

WOMEN’S WRITINGS UNDER STATE FEMINISM IN TURKEY: AN
ANALYSIS “KADIN GAZETESİ” FROM 1947 TO 1960

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Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Ayata
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aslı Çırakman Deveci
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Elif Ekin Akşit Vural (ANKARA, SBK) _____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aslı Çırakman Deveci (METU, ADM) _____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Canan Aslan Akman (METU, ADM) _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : Melike GÜNGÖR

Signature:

ABSTRACT

WOMEN’S WRITINGS UNDER STATE FEMINISM IN TURKEY: AN ANALYSIS OF “KADIN GAZETESİ” FROM 1947 TO 1960

Güngör, Melike

Master of Science

Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof.Dr. Aslı Çırakman Devenci

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This thesis analyzes a woman’s journal called ‘*Kadın Gazetesi*’ in relation with the concept of state feminism. The study is based on an analysis of the issues of the journal published from 1947 to 1960. This thesis investigates how the journal described the images of women in relation to the prevailing hegemonic discourse on womanhood. Thus, the main intention of the study is to discuss the meanings of women’s portrayals in the journal with historical changes resulted to the dominant effect of state feminism upon women’s movement in Turkey. The relationship between nation and gender, the effects of Republican principles on Turkish woman’s status are key points of the study. As a consequence, in light of these objects, it is contended that the journal created a woman’s agenda and discourse under state feminism and thus was confined to reproducing existed roles assigned to women.

Keywords: State Feminism, Kadın Gazetesi, Women’s Movement in Turkey

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE’DEKİ DEVLET FEMİNİZMİNİN ETKİSİ ALTINDAKİ KADIN YAZINI: 1947’DEN 1960’A “KADIN GAZETESİ” ÜZERİNE BİR ANALİZ

Güngör, Melike

Yüksek Lisans

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Bu tez ‘*Kadın Gazetesi*’ adındaki kadın dergisini devlet feminizmi kavramıyla ilişki içinde analiz etmektedir. Bu çalışma derginin 1947’den 1960’a kadar basılan sayılarını esas almaktadır. Bu tez derginin kadın imajlarını kadınlığa dair hegemonik söylem ile ilişki içinde nasıl tarif ettiğini incelemektedir. Bu nedenle çalışmanın temel amacı kadınların dergideki resmedilişlerinin anlamını Türkiye’deki kadın yazınının tarihine bu alandaki değişimleri takip etmek için yer vermektedir. Millet ile toplumsal cinsiyet arasındaki ilişki, Cumhuriyet’in ilkelerinin Türk kadınının konumu üzerindeki etkileri. Sonuç olarak, bu amaçlar ışığında derginin devlet feminizmi etkisi altında bir kadın gündemi ve söylemi oluşturduğu dolayısıyla kadınlara atfedilen rolleri yeniden üretmekle sınırlı kaldığı gözlenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Devlet Feminizmi, Kadın Gazetesi, Türkiye’de Kadın Hareketi

To All Women in My Life
Especially to My Grandmother, Mother and Sister

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on *Kadın Gazetesi* which was published from 1947 to 1979 in Turkey, with total of 1,125 issues. The aim of this study is to analyse the representations of women in the journal in relation with political factors which historically influences the women's movement in Turkey such as nationalism, modernity, state feminism. My investigation focuses on the period from 1947 to 1960. *Kadın Gazetesi* comes to the forefront among other women's publication of this period because among them only *Kadın Gazetesi* closely was involved with political arguments. Also the authors in the journal such as Şükufe Nihal and İffet Halim Oruz took part in early years of women's movement in Republic and they were really active in women's struggle for political rights. Thus, to investigate the effects of those women and of early years of the Republic due to transformation of women's movement seems crucial.

After the 1960s it is observed that the journal turned to reporting news about political and daily events. Thus issues of the journal published after the 1960s did not provide us with insights into political arguments about women's struggles. Yet, the remaining issues of the journal were also significant for the study. With regards to those issues it could be better to draw the big picture of the journal's coverage. In other terms, those could give us more detailed knowledge about the journal's vision.

