ve Hazreti Havva'dan bize miras kalan özü şuuru çekirdeği en güçlü şekilde muhafaza etmeyi hedefliyoruz. Bu özü tahrip etmeyen, bu özden beslenen bir değişimi en güçlü şekilde gerçekleştirmeyi, temel politikalarımız olarak kabul ediyoruz. İşte o öz ailedir. Dünya değişirken zayıflayan, çürüyen özünü kaybeden bir aile hem istikbal için hem insanlık için açık bir tehlikedir. Dünya değişirken dönüşürken güçlenen, özünü maneviyatını muhabbetini koruyabilen bir aileyse insanlık için, istikbal için açık bir teminattır. Bu anlayışla 10 yıldır aileyi güçlendirmek, aileyi korumak, aileyi özüyle ruhuyla maneviyatıyla buluşturmak için yoğun bir gayret içerisindeyiz. Eğer güçlü bir millet olacaksak, güçlü ailelere sahip olmak zorundayız. Bir aileyi tehdit eden ya da tehdit edebilecek her sorunun üzerine tam bir kararlılıkla gidiyor, sorunu çözmek için tüm imkânlarımızı en güçlü şekilde seferber ediyoruz. Maddi sorunların aile üzerinde bir baskı oluşturmaması 10 yılda önemli için tedbirleri de uygulamaya geçirdik. 10 yılda sosyal yardımlarda 16 katlık bir artış sağladık. Toplamda yaklaşık 108 milyar liralık sosyal yardımı ihtiyaç sahiplerine ulaştırdık. Gıda ihtiyacı içinde olan ailelere gıda, yakacak ihtiyacı olanlara yakacak ulaştırdık. Çocuklarını okutamayan ailelere, hanım kardeşlerimize teslim edilmek üzere şartlı nakit transferini gerçekleştirdik, gerçekleştiriyoruz. İlkokulda okuyan kız çocuklarına 35 lira, erkek çocuklarına 30 lira, ortaokulda okuyan kız çocuklarına 55 lira, erkek çocuklarına 45 lira olmak üzere her ay düzenli olarak bu parayı babaya değil annelere veriyoruz. Olur ya babaya versek sigara içer, onun için anneye verelim diyoruz çocuğa gitsin. Aynı şekilde şartlı sağlık yardımları yapıyoruz. Eğitim, sağlık, adalet ve emniyet alanında gerçekleştirdiğimiz büyük reform ve yatırımlarla tek tek bireylerden ziyade işsizliğin ve yoksulluğun tehdidi altındaki aileleri koruyoruz. Şimdi 2012'de eşi vefat etmiş kadınlara yönelik bir yardım programını da 2012 yılının nisan ayında başlattık, başarıyla uyguluyoruz. Aylık 250 lira olmak üzere her iki ayda bir 500 lirayı ihtiyaç sahibi hanım kardeşlerimizin hesabına yatırıyoruz. Şu ana kadar bu imkândan yararlanan kişi sayısı 225 bine ulaştı.

Değerli katılımcılar, saygıdeğer misafirler, kadınları özellikle de buranın altını çiziyorum, tabi belli kesimlerle anlaşamadığımız bir nokta var. Biz tabi kadını yücelten makamın anne olduğuna itibar ediyoruz, muhafazakâr bir iktidar olarak. Onun için de diyoruz ki bizim değerlerimizde cennet annenin ayakları altındadır, babanın ayakları altında değil. Onun için ayaklarının altı öpülesi anneye olan saygı hiçbir şeyle değişilmez. Onun yeri çok farklı. Anneleri ailenin temel unsuru, temel yapı taşı olarak görüyor ve her alanda en güçlü şekilde destekliyoruz. Kadın sorunlarına ilişkin 10 yılda devrim niteliğinde adımlar attık. Anayasada, yasalarda çok önemli değişiklikler yaptık. 2012 yılı 8 Mart'ında hanım kardeşlerimizi şiddetten korumaya yönelik tedbir ve ceza boyutu olan yasayı çıkardık. Kadın istihdamının

artması, kadınların sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasi alanda çok daha fazla söz sahibi olması için tüm engelleri ortadan kaldırıyoruz, bu alanlarda güzel gelişmelere de hamdolsun şahit oluyoruz. Aynı şekilde çocuklar için, engelli kardeşlerimiz için, yaşlı vatandaşlarımız için, şehitlerimizin yakınları ve gaziler için de hayatlarını kolaylaştıracak, riskleri azaltacak, günlük yaşamlarını normal şekilde idame ettirecek tedbirleri aldık, kararlılıkla bunları da uyguluyoruz. Aile yapısını muhafaza etmek, aile huzurunu muhafaza etmek, aileyi refah ve mutluluk içinde tutmak için her imkânı seferber ettik ve ediyoruz. Biz şunu çok ama çok iyi biliyoruz. Aile var oldukça, millet var oldukça devlet var olacaktır. Aile var oldukça sağlıklı nesiller var olacak, iyilik var olacaktır. Aileye yönelik her saldırıyı doğrudan insanlığa yönelik bir saldırı olarak görüyor, hiçbir şekilde müsamaha göstermiyoruz. Bizim hükümet olarak başta eğitim olmak üzere her alanda gerçekleştirdiğimiz reformlarımızın temelinde hiç kuşkusuz bu anlayış vardır. Eğitimle aileyi güçlendirmek, sağlıklı, sosyal politikalarla, ekonomiyle aileyi güçlendirmek, siyaseti ailenin hizmetkârı haline getirmek ve böylece Türkiye'yi bunun üzerinde büyütmeyi bugüne kadar başardık, bundan sonra da aynı şekilde başarmaya devam edeceğiz. Tabi bütün bunları söylerken ailede de bir şeyi özellikle burada vurgulamak istiyorum. Tekrar böyle bir toplantıda ekranları başında bizi izleyen milletime tekrar sesleniyorum ve diyorum ki en az üç çocukla beraber güçlü aileler. En az üç çocuk. Ve ailelerimizi güçlü kılmamızın yolu buradan geçiyor. Bunu bir defa başaracağız ve güçlü aile istiyorsak bunun olması lazım ve güçlü millet istiyorsak bunun olması lazım. E çocuk yok, bir tane çocuk iflas, iki çocuk iflas, üç çocuk ancak yerinde saymak. Ve gelecekte yaşlı bir nüfus getiriyor, yaşlı bir nüfus. Şimdi bizim dinamik genç bir nüfusa ihtiyacımız var. Dinamik ve genç nüfus buradan geçiyor, bunu halletmemiz lazım.