The study is confined to this period to observe how the journal depicted women's images. Within findings about women's images in the journal we could consider what kind of political factors influenced those images. Moreover, the question how women's images are depicted by the journal indicates historical transformations of

arguments on women's status in Turkey. Indeed, with the foundation of the Republic of Turkey reforms made significant changes in women's legal status. It means a shift with regards to social construction of Turkey. Also the process of modernization began with Tanzimat influenced debates on women's positions deeply.

The period of the journal is under study significant because the early years of the Republic introduced in significant changes in the women's status by means of the Kemalist Reforms. This period enables us to see which arguments dominated the woman's question. After the early years of the Reform, the women's movement of Turkey was entrenched with regards to the patriarchy reshaped by the Republic. In light of political and cultural alterations of the new regime, social roles and sexual identities were reinterpreted by means of ideological apparatuses of the Republic. In 1950 *Demokrat Parti* came into power and thus multi-party system began in Turkey. Increasing agricultural investments, economic regulations inciting foreign enterprise, rising right-wing populism within excessive emphasis on the national will and pluralism were foremost developments during *Demokrat Parti*'s governance. On the other hand, in the early 1950s the migration from rural to urban was the most significant factor of this period. Many peasants migrated to rural to urban to find job in developing industry.¹ According to Kandiyoti, the migration led to dramatic shift in the society such that different forms of families based on different familial relations emerged.² That points to significant alteration for gender roles. Sancar defines the period from 1945 to 1965 as 'conservative modernization'. Because, factors which had been determined as 'modern' in the previous period remained along the same line. Moreover, while first period of the Republic tried to embed modern values and to draw lines to this modernity embodied in women's images, in this period those limitations became deep-seated social arrangements. In other words, both conservatives and Republican elites focuses on the women's social conduct,

¹ Zürcher E. (2004). *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*. İstanbul: İletişim. p.329.

² Kandiyoti D. (2011). Ataerkil Örüntüler: Türk Toplumunda Erkek Egemenliğinin Çözümlemesine Yönelik Notlar In D.Kandiyoti (Ed.). *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar*. İstanbul: Metis. p.193.

appearances and outfits.³ Along similar lines, Üstel described this period as ‘the construction of conservative citizenship’. Hierarchies in the family which had been built in the previous period, became the essence of conjugal relations. Therefore, women were defined within domestic duties and child-rearing in spite of activities in the public.⁴ As a result of those debates, we could claim that in the period from 1945 to 1965 familial hierarchies became entrenched by means of excessive emphasis on women’s motherhood, domestic duties and dependency to the private sphere. Therefore, social arrangements built with the Republican reforms could construct the middle-class family based on conservative and Republican values especially about women’s positioning. They address the issue of how women reproduced and reshaped the women’s images built by the effects of Reforms. Moreover, what kind of political arguments were effective on the reproduction and reshaping the eligible womanhood of the Republic is the other significant question of the study. The idea that the nation-state projects have strong ties with the gender regime has crucial role in this study. Those periods which led important shifts in nation states such as the foundation, reforms or wars provide us with insights into reconstruction of sex and sexual identities. Along these lines, the main object is to examine women’s categories represented in the journal. Furthermore, the study aims to follow to what extent these portrayals bear the heritage of the Republic on ideology and to examine the journal’s political vision under the effect of crucial ongoing debates around the notions of modern/traditional, nationalism, feminism, multi-party regime, women’s rights and suffrage. Those notions have profound effects on the women’s movement in Turkey with regards to the main political themes dominating the political history of Turkey. In light of these questions, the study investigates a wide variety of images of Turkish women covered in *Kadın Gazetesi*.

³ Sancar S. (2012). *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: Metis. p.232

⁴ Üstel F. (2005). *“Makbul Vatandaş”ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet’ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi*. İstanbul: İletişim. p.270

The study argues that women's journals are crucial constituents for demonstrating the communication among women. In this regard, *Kadın Gazetesi* appears as a significant case for having been published for a long period. The study analyses what kind of arguments and concepts the journal referred while discussing the social and political matters. Especially, during the late Ottoman Empire there were important women's journals which were read by a large number of women and thus women's movement gained strength through the printed media. Particularly, letters from women readers show the main complaints and demands dominated the women's communication of this period. However, *Kadın Gazetesi* didn't have column of letters from readers, they communicated with each other by means of charitable activities, organizations and meetings. Therefore, according to those women these activities were the crucial way of participating into the public.

In contrast to the women's journals in early years of the Republic, *Kadın Gazetesi* was not able to create vital argument platform for women. Besides, variety of political demands and debates in *Kadın Gazetesi* were not as radical as those had been published by the Republic. The available evidence suggests that women's movement in Turkey could lose its vitality by the Republic. The main theoretical premise behind this change is that state feminism which means the development of women's status by means of the state and frequently as a part of the national state policy. In Turkey, with the effect of modernization and 'state feminism' new Republic reached the level of modern democratic states.⁵ Hence, development of women's status with legal improvements were seen as a part of the country's image. In this context, because of close relationship with the official ideology of the Republic the women's organizations developed under effect of national ideals of nation-building process in Turkey. Besides, women in those organizations contributed to the nationalist ideology of the Republic.⁶ As a consequence, 'state feminism' could be defined as a part of ideology of the Republic to improve women's status with regards to the attempt to develop the position of Turkey. The

⁵ Durakbaşı A. (2000). *Halide Edip: Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*. İstanbul: İletişim. p.93.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 93.

existence of state feminism results in the difference between women's ideals and nationalist ideals of the Republic's ideology. Because the changes on women's status by means of the Reforms worked as a part of modernization process of the Republic. This leads to the profound effects of nationalist ideology on the women's movement in Turkey. As a result of state feminism, womanly issues were reshaped with the influence of national goals of the new regime.

Initially, within the modernization reforms in the Ottoman Empire new roles were ascribed to men and women, which regarded as a part of national development. Because, the image of being modern and civilized means the transformation of those roles of women and men which pointed to the reconstruction of patriarchy. But, while some elites supported social innovation through Westernization, some strictly opposed or hesitated about these changes. The opponents asserted worries about degeneration by losing national soul. Moreover, these worries about degeneration centred upon the positions of women. The concern about the dangers of modernity embodied in women's clothes, behaviours, education, relations and these became main issues of the conflict between modern reforms and traditions.

Women's existence became the symbols of the social progress, the degree of civilization and westernization. To this position, women's behaviours were justified by means of social limitations drawn by the balance between modern and tradition. In this regard, categorizing women was used for determination of the proper womanhood of the Republic. Republican elites discussed women's status in relation with modernization. In this respect, they categorized women to create an ideal woman image of the Republic. Categories such as modest women, extreme women, modern woman, and Anatolian woman point to different qualifications of this ideal woman. The underlying aim of categorizing women was to reshape with regards to nationalist goals. On the other hand, apart from the reality of those categories, political intentions building these categories are significant for demonstrating underlying reasons of forms of categories. Moreover, categories of women were derived from the political aim of the Republic to control upon women by means of

political references shaping those categories. *Kadın Gazetesi* follows this kind of tendency that gave advises to women about social necessities determined by means of the concept of the ideal woman of the Republic. Therefore, one of the main goals of the study is to examine why *Kadın Gazetesi* used those women's categories and which political ideas influenced this tendency. Moreover, social roles ascribed to the ideal woman of the Reforms include a wide variety of characteristics such as being hardworking, self-sacrificing, humble, modest modern, well-dressed, clean, and involved with familial responsibilities. Although those characteristics could be seen as clear and definite necessities, in reality they reflected ambiguity and unclear social expectations from women. Our contention is to evaluate women's portrayals in *Kadın Gazetesi* to characterize the hegemonic discourse depicted the women with regard to motherhood, family, education, political struggles, fashion, and house decoration.