Bakınız sevgili hanım kardeşlerim, değerli hocalarım, şunu çok açık net söylüyorum. Bu bir incelemenin neticesidir. Alalım ekonomiyi, fakat bunu iyi bilmemiz lazım. Ekonomideki başarının tek sırrı vardır. Fakat bize ekonomide hep şunu öğretmişlerdir. Emek, sermaye, tüketim, üretim vesaire. Aslında işin bütün sırrı bunların hepsini bir kenara koyuyorum, insandır. İnsan varsa emek var, insan varsa sermaye var, tüketim var, üretim var, yatırım var. İnsan yoksa e bunların hiçbiri yok. Öyleyse genç nesil olduğumuz için şu anda biz kardayız. Ama bakın şu anda yavaş yavaş yaşlanıyoruz. Zira bizim artış hızımızın ikinin üzerinde, üçlere ulaşması lazım. Bunu başarmamız gerekiyor. Şu anda Batı sıkıntı içinde, bundan dolayı. Ama biz Türkiye'yi bu sıkıntının içine sokmak istemiyoruz. Ben annelerin şahsında, özellikle ülkeme sesleniyorum: Bu hassasiyetimizi lütfen hafife almayalım, hafife almayın. Bunu dalga dalga yaygınlaştırmamız lazım. Muhafazakâr demokrat bir iktidar olarak biz bunun gayreti içerisindeyiz ve bunu başarmamız lazım. Bunu başarmakta kararlı olmalıyız. Bu parayla pulla ölçülmez. Önemli olan insandır. İnsan varsa bunlar var, insan yoksa bunların hiçbiri yok. Ben bu düşüncelerle sözlerime son verirken bir kez daha iki gün boyunca devam edecek Uluslararası Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Zirvesi'nin başarılı geçmesini diliyorum. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığımızı, bu

şuraya katkı veren yerli yabancı dostlarımızı, tüm akademisyen bilim insanı arařtırmacıları tebrik ediyor, kendilerine teşekkür ediyorum. Bu zirve vesilesiyle ödöl alacak kurum ve şahısları da bir kez daha tebrik ediyor, hepinizi sevgiyle saygıyla selamlıyorum.

APPENDIX C

TRANSCRIPTION OF SPEECH 3

HAK-İŞ Meeting of Global Woman Labour

07.03.2013

...Değişim ve ilerleme kendi öz değerlerini unutarak olursa, bunun adı yabancılaşma olur. Biz küresel ile kendi öz değerlerimizi buluşturmak, kaynaştırmak, ithal ve taklit yerine özgün olanı ortaya çıkarmak zorundayız. Aynı sorunu kadınların eşitlik mücadelesinde, hak mücadelesinde, kadınların varoluş mücadelesinde de yaşıyoruz. Elbette dünyadaki örnekler bakarız, dikkatle inceleriz. Elbette küresel dayanışmayı her zaman yüceltiriz. Ancak bu toprakların, bu geniş coğrafyanın, bu kadın ile ilgili yaklaşımın bizim kadim medeniyetimizde olduğu kadarıyla hiçbir yerde olduğunu göremiyoruz. Bakınız burada bir inceliği söylüyorum. Bizim dinimizde cennet, babaların ayağı altında değil, kadınların ayağı altında da değil. Ya, cennet annelerin ayağının altında. Yani, kadından sonra bir irtifa var, bir yükseliş var. O yükseliş neresidir? O, anne olmaktır. Anne olmanın kadınlıkta farklı bir yeri var. İşte bizim dinimizde ayağının altı öpülesi olan annedir ve ben o annelerin ayağının altını öptüm, öpüyorum. Ben anacığımın altını öptüm. Anacığım öptürmek istemezdi. Anacığım derdim ben cennetin kokusunu alıyorum burada. Niye? Çünkü o bizim varlık sebebizdir. Biz onlarla bu hayata baktık, onlarla hayatı yaşadık. Onlar gecelerini gündüz eyledi, onlar yemediler yedirdiler, onlar içmediler içirdiler, onlar yaz kış demeden bizi bugünlere taşıdılar. Öyleyse, o makam gibi bir makam olabilir mi? Dünyada krallar, cumhurbaşkanları, başbakanlar, milletvekilleri, bunları kim yetiştiriyor? Anne yetiştiriyor, siz yetiştiriyorsunuz, sizlerden geliyor. Dolayısıyla, şunu burada açıkça ifade etmek durumundayım. Biz küresel ölçekte kadına bu denli değer veren bir medeniyetin mensuplarıyız. O bakımdan, şüphesiz ki bizim geleceğe bakışımız çok daha farklı.

Onun için kadının çalışmasında esnek çalışma diye ifade ettiğimiz adım çok önemli. Onun üzerinde gerek Çalışma Bakanımız gerekse Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığımızın çalışmaları var. Çünkü bu esnek çalışma metodu ile işte anneliği rahatlatacak adımları da getirmiş olacağız.

Bakınız, bugüne kadar işte hanımlarla alakalı olarak biz biliyorsunuz dul hanımlarla alakalı bir 500 lira yardım meselesini getirdik. İki ayda bir 500 lira. Öyleydi değil mi Fatma Hanım? İki ada bir 500 lira veriyoruz. Niye? Bir destek olsun diye. Yani bu yeterli bir şey olduğu için değil, en azından bir destek olsun. Yani, benim devletim, benim yanımda, bunu görsün. Bunu getirdik. Bugüne kadar Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tarihinde böyle bir iktidar var mı? Bunu sadece biz yaptık. Evinde çocukları için, ilköğretimde,

ortaöğretimde, lisesinde hepsinde biliyorsunuz destek veriyoruz, parasal destek. Ve bu parasal desteği bakın biz çocuğa vermiyoruz, babaya da vermiyoruz, anneye veriyoruz. Niye? Çünkü anneye verdiğimiz değer sebebiyle. Çünkü anne diyoruz ki onu çocuğuna harcar, sigaraya harcamaz, alkole falan da harcamaz, çocuğuna harcar. Ha bu gelmişken söyleyeyim, ben en az üç tane çocuktan yanayım. Onu da söyleyeyim, en az üç çocuktan yanayım. Yani bunu bakın şimdi tabi, kadın sorunları diyor, sakın bunu sorun haline getirmeyin ha, bu başarılması gereken, övünülmesi gereken bir şeydir. Bakınız ülkelerin, milletlerin kalkınmasında en önemli dinamik unsur genç nüfustur. Dünyada yaşlanma var ve biz de yaşlanmaya doğru gidiyoruz. Bu yaşlanmanın önüne geçmek için tek dayanağımız sizsiniz. Bunu başarmamız lazım. Bak, bir bayan oradan beş diyor. Ve bu adımları atmamız lazım ki, benim bir tezim var, şimdi bir şey var. Ben ekonomi tahsili gördüm. Bize tabi ekonomide başarının sırlarını veya başarının unsurlarını anlatırken tabi emek, işte sermaye, tüketim, üretim, yatırım, bunları söylerler. Ben diyorum ki hayır, hayır. Tek unsur insandır. İnsan varsa emek vardır, insan varsa sermaye vardır, insan varsa tüketim, insan varsa üretim vardır, insan varsa yatırım vardır. İnsan yoksa bunların hiçbiri yoktur. Hepsi insanın türevidir aslında. İnsan olduğu takdirde bunları görürsünüz. Hele hele bu genç, dinamik bir nüfus olursa, o zaman tutana aşk olsun. Şimdi Türkiye olarak bizler, bu genç ve dinamik yapımızı korumak durumundayız. Şu anda yüzde 60 itibarıyla 30 yaş altı bir yapıdayız. Ama gerileme var. Bunu bizim geliştirmemiz lazım. Bunu geliştirdiğimiz sürece inanıyorum ki çok daha iyi günlere gideceğiz...