In light of these parameters, the thesis aims to shed light of the content of *Kadın Gazetesi* and to emphasize the dominant distinctions among women which could be seen as a part of the gender regime in Turkey. In this thesis, the concept of 'gender regime' is used as in Connell's and Walby's studies. To that, gender regime points to the way of building gender relations in a given institution.⁷ In other words, gender regime includes a way of building masculinity and femininity in relation with dominant practices in an institution. Besides, Walby illustrates the concept of gender regime as systems of gendered structures. Yet, either there is not a single system built by gendered meanings or a single sexual component determining the systems. In contrast, to Walby there are different forms of gender regime and these are interrelated. Furthermore, there are multiple components such as age, race, ethnic identity, class, regional differences which led to variety of those different forms of gender regime.⁸ In this context, it is worthwhile to consider the concept of gender regime as the dominant meanings of structures built by the hegemonic Republican discourse in relation with the intent to construct new womanhood and manhood.

⁷ Connell R.W. (1987). *Gender and Politics: Society, The Person and Sexual Politics*. Oxford. UK: Blackwell. p.120.

⁸ Walby S. (1997). *Gender Transformations*. London. UK: Routledge. p.6.

In light of these goals, women's portrayals in the journal need to be analysed by means of the literature focuses on relationship between nation and gender. In this respect, the claim of this literature that citizenship differs for men and woman is relevant with the study. On the account of the fact that nation-building process and modernization transformed patriarchy in Turkey and this transformation resulted in changes on the hegemonic discourse on femininity.

As a consequence, since the journal seems to be in harmony with the hegemonic discourse on femininity, it is considered that the analysis on journal might demonstrate main political tensions, operations and strategical categorizations of gender regime in Turkey.

1.1. Literature Review

The literature on the relationship between nation and gender provides the theoretical basis for this study. There have been numerous analyzes which focused on the forms of women's participation into the nation. Yuval- Davis and Anthias's study 'Woman-Nation-State'⁹ is leading one for relating women's statuses with the nation state. According to this study, women's participation into the nation-state are shaped under effect of political factors implicit to the construction of nation-state. Nations are constructed with the glorified masculine meanings and women appear as symbolical carriers of those notions. Also during the foundation process of nation-states women's roles of reproduction based on biological facts come to the fore. Because power of control of the modern nations based on making policies on population. Also Yuval-Davis' study¹⁰ highlights women's changing positions with regards to historical changes of nation-state. According to Yuval-Davis' study gender differences become visible in important historical shift that nation-states experience.

⁹ Yuval- Davis, N., Anthias F.(Ed.) (1989). *Woman-Nation-State*. London: Macmillan Press.

¹⁰ Yuval-Davis N. (2010). *Cinsiyet ve Millet*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Those claims in both studies are essential for this thesis because one of the main goal of the thesis is to discuss the meanings of ascribed duties to Turkish women within changing social relations. Chatterjee's study¹¹ underlined the women's positions under effects of rising nationalism, modernity and colonialism. According to her, while the national struggle mobilized against colonialism, women's positions are instrumentalized by absorbing woman's demands from the nationalist ideals of anti-colonialism. Moreover, after those struggle periods women are sent to domestic spheres by means of social arrangements built by the transformed patriarchy. Along with similar lines, according to Najmabadi¹² women gained symbolical places in those nationalist projects and also she emphasized that nationalism is encouraged by metaphorical cosmos. For this, protection over women by men is supported with metaphorical submissions. Actually those metaphorical submissions work as significant devices of masculine domination over women. The thesis referred to those two studies to discuss the effects of nationalist projects on women's positions. In this context we could claim that although women are attached to the nationalist struggles their positions are generally shaped within the exclusionary channels of the nation-state and nationalism. Because while nation-state transformed within the modernity and nationalism, it generally aims to rebuilt patriarchal order with new social arrangements. However, those social arrangements include the improvements of women's social statuses patriarchal relations are reformed to construct masculine domination over women. Family has pivotal place for determination of those gender roles. At this point, McClintock's study¹³ evaluates the construction of the family in relation to nationalism. According to her, new hierarchies that required by the transforming patriarchy are constructed in the family. Thus the family positions as the essential constituent of the nation. Besides, Enloe argues the women's positions under the militarist nationalist projects and emphasized the militarist construction of

¹¹ Chatterjee P. (1993). *The Nation and its Fragments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

¹² Najmabadi A. (1991). Hazards of Modernity and Morality: Women, State and Ideology in Contemporary Iran In Deniz Kandiyoti(Ed.). *Women, Islam and the State*. USA: Temple University Press.