APPENDIX D

TRANSCRIPTION OF SPEECH 4

3th Ordinary Congress of Women's Branches

26.05.2012

...Dün uluslararası birleşmiş milletlerin bir toplantısında değerli kardeşlerim bir ifade kullandım. Burada yine kullanıyorum. Ben sezaryenle doğuma karşı olan bir başbakanım ve bunların planlı yapıldığından özellikle planlı yapıldığını biliyorum. Ve bunun bu ülke nüfusunun artmaması için atılan adımlar olduğunu biliyorum. Bunun bir taraftan da kendilerine mali kaynak teşkil etmesi için atılan adımlar olduğunu biliyorum. Ve bununla bu ülkenin nüfusu bir yerde donduruluyor. İki, kürtajı bir cinayet olarak görüyorum. Kürtajı bir cinayet olarak görüyorum ve bu ifademe karşı çıkan bazı çevrelere, medya mensuplarına da sesleniyorum, yatıyorsunuz kalkıyorsunuz Uludere diyorsunuz, her kürtaj bir Uludere'dir diyorum. Anne karnında bir yavruyu öldürmenin, doğumdan sonra öldürmekten ne faydası var farkı var soruyorum sizlere. Ve bunun mücadelesini de hep birlikte vermeye mecburuz. Ve bu milleti dünya sahnesinden silmek için sinsice bir plan olduğunu bilmek durumundayız. Ve bunun için de, bu milletin çoğalması için de asla bu oyunlara prim vermemeliyiz. Biz siyasi rant peşinde değiliz, bizim tek hesabımız var, bu millet muasır medeniyetler seviyesinin üstüne çıkacak, çıkmalıdır. Bunun için de genç, dinamik nüfusa ihtiyacımız var ve bilirsiniz ki insan ekonominin temelidir. İnsan varsa sermaye var, insan varsa emek var, insan varsa tüketim var, insan varsa üretim var, insan yoksa bunların hiçbiri yok. Onun için çok gayret edeceğiz ve genç nüfusu arttırmanın gayreti içerisinde olacağız. Aksi takdirde, 2037'de ihtiyar bir nüfusla gerileme dönemine başlarız. Şu anda tırmanan bir ülkeyiz, dünyada örnek gösterilen bir ülkeyiz. Öyleyse aynen bu örnek gösterilişimizin devamı, 2023'te de Allah'ın izniyle dünyanın ilk 10 ülkesinden bir tanesi olacağız, hedefimiz bu...

APPENDIX E

TRANSCRIPTION OF SPEECH 5

AKP Provincial Congress of Diyarbakır

02.06.2012

...Kardeşlerim, burada bir konuyu daha sizinle paylaşıyorum. Hani son zamanlarda gündeme oturan başlık, konu; kürtaj ve sezaryen olayı. Kardeşlerim, bakınız burada iki yaklaşım tarzı var. Bir; diyorlar ki, bu vücut benimdir, ben tercih hakkımı kullanırım. Bunu daha çok feminist kesim bunun propagandasını yapıyor. Bir de ne var değerli kardeşlerim? Bunun yanında yaşam hakkı var. Biz nereden hareket ediyoruz? Biz yaşam hakkından hareket ediyoruz. Çünkü bir vücutta cenin öldürüldüğünde ha yaşam halinde öldürülen, ha orada öldürülen, bizim için aynıdır. Bunu öldürme hakkına kimse sahip değil, kimse sahip değil.

Sevgili kardeşlerim, şunu iyi bilmenizi istiyorum: Bakınız bu tür olaylar aynı zamanda insan sağlığını tehdit eden yollardır. Bu oyuna gelmeyeceğiz, bu oyunu da bozacağız. Ve bu kesim, aynı zamanda annelik makamını da kabul etmeyen kesimdir. Çok enteresan, ne diyorlar biliyor musunuz? Ne demek diyor anne, niye diyor kadın demiyorsunuz da anne veya ana diyorsunuz? Bu kesimin mantığı, anlayışı bu. Evet, biz anne diyoruz, annenin ayaklarının altı öpülür diyoruz, biz bu değerlerden geliyoruz. Ve bizim değerlerimizde, bizim dinimizde; cennet annelerin ayakları altındadır, babaların değil. Ve biz, annenin kıymetini bilen ve onu bildirmeye çalışan bir anlayışın mensuplarıyız. Biz muhafazakar demokrat bir partiyiz, bizim anlayışımızda bu var. Ve biz bu anlayışla çalışıyoruz, halkımıza karşı da bunu anlatıyoruz. Ne demek? Sen yine bildiğini oku, o ayrı mesele. Ama biz, bunu aynen bu şekilde yapmaya devam edeceğiz. Diyorlar ki, Parti programında böyle bir şey yoktu, nereden çıktı bu iş? Siyaset dinamiktir, her şeyin parti programında olması diye bir olay söz konusu olamaz. Siyaset, her an güncellenmesi gereken bir olaydır. Programınızda olmayan bir ok şeyler, hayatın akışı içerisinde, yeni yeni program içerisinde yerini alır. Bunu diyenler, hepsi ideolojik yaklaşım içerisinde bu ifadeleri kullanıyorlar. Biz ise şu anda gerekli her çalışmayı yapıyoruz ve ondan sonra da gerekli adımı atacağız.

Sezaryen olayı, sezaryen olayı bu ülkede nüfusu dondurmaya yönelik bir adımdır değerli kardeşlerim. Niye? Efenim, sezaryenle doğum yaptık, 1 tane, 2 tane çocuk olabiliyor. Aslında tabi 3 de olabilir, 4 de olabilir ayrı mesele de, ama 2 daha fazla olamaz. Böyle bir yaklaşım tarzı, dert başka aslında, dert ne biliyor musunuz? Mani mani, mani. Daha rahat doğum yapıyormuş, hayır. Oralarda gayet iyi para götürüyorlar bundan, bundan. Ve biz bu konuları iyi biliyoruz, bunların çalışmalarını da yaptık. Ve şu anda özel hastanelerde

yüzde 90'na kadar sezaryenle doğum var. Türkiye ortalaması yüzde 50. Devlet hastaneleriyle beraber baktığımız zaman yüzde 50, kimin uyutuyorsunuz ya. Ve biz bu adımı da atacağız. Ve ben aynı şekilde nüfusumuzun güçlü olması, artmasıyla ürken değil, çekinen değil, tam aksine bu ülkenin nüfusu artmalı. Genç, dinamik nüfusa sahip olmalıyız yaşlı nüfusa değil. Çünkü ekonominin en önemli gücü, insandır, hep beraber biziz...

APPENDIX F

TRANSCRIPTION OF SPEECH 6

Party Group Meeting

05.11.2013

...Değerli arkadaşlar, ben karakteri itibarıyla farklı bir siyasetçiyim ve bir yerde konuştuğumu inkar etme anlayışına sahip bir insan değilim. Ne yapıyorsak inanarak yaparız, ne söylüyorsak da arkasında durarak söyleriz. Öyle eğilip, bükülerek, omurgasız bir şekilde bir şeyi sürdürmenin hiçbir zaman hesabı, gayreti içerisinde olmadım, olmam. Bu ülkede Başbakanlık görevini bu millet bize verdi, iktidarı da bize verdi. Ve şunu da unutmayalım ki; biz muhafazakar demokrat bir partiyiz, dikkat edin, muhafazakar demokrat bir partiyiz ve partimiz olarak da neler yaptığımızı, neler yapmamız gerektiğini de biliriz. Bakın, müteaddit defalar kimsenin yaşam tarzına karışmadığımızı, karışmayacağımızı hep söylememize rağmen, birçok yerde işte yaşam tarzımız şöyle değiştirildi, böyle değiştirildi, böyle değiştiriliyor gibi ithamlarla da karşı karşıyayız. Arkadaşlar, 4,5 yıl ben İstanbul'da Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı yaptım, aynı ithamlarla hep karşı karşıya oldum ve 4,5 yılımız böyle geçti. Ama 4,5 yıl yaptığımız bu Belediye Başkanlığında biz sonunda o söylenenlerden dolayı değil, bir şiiirden dolayı içeri atıldık. Niye? Suyu bulandırdın dediler, bunu yaptılar. Şimdi 11 yıldır biz Türkiye'yi yönetiyoruz. Bakın, 11 yıllık Türkiye yönetiminde de, dikkat edin, hep yine buna benzer arayışlar devam ediyor. 11 yıllık şu yönetimde AK Parti iktidarı kimin yaşam tarzına müdahale etti? Kimin yaşam tarzına karıştı? Sen ne için şöyle yaşıyorsun, niçin böyle yaşıyorsun, böyle bir durum mu söz konusu oldu? Kim hangi yaşam tarzından tard edildi? Kimse bunu söyleyebilir mi? Eğer bu ülkede birileri zulme uğradıysa, o muhafazakar kesimdir, zulme uğrayan bu ülkede hep muhafazakar kesim olmuştur ve acımasızca bu yapılmıştır. Eğitimde yapılmıştır, sağlıkta yapılmıştır, adalette yapılmıştır, emniyette yapılmıştır, hep bunları yaşaya yaşaya biz bugünlere geldik. Ve şu anda bu devran değiştiği için birileri bir şeyler kapmaya ve bunun gayreti içerisine girmeye çalışıyorlar. Değerli arkadaşlar, şunu bir defa bilmemiz lazım: Biz sorumluluk makamında, mevkiinde olan muhafazakar bir demokrat parti olarak, muhafazakar demokrat bir kimliğe sahip olarak, bu ülkede anne, babaların, ebeveynlerin, herkesin çocukları bize emanettir. Biz kızların, erkeklerin devletin yurtlarında karışık kalmasına müsaade etmedik, müsaade etmiyoruz, müsaade etmiyoruz. Efendim, bazı gazeteler şöyle yazmış, köşe yazarları böyle yazmış. Ne yazarlarsa yazsınlar, dünyada eğitim-öğretim psikolojisinin içerisinde bile bunun verimlilik açısından hiçbir zaman izahı yapılamaz. Ve biz burada kesinlikle müdahil olduk ve şu anda yurtlarımızda bu şekilde kızlarımızın erkek öğrencilerle bir defa ayrıştırması

çalışmalarını hızla devam ettiriyoruz, şu ana kadar yüzde 75 oranında da bunu gerçekleştirdik. Ha, bazı yerlerde yurtlar noktasında ihtiyaca cevap veremediğimiz için bazı yerlerde de evlerde kalma noktasında sıkıntılar yaşanıyor. Ve buralarda bütün güvenlik güçlerimize, emniyete, valiliklerimize gelen istihbarı bilgiler var ve bu istihbarı bilgilerden hareketle de valiliklerimiz bu durumlara müdahale ediyorlar. Bundan niye rahatsız oluyorsunuz? Niye bundan birileri rahatsız oluyor? Bazı köşe yazarları inadına bu tür şeyleri yazıp çizecekler diye, kusura bakmasınlar, biz bu ihbarları bir kenara atamayız ve valiliklerimiz de, emniyet teşkilatımız da bu tür ihbarları değerlendirir ve bunların üzerine gider. Peki bunlar nerelerden geliyor? Aynı apartmanın içerisinde bakıyorsunuz ki daire komşuları bu tür şeyleri ihbarını yapıyor. Çünkü buralarda nelerin olduğu belli değil, karma karışık her tür şeyler olabiliyor, ondan sonra anneler, babalar feryat ediyor devlet nerede diye. Devletin burada olduğunu anlatmak için bu adımlar atılmaktadır ve atılacaktır, bunlara da, kusura bakmasınlar, bir muhafazakar demokrat iktidar olarak bizler müdahil olmak durumundayız. Bu, yaşam tarzına müdahale değildir, kimse bu şekilde yorulmasın. Ha, yorumlayanlar varsa buyursunlar yorumlasınlar, onlar yine o şekilde aynen devam etsinler. Ama biz böyle bir sorumluluğun manen altına giremeyiz, bunu bir defa herkes böyle bilmeli. Yani AK Parti'nin kimliğinde, programında böyle bir sorumluluğun altına girmek değerli arkadaşlar, yok. Ve bunu da bu şekilde buradan ilan ediyorum, şahsen bulunduğum makam, değerler asla buna müsaade etmez. Çünkü ben bir Başbakan olarak bu Anadolu'nun topraklarını bilen, bu ülkede annelerin, babaların kahir ekseriyetinin bu işlere asla müsaade etmeyeceğini bilen bir insanım. Çünkü damdan düşen bir insanım, nerede nasıl nidaların, seslerin yükseldiğini bilen bir insanım ve bunun şikayetini de sürekli dinleyen bir insan olarak bu işte biz kararlı adım atmaya mecburuz.

APPENDIX G

TURKISH SUMMARY

Giriş

Toplumsal cinsiyet, söylem ve ideoloji arasındaki ilişkinin incelenmesi birçok disiplin içerisinde toplumsal cinsiyet araştırmalarının merkezini oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışma da temel olarak toplumsal cinsiyet ve söylem arasındaki ilişkiyi irdeleme amacını gütmektedir. Toplumsal cinsiyetin söylemlerde üretimi, yeniden üretimi, kalıcılaştırılması ve ideoloji ile kurduğu girift ilişki bu çalışmanın temel sorularını teşkil etmektedir. Söylemler, toplumsal cinsiyetin dilde (yeniden) üretimi, ideolojik olarak oluşturulan toplumsal normlar ve bu normları geçerli kılmak için kullanılan sosyal ve dilsel stratejilerin en görünür olduğu etkileşim alanlarıdır. Politik söylemler ise, toplumsal cinsiyetin oluşumunda ideolojinin nasıl bir rol oynadığını; güç, ideoloji ve toplumsal cinsiyetin karşılıklı etkileşimini ve bu etkileşim sonucunda ortaya çıkan cinsiyete dayalı ayırım, eşitsizlik ve tahakküm gibi sosyal pratikleri keşfedebilmek için incelenebilecek en somut örnekleri içermektedirler. Bu bağlamda, çalışma iktidar ideolojileri ve söylemleri arasındaki ilişkiyi ve bu söylemlerin sosyo-kültürel cinsiyet normlarını ve pratiklerini nasıl meşru kıldığını keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu hedef doğrultusunda, Türkiye’de iktidar düzeyindeki politik söylemlerde bir toplumsal cinsiyet olarak kadınlığın dilsel temsillerini, söylemsel (discursive) ve sosyo-politik inşasını kadın bedenine yönelik ayrımcı iktidar politikaları özelinde, feminist bir perspektifle incelenmektedir. Araştırma sorularına cevap bulmak amacıyla çalışmada, söylemin kuramsal ve analitik arka planı, ideoloji ve güç bağlamında söylem kavramı merkeze alınarak tartışılmıştır. Aynı şekilde, toplumsal cinsiyet ve söylem arasındaki ilişkiyi irdeleyen kuramsal ve analitik yaklaşımlar ele alınmıştır. Ardından, çalışmada iktidar söylemlerinin temsilcisi olarak seçilen Türkiye Başbakanı’nın 2012-2013 yıllarında yapmış olduğu konuşmalar toplanmış,