¹³ McClintock A. (1993). Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family. *Feminist Review*, 44.

the nation¹⁴. To this, militarism is constructed within the masculinized ideals keeping nationalist ideals alive. Moreover, nationalism is the imagined ideal of the people gather within the belief on masculinized memories. That is crucial for this thesis because the claim show that women are discriminated from the nationalist fantasy within the domination of masculine images. Debates around the women's exclusion from nationalist unities led to deepened and detailed literature based on the construction of citizenship. Pateman's and Fraser's studies are crucial for this thesis because they discuss the exclusionary nature of the citizenship. To Pateman, the national unity built within the nation-state actually points to the basis of brotherhood. Thus, intrinsically citizenship is formed as masculine. Also Fraser rejected the masculine nature of the public sphere and claimed that there would be multiple publics which women could create by their own. Fraser's study enables us to analyze those 'counter' publics created by means of women and to investigate those publics' contents. Pateman's study is efficient to show the inadequacy of the notion of equal citizenship. When it is considered within the Chatterjee's and Najmabadi's studies, although women become equal citizens they could be sent to their homes after national struggles with the impotent legal status. As we will see in the case of *Kadın Gazetesi*, in some instances women couldn't fulfill their legal status properly because of the deep-seated injustice of the political realm. We could call this natural exclusionary of the citizenship. Along with nationalism, there are numerous studies focus on the women's positioning under effect of modernization projects in the Middle East. Indeed, to Badran¹⁵ women were charged within the motherhood regarded as nationalist task just as men's national service. Besides, Hatem emphasized the transforming images of women as being the symbols of civilization in Egypt.¹⁶ Women became the symbols of modernity but on the other side became

¹⁴ Enloe C. (1990). *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. USA: University of California Press.p.44.

¹⁵ Badran M (2005). Between Secular and Islamic Feminism (s): Reflections on the Middle East and Beyond. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 1 (1), p.8.

¹⁶ Hatem M. (1998). A'isha Taymur's Tears and the Critique of the Modernism and Feminism Discourse on Nineteenth Century Egypt. In Lila Abu-Lughod (Ed.). *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*. Princeton, USA: Princeton Press, p.81.

the dangers of the modernity. Because shaping women with regards to modern norms created a new way control upon women's social conduct. This study also tries to show how those norms were reproduced upon women' bodies in *Kadın Gazetesi*. Thus, we could follow that the disciplinary discourse derived from the control on gender roles led new hierarchies and rules among women. This new resources of power apparent in *Kadın Gazetesi*, which used to limit women's modern images.

Kandiyoti's studies are crucial for this thesis because she claimed that the modernization projects produced solutions to the dangers of modernity embodied in women's existence by means of nationalism.¹⁷ In other words, nationalism is determinant on borders of women's social conduct drawn by the modernization projects. Kandiyoti aims to demonstrate specific factors which influenced the Turkish modernization and to explain how the Turkish modernization project dealt with the woman question. Indeed, to Kandiyoti, despite Turkish women were emancipated within civic rights they remained unliberated because of the domination of the Islamic arrangements on femininity.¹⁸ Within the leading of Kandiyoti's studies analyzing the changes on women's positions by means of the nationalist reforms of the Republic, there would be a literature focuses on social arrangements of transforming patriarchy from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic. In this literature, Tekeli¹⁹ and Abadan-Unat are the first analysts who emphasized the sociological changes of women's status within legal improvements. Those studies have significant place in the thesis. On behalf of those analyses, it would be possible to follow the changes of Turkish women's movement's political demands. Especially Tekeli has a pivotal role for pointing at the strategical importance of women's political rights given by the Republic. Besides, in parallel to the literature argues women's citizenship around the world; there are numerous studies analyzing the

¹⁷ Kandiyoti D. (Ed.) (1991). *Women, Islam and the State*, USA: Temple University Press.

¹⁸ Kandiyoti D. (1987). Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case. *Feminist Studies*, 13 (2), pp. 317-338.