çalışmanın hedefine uygun olacak konuşma tür ve içerikleri belirlenmiş, belirlenen kıstaslara göre seçilen konuşmalara eleştirel söylem analizi ve derleme-dayalı veri analizi uygulanmıştır. Marksist ve post-yapısalcı söylem teorilerinden etkilenecek ortaya çıkan eleştirel söylem analizi çerçevesinde, Fairclough'un üç katmanlı eleştirel söylem analizi, Wodak'ın tarihsel söylem analizi ve Van Leeuwen'in sosyal aktörlerin temsil analizi modelleri ile derlem temelli analiz modeli çalışmada bir araya getirilmiştir. Çalışmada kullanılan eleştirel söylem analizi modelleri söylemde var olan toplumsal cinsiyet yapılarının nasıl pekiştirildiği, cinsiyet normlarının nasıl oluşturulduğu ve bu normların hangi stratejilerle meşru / gayri meşru kılındığının araştırılmasına yardımcı olurken, derlem temelli analiz ise cinsiyetlendirilmiş toplumsal rollerin inşasında dilin sistematik ve belirli yapıları içerecek biçimde kullanılıp kullanılmadığını incelemiştir. Bu metodolojik çerçeve yardımıyla, çalışma Türkiye'deki iktidara ait politik söylemlerde kadına karşı ayrımcı pratiklerin üretildiğini ve teşvik edildiğini önermekte ve bu pratiklerin dildeki temsillerine ışık tutmayı hedeflemektedir.

Kuramsal Çerçeve

Söylem ve Eleştirel Söylem Analizi

Tezin bu bölümünde, söylem kavramının farklı disiplinlerde ve aynı disiplin içerisinde farklı ekollerde nasıl tanımlandığı tartışılmıştır. Söylemin ideoloji ile yakın ilişki ve etkileşimi, güç ilişkilerinin ve ideolojinin söylemde nasıl görünür kılındığı ve son olarak çalışmanın araştırma yöntemi olan eleştirel söylem analizi ile ilgili önemli noktalar mercek altına alınmıştır. Söylemin dilbilimsel yaklaşımlarla yorumlanması eleştirelilik kriterine bağlı olarak iki ayrı kategoride incelenebilir. Söylemin kavramsallaştırılmasında eleştirel bakış açısını benimsemeyen geleneksel dilbilim yaklaşımlarında söylem, (i) cümle veya yan cümlenin üzerindeki dil birimi ve (ii) bağlam içerisinde ve/ya sosyal pratiklerde kullanılan ifadeler bütünü olarak tanımlanmaktadır. İlk tanım, söylemin biçimsel özelliklerine vurgu yaparken, ikinci tanım dilin bağlamsal anlamının önemini de göz önünde bulundurmaktadır. Geleneksel dilbilim içerisinde, biçimden uzaklaşıp

bağlama yakınlaşan anlamı ile söylem, biçimsel analizlerin yanında, dilin iletişimsel amaçlarını ve kullanıldığı bağlamın önemini araştıran analizleri de kapsamaktadır. Fakat bu yaklaşımlar söylemin ideolojik boyutunu göz ardı etmekte ve söyleme eleştirel bir bakış açısı getirmemektedirler. Söylemi eleştirel olarak irdeleyen dilbilimsel yaklaşımlar ise, söylemi metin analizi boyutundan öteye taşıyarak çok boyutlu ve disiplinlerarası bir yaklaşımı benimser ve sosyal, tarihsel, politik süreçlerin söylemin oluşumundaki etkilerini de düşünerek tanımlar. Bu yaklaşımlara göre söylem, anlamları inşa eden, kalıcı hale getiren ya da değiştiren sosyal, kültürel ve politik pratikler bütünü ve anlamlar sistemidir. Söylemler ideolojileri görünür kılan, ideolojilerin en net şekilde ifade edildiği etkileşim alanlarıdır. Bu noktada, ideoloji ve söylem arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkiyi detaylandırmak faydalı olacaktır. Eleştirel söylem yaklaşımları, ideolojiyi sosyal olarak paylaşılan ve maddi bir varlığı olan bilişsel/sosyal/söylemsel inanç sistemleri olarak görürler. Söylemler ise bu inanç sistemlerinin hem yansıtıldığı hem de oluşturulduğu yegâne noktalardır. Dilin belirli şekillerde kullanımları, söylemsel pratiklerin uygulanması güç ilişkilerinin ideolojik inşası ve dönüşümünde son derece etkilidir. Bu anlamda söylemler ideolojik yapılarıdır. İdeolojinin dilde temsil edilmesi ve aynı zamanda dil tarafından inşa edilmesine dayanan bu diyalektik ilişki, eleştirel söylem teorilerinin temelini oluşturmaktadır. Bu ilişki, aynı zamanda, ideolojilerin söylem içerisinde üretilip meşrulaşabilmeleri için bir takım söylemsel stratejilerin kullanılması gerektiğini ön görür. Van Dijk'e göre ideolojik yapılar söylemlerin anlam, biçim, bağlam, retorik ve eylem gibi parçalarında ortaya çıkabilirler (2006). Bu doğrultuda, eleştirel bir perspektif, ideoloji ve güç ilişkilerinin sosyal, kültürel, politik ve söylemsel dinamiklerini kavramak için en önemli etmendir.

Foucault'un söylem teorisi, eleştirel söylem analizi yöntemlerinin ve bu çalışmada benimsenen söylem tanımının kaynağını oluşturmaktadır. Foucault'ya göre söylem, güç, bilgi ve gerçeklik arasında çok yakın bir ilişki bulunmaktadır. Söylem, yalnızca gücü/bilgiyi/gerçekliği aktaran, temsil

eden, yansıtan araç işlevini yerine getirmez. Aynı zamanda, bu kavramları üreten ve yapılandıran aktif bir role de sahiptir. Bu yönü ile söylem, kavramların anlamlarını, algılanış şekillerini ve sınırlarını belirler. Söylemi üretenlerin de söylemin etkilerinin dışında kalmaları mümkün değildir. Benzer şekilde, güç kavramı da Foucault'un söylem kavramını önemli derecede etkilemiştir. Foucault'ya göre güç, sadece bir grubun diğer bir grup üzerinde uyguladığı basit bir baskı aracından çok daha fazlasıdır ve karmaşık bir doğaya sahiptir. Güç dinamik, esnek ve üretkendir. Gücün uygulanması beraberinde karşı koyuşu da getirir. Bu sebeple güç olumsuz bir baskı aracı değil, aksine direnişi ortaya çıkaran bir kavramdır. Söylem ise Foucault tarafından "gücün etkileri" olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Söylem, gücün aracı olmaktan çok bireyin güce direndiği aktif pratiklerdir. Foucault'un güç, bilgi, gerçeklik ve söylem arasında kurduğu ilişki, metne yönelik söylem analizi için yeni bir kapı açmıştır.