¹⁹ Tekeli Ş. (1982). *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*. İstanbul: Birikim.

nature of women's citizenship in Turkey. In this context, Sirman's study described the nature of the citizenship constructed with the Republic as "familial" which puts the family in the center of the nation-building process. The designation of the nuclear family as the core of the nation is important for this thesis because the journal's statements about the rules of familial relations involved with the ideal, national family constructed within the Republic. At this point, Üstel's study²⁰ points to the construction of citizenship in Turkey with regards to citizenship education. According to Üstel, the main task of the Republican elites was to enlighten people by means of embedding the necessities of modern citizenship. Thus, the Republican discourse referred to social arrangements which were obligatory for being civilized and modern. The notion of 'proper citizen' was made up of the entire of those arrangements.

Along similar lines with Kandiyoti, Berktaç points to women's roles and images in relation with modernity and Islam.²¹ As such, she emphasizes the main distinction between modern and tradition which is one of the main debate of Turkish nation-building process. Durakbaşı's study²² was also crucial for analyzing Halide Edip Adivar in relation to Turkish modernity. In this study, we could follow limitations of the Republican reforms on women's images. In this sense, the thesis benefits from Durakbaşı's analysis for interpreting prevailing comments of the journal about women's images. A similar study about Nezihe Muhiddin was carried out by Zihnioğlu.²³ Zihnioğlu proves the exclusionary nature of the Republican reforms on women's status through Muhiddin's experiences. Indeed, although Turkish women were encouraged to take part in public they actually forced to be visible with the

²⁰ Üstel F. (2005). *"Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi*. İstanbul: İletişim.

²¹ Berktaç F. (2010). *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: Metis.

²² Durakbaşı A. (2000). *Halide Edip: Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*. İstanbul: İletişim.

²³ Zihnioğlu Y. (2003). *Kadinsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği*. İstanbul: Metis.

assigned national roles in the public. In the case of being unsuitable to those roles, women would be excluded from the public sphere. Thus, Zihnioğlu's study is crucial firstly for giving detailed knowledge about Nezihe Muhiddin's life and secondly for arguing the discriminatory characteristics of Turkish reforms. In addition to the studies on popular women's figures of the Ottoman women's movement, there are numerous analyses focus on the history of Ottoman and Turkish women's movement. One and the leading one of these studies is '*Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*' written by Çakır.²⁴ She analyzes the journal called '*Kadınlar Dünyası*' which published in the late Ottoman Empire. It is really crucial study for showing the existence of lively women's movement in the Ottoman Empire. Because actually there is a powerful opinion of Republican state feminism about the beginning of Turkish women's movement. According to this, the women's movement started with the Republic. Yet, Çakır disproved this claim by means of her study on '*Kadınlar Dünyası*'. This study demonstrates that women organized around journals, newspaper and meetings to communicate about their demands. Indeed, these women around the journal '*Kadınlar Dünyası*' achieved to create the public contrary to the popular opinion that women were not allowed to be in social activities in the Ottoman Empire. In this context, Çakır's study is leading for recognizing Ottoman women's political struggle discounted for years. Similarly, Demirdirek carried out a study about the women journal '*Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*'.²⁵ Demirdirek analyzes women's expressions in its articles and furthermore looks at readers' letters. Thus, with this study she figures out how women could achieve ways of communication and how they define themselves. Likewise, Arat debates feminism and Islam on the journal '*Kadın ve Aile*'. She problematizes the Islamic characteristics of the journal due to solidarity, opportunities for women and political diversity among women. In short, the study aims to prescribe Islamic tendencies' role and visions in the history of women's movement in Turkey. Akşit's study is also crucial for showing the role of 'Kız Enstitüleri' as being example that how the Republic regarded education of

²⁴ Çakır S. (1996). *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. İstanbul: Metis.

²⁵ Demirdirek A. (2011). *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının Bir Hikâyesi*. Ankara: Ayizi.

girls as a part of public policy.²⁶ In this sense, regarding women with maternity seems to be in relation with publicity because these women also became the signifiers of the modern Turkey. For this, those studies are crucial for this thesis because those focus on ideal women's images from various aspects such as education, social activities and women's publications.