Eleştirel söylem analizi, söylemin sosyal boyutunu en üst sıraya taşıyarak, metin analizi ile birlikte metinler üzeri bir analiz gerçekleştiren teorik ve analitik bir yaklaşımdır. Metin odaklı söylem analizi yaklaşımlarının aksine, eleştirel söylem analizi, söylemi oluşturan tarihi, kültürel, sosyal ve politik etkilerle yakından ilgilenir. Güç yapılarının ve ideolojinin söylemde nasıl yer bulduğunu; baskı, eşitsizlik, tahakküm gibi kavramların söylem aracılığı ile nasıl uygulandığını araştırır. Geleneksel dilbilim içerisinde yer alan söylem analizi metotlarından farklı olarak, eleştirel söylem analizi objektif veya tarafsız bir pozisyon almayı tercih etmez. Aksine, açık bir şekilde üzerinde baskı kurulan, güç uygulanan grupların yanında yer alır ve baskının söylemde inşasını karşıt bir göz ile irdeler. Söylemin en önemli özelliği, ideolojiyi barındırması ve güç ilişkilerini gizlemek, meşrulaştırmak, doğallaştırmak için kullanılmasıdır. Eleştirel söylem analizine göre söylem, hem sosyal olarak şekillendirilmiş hem de bilgiyi, gerçekliği ve özneyi oluşturan üretken ve aktif bir yapıdır. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) söylemin temel özelliklerini aşağıdaki şekilde özetler: (a) Eleştirel söylem analizi sosyal problemleri irdeler, (b) güç ilişkileri söylemseldir, (c) söylem, toplum

ve kültürü tesis eder, (d) söylem ideolojik olarak çalışır, (e) söylem tarihseldir, (f) metin ve toplum arasındaki ilişki makro olanla mikro olan arasındaki ilişkidir, (g) söylem çözümlemesi yorumlayıcı ve açıklayıcıdır, (h) söylem bir sosyal eylem biçimidir (p. 353).

Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Söylem

Toplumsal cinsiyet, sosyal ve kültürel olarak belirlenmiş cinsiyet rolleri olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Biyolojik olarak belirlenmiş cinsiyet, kadın ve erkek arasındaki fiziksel ve anatomik farklılıklara dayanırken, toplumsal olarak belirlenmiş cinsiyet ise kadın ve erkeğe biyolojik farklılıklarından dolayı farklı toplumsal roller ve sorumluluklar yükler. Bu toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri, cinsiyetler arasında sosyal, kültürel ve psikolojik olarak oluşturulmuş yapay bir ayrımın ortaya çıkmasına sebep olur. Biyolojik ve toplumsal cinsiyet arasındaki bu ayrım, erken feminist tartışmalar içerisinde önemli bir yere sahiptir. İkinci dalga feminist hareket olarak bilinen feminist karşı kültür ve özgürleşme akımı, kadına yüklenmiş toplumsal cinsiyet normlarını sosyal, kültürel, politik ve ideolojik birer yapı olarak irdelemiştir. İkinci dalga feminizm, bu yapıların geçerliliklerini sorgulamış ve dayatılan geleneksel rolleri reddederek mevcut toplumsal cinsiyet algılarına alternatif politikalar geliştirmek için mücadele etmiştir. Modernist feminist hareket ve teoriler, cinsiyetin doğal olmayan ve toplumsal olarak inşa edilen bir yapılar bütünü olduğunu keşfederek, cinsiyet algılarının değişmesine ve yeni bakış açıları geliştirilmesine önemli katkılarda bulunmuşlardır. Buna rağmen, biyolojik cinsiyeti değişmez, sabit ve doğal yapılar olarak kabul edip bu kavramı yeterince sorgulamamaları sebebiyle post modern feministler tarafından eleştirilmişlerdir. Bu noktada Butler'ın cinsiyet teorisinden bahsetmek faydalı olacaktır. Post-modern feminist düşüncenin en önemli isimlerinden olan Butler biyolojik cinsiyetin değişmez bir gerçek olarak ele alınmasına, yalnızca ikicil bir biyolojik cinsiyet sisteminin varlığının kabul edilmesine ve biyolojik cinsiyet ile toplumsal cinsiyet arasında bir nedensellik ilişkisi kurulmasına karşı çıkar. Butler'a göre cinsiyet zaman içerisinde sürekli tekrar eden eylemlerden oluşan bir performanstır. Bu doğrultuda, biyolojik cinsiyet

doğal, sabit ya da değişmez değildir, aksine tekrar eden eylemlerin ortaya çıkardığı birer taklitten ibarettir. Bu çalışmada da toplumsal cinsiyetin sosyal düzenlemeler ile sosyal, kültürel, politik ve ideolojik olarak inşa edilen yapılar bütünü ve sürekli tekrar edilen eylemlerin ortaya çıkardığı bir performans ve etki olduğu kabul edilmektedir.

Dil ve toplumsal cinsiyet arasındaki ilişki ise dilbilim disiplini içerisinde özellikle son dönemlerde yoğun olarak araştırılmaktadır. Bu araştırmalar, toplumdilbilim, feminist dilbilim ve söylemsel dilbilim olmak üzere üç temel ekseninde yürütülmektedir. Feminist dilbilim öncesi dilbilim araştırmalarında cinsiyet büyük ölçekli araştırmalarda sosyolinguistik bir değişken olarak incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmalarda biyolojik cinsiyetin konuşma biçimlerinde bir etken olup olmadığı ve cinsiyetlerin dil kullanımlarındaki farklılıklar araştırılmıştır. Daha sonraki araştırmalar ise feminist bir perspektifi benimseyerek cinsiyetlendirilmiş dil üzerine odaklanmıştır. Erken dönem feminist dilbilim çalışmalarında kadınların dili, kadın ve erkek dilleri arasındaki farklar ve bu farkları yaratan sosyo-kültürel sebepler detaylı bir biçimde betimlenmiş ve sorgulanmıştır. Bu dönem çalışmaları yetersizlik, baskınlık ve farklılık modelleri olmak üzere üç temel kuramsal kategoride tartışılmıştır. Baskınlık ve farklılık kuramları, kadınların dilini erkek diline oranla eksik olarak betimleyen yetersizlik kuramına tepki olarak doğmuşlardır. Baskınlık kuramında, kadınların dilinde noksan olduğu düşünülen özelliklerin ataerkil toplum yapısından kaynaklandığına dikkat çekilmiştir. Farklılık kuramı ise kadınların diline diğer iki teoriden daha olumlu bir tavır ile yaklaşarak, kadın dilini eksik ya da üzerinde baskı kurulan bir yapı olarak değil, erkek dilinden farklı kültürel bir sermaye sonucunda ortaya çıkmış önemli bir ürün olarak benimsemişlerdir. İkinci dalga feminist özgürleşme hareketinin de yoğun etkisi ile 1970'ler ve sonrasında feminist dilbilim araştırmaları cinsiyetçi dil sistemleri, erkek-egemen dil ve yine kadınların dili konularına odaklanmıştır. Dilbilim çalışmalarında söylem kavramının önem kazanmaya başlaması ile birlikte feminist dil araştırmaları yeni bir boyut kazanmıştır. Feminist dil araştırmalarında dilden söyleme

geçiş, beraberinde metodolojik ve kuramsal farklılıkları da getirmiştir. Önceki araştırmalar dildeki cinsiyetçi ifadeleri toplayıp belgelerken, söylemsel dilbilim araştırmaları metinlerin hangi cinsiyetçi faktörlerin etkisiyle üretildiğini ortaya koymuştur. Söylemsel dilbilim, söylemi güç ve bilgi sistemleri olarak ele almış ve böylece toplumsal cinsiyetin dil içerisinde ideoloji, politika ve güç bağlamında inşasının neden ve sonuçlarını ortaya çıkarmak için çaba harcamıştır. Toplumsal cinsiyetin söylemsel dilbilim geleneğinde araştırılmasında en sık kullanılan yöntem eleştirel söylem analizidir. Ayrıca, eleştirel söylem analizi başlığı altında inceleyebileceğimiz feminist eleştirel söylem analizi ve post-yapısalcı söylem analizi yöntemleri de, eleştirel söylem analizinin temel prensiplerini feminist bir odak noktasında uygulamaktadırlar. Bu iki yöntem, çok geniş çaplı bir sosyo-politik içeriğe sahip olan eleştirel söylem analizini, feminizm özelinde yeniden yapılandırarak feminist dilbilim araştırmaları için daha elverişli hale getirmişlerdir. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma da feminist eleştirel söylem analizi ve post-yapısalcı söylem analizinin vurguladığı söylemin feminist bir bakış açısı ile eleştirel analizinin yapılması çabasını paylaşmakta ve bu yöntemlerin temel kuramsal ve metodolojik ilkelerine bağlı kalmaktadır.