There have been already various studies on '*Kadın Gazetesi*'. Yaraman²⁷ emphasizes '*Kadın Gazetesi*' with defining the journal as an alive political struggle in the stagnant period with regards to women's organizations. According to Yaraman, the journal's efforts to increase women's representation in the parliament could be defined as courageous demands with respect to the stagnancy of women's movement of that time. Indeed, Yaraman claims that *Kadın Gazetesi* was a salient women's activity among publications of that time with regards to demands to improve women's positions in the political realm. There is also Gramscian reading of *Kadın Gazetesi* written by Laura Tocco in which she asked how '*Kadın Gazetesi*' transmitted the Kemalist ideology and to what extent Kemalist hegemony was influential on the civil society. As a consequence, Tocco finds that the journal's demands were mostly under the effects of the debates of Kemalist hegemony. Thus, despite there were a wide variety of women journals and organizations civil society couldn't develop because of the state's powerful control over the civic organizations' political demands.²⁸ Although the thesis analyzes *Kadın Gazetesi* with regards to the history of Turkish women's movement as distinct from Tocco's study, Tocco's main findings are close to this thesis' claim. The journal's activities about women's positions were under effects of the Republican discourse. Moreover, their demands remained within the limits drawn by the state feminism which was the main Republican polity about women's status. On the other hand, contrary to Yaraman's

²⁶ Akşit E.E. (2005). *Kızların Sessizliği: Kız Enstitülerinin Uzun Tarihi*. İstanbul: İletişim.,

²⁷ Yaraman A. (2001). Durgunluk Döneminde Cüretkar Talepler: Kadın Gazetesi. *Toplumsal Tarih*. March. 36-41.

²⁸ Tocco L.(2014). Civil Society in Turkey: A Reading of Kadın Gazetesi In Kristina Kamp, Ayhan Kaya, E. Fuat Keyman, Özge Onursal Beşgül (Ed.). *Contemporary Turkey at Glance*. (57-74) Open Access at SpringerLink.com: Springer.

interpretation, although the journal's attempts to improve women's political representation was crucial with regards to women's polity, the journal's discourse on other issues such as women's employment or their images could not exceed the previous women's movement's demands. In this context, we could claim that the main goals of the journal remained within the limits of the discourse of state feminism.

1.2. Research Procedure

This thesis focuses upon the journal's issues published between 1947 and 1960. Because it is observed that these years are significant due to variety of debates on maternity, political conflicts, education of women, women's representation in the National Assembly. These topics are most repeated and accentuated ones in the journal.

In this study *Kadın Gazetesi* was taken as a case to be researched via the content analysis which involves with the articulation of the given texts into new narratives. To the qualitative approach to content analysis, it is efficient to study in relation with critical theory such as Marxist approaches, British cultural studies and feminist studies.²⁹ Because of the methodological propriety of content analysis in the feminist interpretive study, *Kadın Gazetesi* is analyzed in this thesis by means of this strategy. As a result, it is nourished by the close reading of the articles in *Kadın Gazetesi*.

On the other hand, the study used the abductive research strategy which aims to discover the social reality of social actors, their ways of conceptualizing and giving meaning to this reality.³⁰ With regard to this strategy, the study aims to evaluate women's writings in *Kadın Gazetesi* as a part of Turkish women's movement.

²⁹ Krippendorff K. (2004). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. USA: SAGE Publications. p.17.

³⁰ Blaikie N. (2007). *Approaches to Social Enquiry: Advancing Knowledge*. UK: Polity Press. p.10

Within this, the study investigates these writings in relation to the political and social dynamics dominated the women's positioning in Turkish political history. Thus we could see how those women in the journal interpreted historical changes and how those shaped their polity. In this regard, the study analyzes the relations of notions with their meanings rather than individually on their own conceptualizing. With this purpose, this thesis carried on its goals with the standpoint theory. To this, feminist standpoint aims to explore the relationship between knowledge and power. That constructs direct link between knowledge and reality.³¹ Because according to this view, knowledge is produced by means of power and thus is nor independent from the power relations and circumstances of the 'real' world. Moreover, "women 'speaking their truth' is situated in relation to the form of power".³² Thus, women telling their experiences actually imply the power relations' effects on those experiences. In other words, experiences do not only reflect the occasion happening in the real world, but also contain forms of power and its effects upon the opinions. Furthermore, "the feminist standpoint" is based on women's experience, including emotions and embodiment.³³ With regards to this main claim, women's opinions, emotions, interpretations are placed upon the center of the study to follow their relations with social, political circumstances.