Metodolojik Çerçeve

Bu çalışma, kadınlara yüklenen toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin politik söylemlerde inşası, yeniden üretimi, doğallaştırılması ve kalıcılaştırılmasında kullanılan dilsel yapılar, söylemsel stratejiler ve sosyo-politik argümanları eleştirel söylem analizi çerçevesinde inceleyip ortaya çıkarmayı hedeflemektedir. Kadınlık rollerinin iktidar düzeyinde politik söylemlerde üretiminde kullanılan söylemsel stratejiler; kadınlara hitap edilen ve kadınlardan bahsedilen söylemlerin temel içerikleri ve konuları; söylemlerde kadınlara atfedilen roller; farklı söylemler arasındaki karşılıklı ilişki ve etkileşim; sosyal aktörlerin dilsel, söylemsel ve sosyal rolleri; kadınlık kategorilerinin inşasında kullanılan sözcüksel öğeler; neo-liberal ve muhafazakar ideolojilerin kadınlığın söylemde üretimine etkileri bu araştırmanın temel sorularını teşkil etmektedir. Bu soruları cevaplamak amacı

ile Türkiye’de 2002 yılından buyana iktidar partisi olan Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi’nin genel başkanı ve Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın 2012-2013 yıllarında yaptığı resmi konuşmalar derlenmiş ve incelemeye tabi tutulmuştur.

Çalışmada farklı yöntemlerin bir araya getirildiği üç aşamalı eklektik bir araştırma çerçevesi kullanılmıştır. Birinci aşamada, söylemlerin tarihsel ve bağlamsal arka planını betimlemek amacıyla Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi’nin kısa tarihi, tartışılan toplumsal cinsiyet politikaları ve feminist düşünceye getirdikleri bakış açısı anlatılmış ve kadınlara dayatılan toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri parti politikaları bağlamında tartışılmıştır. İkinci aşamada ise, derlem temelli bir analiz benimsenerek, kadınlığın inşası ve temsilinde tercih edilen temel dil yapıları, sözcüksel öğeler ve morfolojik özellikler incelenmiştir. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın iki yıllık bir süreçte yapmış olduğu resmi konuşmalar, parti internet sitesi ve Cihan Haber Ajansı arşivlerinde taranarak, toplam 132 konuşma elde edilmiş ve bu konuşmalar MAXQDA 11 nitel veri analizi yazılımında toplanarak, küçük ölçekli bir derlem oluşturulmuştur. Kadınları adlandırmak ve nitelenmek için kullanılan sözcükler derlem içerisinde araştırılmış, bu sözcüklerin biçimsel özellikleri incelenmiş ve elde edilen bulgular feminist bir perspektif ile yorumlanmıştır. Analizin son aşamasında ise, derlemede yer verilen 132 konuşma içerisinden içerik, seyirci profili gibi etmenler göz önünde bulundurularak 6 konuşma seçilmiş ve bu konuşmalar daha detaylı bir eleştirel söylem analizine tabi tutulmuşlardır. Eleştirel söylem analizi çerçevesinde her bir konuşma, söylemlerarasılık (söylemlerarasılık, metinlerarasılık,); sosyal aktörlerin ve eylemlerin rol dağılımları (geçişlilik analizi) açısından incelenmiştir. Son olarak, konuşmalardan elde edilen dilsel bulgular sosyo-politik bir açıdan yorumlanmıştır.

Bulgular ve Tartışma

Araştırmanın ilk aşaması olan tarihsel ve politik bağlamın yorumlanması noktasında ilk olarak AKP’nin kuruluşu, katıldığı seçimler, aldığı seçim sonuçları gibi bilgiler gözden geçirilmiştir. Partinin ideolojik görüşleri, temel

siyasi eğilimleri ve bunların yer bulduğu söylemlere değinilerek, bu görüşlerin partinin toplumsal cinsiyet ve kadın politikaları ile ne şekilde etkileşime girdiği tartışılmıştır. Parti programında kadına yönelik iyileştirmelerin yer aldığı, fakat partinin neo-liberal ve muhafazakar kimliğinin kadınlar üzerindeki politikaların bir çoğunda etkili olduğu görülmüştür. Bu doğrultuda, AKP'nin kadın politikalarının neo-liberal/muhafazakar bir ittifak çerçevesinde şekillendiği ve yine bu politikalar aracılığı ile devletin kadın üzerinde ataerkil bir hakimiyet kurmaya yönelik olduğu belirtilmiştir. Parti politikalarında özellikle kadın bedenine yönelik kısıtlama ve kontrol hedeflerinin ön planda tutulduğu dile getirilmiştir.

Veri analizinin ikinci bölümünde, derlem temelli bir araştırma yöntemi benimsenmiştir. Başbakan Erdoğan'ın konuşmalarından oluşan derlemde, öncelikle konuşmaların detaylı okunup taranması ile elde edilen adlandırma sözcüklerinin sıklık analizi yapılmıştır. Bu analiz sonucunda, kadınların adlandırılmasında en sık kullanılan sözcükten en nadir kullanılan sözcüğe uzanan sıralamada, *kadın* sözcüğünün 596 tekrar sıklığı ile en çok tercih edilen sözcük olduğu bulunmuştur. Bu sıralamayı 387 tekrar ile *anne* sözcüğü, 235 tekrar ile *hanım* sözcüğü, 230 tekrar ile *kız* sözcüğü, 70 tekrar ile *eş* sözcüğü ve 28 tekrar ile *bayan* sözcüğü takip etmiştir. *Kadın*, *anne*, *hanım* ve *kız* sözcükleri derlemde hem ek almış hem de çok-sözcüklü ifadeler halinde bulunurken, *eş* ve *bayan* sözcükleri ise yalnızca ek almış halleri ile bulunmuşlardır. Derlemde en sık rastlanan çok sözcüklü birimler ise *hanım kardeşlerimiz*, *kız çocuk*, *hanımefendiler*, *kadın kolları* ve *dünya kadınlar günü* ifadeleri olmuştur. Derlem analizinden elde edilen temel bulgular, belirli sistematik dil kullanımlarının varlığını ispatlamıştır. Derlemde kadınları adlandırmak için kullanılan sözcüklerin büyük oranda birinci tekil ya da birinci çoğul iyelik eki aldıkları, dolayısıyla bir sahiplik durumunu oluşturdukları gözlemlenmiştir. Ayrıca, sözcüklere kadın cinselliği temel alınarak anlamlar yüklendiği ve bu sözcüklerin kullanımında keskin bir ayrımın var olduğu tespit edilmiştir. *Kadın* sözcüğü sadece evli ve/ya çocuk sahibi kadınları adlandırırken, evli olmayan çocuk ya da erişkin kadınlar *kız*

sözcüğü ile nitelendirilmiştir. Bu noktada, kadın cinselliğinin devlet tarafından ancak evlilik içinde meşru görüldüğü tespiti yapmak yanlış olmayacaktır. Bir diğer bulgu ise, *hanım* sözcüğünün biz-grupları oluşturmak için kullanıldığı ve parti içerisinde yer alan ya da destekçisi olan kadınları nitelemek ve onlara hitap etmek için kullanıldığı görülmüştür. Özetlemek gerekirse, sözcüklerin yalın, ek almış ve çok-sözlü biçimlerinin ideolojik olarak anlamlandırıldığı ve kullanıldığı çalışmada ortaya çıkmıştır.

Araştırmanın üçüncü aşamasında ise seçilen konuşmaların eleştirel söylem analizi çerçevesinde incelemeleri yapılmış, özellikle söylemlerarasılık ve sosyal aktör/eylemlerin rolleri üzerinde durulmuştur. Konuşmaların söylemlerarasılık ve metinlerarasılık analizleri sonucunda, altı konuşmanın da benzer konu örgüsü, konu sıralamaları ve söylemlere sahip oldukları görülmüştür. Konuşmaların her biri merkeze aile kurumunun kutsallığını bildiren aile söylemini almakta; bu söylemi anneliğin önemini açıklayan annelik söylemi takip etmektedir. Devamında kürtaj, sezaryen ve doğum kontrol yöntemlerinin zarar ve tehlikelerine vurgu yapan kürtaj söylemi annelik söylemini haklılaştırmak için sunulmakta; ekonomi ve genç nüfus söylemleri ise anneliğin gereklilik sebepleri olarak konuşmalarda yer bulmaktadır. Son olarak bütün bu söylemler demokrasi ve özgürlük söylemi ile çevrelenmektedir. Her bir söylem, bir diğer söylemi meşrulaştırmak, doğallaştırmak, kalıcılaştırmak ya da gayri meşrulaştırmak, geçersiz kılmak ve ortadan kaldırmak amaçları ile karşılıklı etkileşim halinde kullanılmıştır. Ayrıca, dini hikâyeler, metinler, örnekler ve kişilere yapılan atıflar, konuşmalar ile din arasında sürekli bir metinlerarasılık ilişkisinin kurulmasını sağlamıştır. Metinlerarasılık da söylemlerarasılık kavramına benzer şekilde, konuşmalardaki söylemleri geçerli kılmak ve meşrulaştırmak amacıyla sıkça kullanılmıştır.

Söylemlerde sosyal aktör ve eylemlerin rollerinin dağılımı ise önemli bulguların ortaya çıkmasını sağlamıştır. Söylemlerde yer bulan sosyal aktörler *biz, bunlar, onlar* şahıs zamirleri ile; *kadın, erkek, anne, baba, insan, öğrenci, kız* cins isimleri ile; *aile, nüfus* topluluk isimleri ile ve son olarak

muhafazakarlar, feministler ideolojik adlandırmalarla nitelenmişlerdir. Bu adlandırmalarda öne çıkan strateji konuşmaların *biz-onlar* karşıtlığı ekseninde tutulması ve biz-grubu ile marjinal-öteki grupları arasındaki ayrımın sürekli olarak vurgulanmasıdır. Sosyal aktörler, söylemlerde ya istenen eylemleri yerine getiren ve biz-grubu içerisinde yer alan kişiler ya da kabul edilemez eylemlerin aktörü olan tehlikeli ve marjinal ötekiler olarak konumlandırılmışlardır. Söylemlerde kadınlara verilen annelik ve eş olma rolleri sürekli ön plana çıkarılırken, bu rolleri benimsemeyen kadınlar da karşıt grupta konumlandırılarak, öteki olarak nitelenmiştir. Sosyal aktörlerin rollerinin dağılımının irdelenmesinde geçişlilik analizi kullanılmıştır. Aktörün yapısal olarak cümlede konumlandırıldığı konum ve aktörün dilbilgisel rolü, sosyal rolünün de anlaşılmasına büyük ölçüde yardımcı olmuştur. Konuşmalarda kadınlar çoğunlukla eylemden etkilenen nesne ve eylemin amacı rolü ile cümlede yer bulurken; iktidar partisi ve Erdoğan eyleme karar veren, eylemi yerine getirme yetkisine sahip özne konumunda yer bulmuştur. Kadınların özne rolü ile cümlede konumlandırılma durumlarında ise, annelik rollerinin pekiştirilmesi amacı güdülmektedir. Geçişlilik analizinde, özne ve nesneleştirilenin yanısıra, sosyal aktörleri gizleme, pasif cümle yapısı kullanma gibi tekniklerin de kullanıldığı dikkat çekmiştir. Aktörler gibi, eylemler de söylemlerde çeşitli anlam yüklemeleri ile sunulmuş ve dilbilgisel olarak cümlede çeşitli amaçlar için kullanılmışlardır. *Evlilik, ekonomi, emek, sermaye, tüketim, yatırım, üretim, kürtaj, sezaryen* ve *öğrenci evlerinde barınma* söylemlerde en sık bahsedilen sosyal eylemleri oluşturmaktadırlar. Kürtaj, sezaryen ve karma öğrenci evlerinde barınma eylemleri söylemlerde negatif anlamlara bürünürken, diğer eylemlerin söylemler boyunca teşvik edildiği ve meşrulaştırıldığı gözlemlenmiştir.

Sosyo-politik analiz sonucunda elde edilen bulgularsa, iktidar partisinin cinsiyet ayrımcı politikaları desteklediğini ve dile getirdiğini doğrulamaktadır. Kadın, bir yanda belirli haklara sahip bir vatandaş olarak söylemde ve sosyal hayatta yer bulmakta, diğer yanda ise sadece kadına özel

olarak düzenlenmiş cinsiyet politikalarının doğrudan hedefi olmaktadır. Kadınların annelik rolü sürekli pekiştirilmekte ve bu rolün gerekliliği vurgulanmaktadır. Anneliğin, genç nüfus üretimini sağlayacağı, bunun ise ekonomik sistemdeki işgücü ihtiyacını karşılayacağı dile getirilerek, kadınların esas görevinin ulusun devamını sağlamak ve neo-liberal ekonomi politikaları doğrultusunda ihtiyaç duyulan insan işgücünü üretmek olduğunun altı çizilmektedir. Neo-liberal ve muhafazakar ideolojilerin devletin ataerkil yapısına katkıda bulunarak, kadınlar üzerindeki denetimi arttıran güçlü bir ittifak oluşturdukları çalışmada öne sürülen bir diğer savdır Kadınların üreme kapasiteleri, söylemlerden de anlaşılacağı üzere, çeşitli politikalar ve yasalar ile devlet kontrolü ve gözetimi altına alınmaktadır. Kadın cinselliği ve bedeninin kontrolü bu politikaların birincil hedefini teşkil etmektedir. Kadınlar, söylemlerde, ulusun, ekonomik kalkınmanın, nüfusun ve ailenin biyolojik yeniden üreticisi olarak temsil edilmektedir.

APPENDIX H

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Erdoğan
Adı : Yasemin
Bölümü : İngiliz Dili Eğitimi

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

Discursive Construction and Linguistic Representations of Gender in Political Discourses: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Governmental Public Addresses in Turkey

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
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