Literature review was effective on determination of main topics of the journal, because debates on the journal was categorized in the light of main theories in the literature about women's movement. In other words, the journal is analyzed by following historical changes of women's movement both around the world and in Turkey. As a consequence, the study aims to deal with *Kadın Gazetesi* with regard to the classification of women's demands and polity in the feminist literature. As a result of these factors, main topics are categorized as follows:

³¹ Ramazanoğlu C. and Holland J. (2002). *Feminist Methodolgy: Challenges and Choices*. UK: SAGE Publications. p.65.

³² Ibid. p.65

³³ Ramazanoğlu C. and Holland J. (2002). *Feminist Methodolgy: Challenges and Choices*. UK: SAGE Publications, p.65

1. The journal's relationship with the previous Turkish women's movement
2. Motherhood and conjugal relations
3. House, home design and domestic duties of women
4. The definition of 'new woman'
Views about women's rights
5. Views about women's positions in the parliament
6. Views about actual policy
7. Charitable activities of the journal

The content of *Kadın Gazetesi* was analyzed with respect to those key points. As secondary resources to constitute its theoretical basis, the literature on gender and nation regarding to nation-building process in Turkey and its effects on the definition of ideal women is used. The data acquired from the content analysis of *Kadın Gazetesi* is interpreted in light of the premises provided by this literature.

1.3 Outline

Chapter 1 of this study emphasized the relationship between nation and gender. Also nationalism is constituent for this relationship, thus the first chapter includes forms of feminism under effect of nationalism. In this sense, in the first chapter women's positions are reconsidered with regards to changes of nation-states. Also the chapter focuses on how these processes experienced in the Turkey case and how Turkish women's movement endorsed these social, cultural, political arrangements made by the Republican Reforms. The family and the concept of 'new woman' were key points of this chapter because they have major place which new social arrangements of the Republic become visible.

In the Chapter 2 the journal of *Kadın Gazetesi* is emphasized in detailed way firstly with regards to its historical place in the printed media of Turkish women. Also the content of journal is argued with regards to different categories of women. These

categories are derived from the new social arrangements and the discourse of the Republic.

In 3th chapter, main views of the journal on daily political debates are discussed. Through the analysis of these views both political stances of the journal and political matters debated in that period are emphasized.

In the conclusion chapter of the study, the main deductions of the analysis on *Kadın Gazetesi* is mentioned. In this sense, how the journal dealt with women's positioning in the Republic and history of women's movement are emphasized in relation with ideological tendencies prevailing in Turkish political history about the women's status.

CHAPTER 2

GENDER AND NATION

2.1. Transformation of Gender Roles in Relation with Nationalist Transformations

This chapter deals with the question why gender has a significant role in relation with the construction of nation. Women's positions in the patriarchal state are defined as inferior to men and during some critical periods such as reforms and wars different roles ascribed to women and men become more visible. Thus, new gendered constructions of men's and women's roles led us to discuss the nature of citizenship for women and men. Masculinity and nationalism have strong ties which reinforce their positions. In this sense, nationalism indicates ideals which actually contain sexualized meanings. At this point, these national ideals innately appear with sexualized distinctions because the binary of men and women which is generally regarded as natural fact. Moreover, these sexualized meanings need to be transformed depending to political regime to be in harmony with political construction. In other words, citizenship which constructs people's binds with the nation-state was based upon sexualized ideals. Therefore, citizenship couldn't be regarded independent from dominant sexualized meanings used for distinction between men and women. In this chapter, the content of gendered citizenship is scrutinized to identify those sexualized meanings.

The Ottoman westernization process caught up technical innovations with the *Tanzimat* Reform Era which began in 1839. It was related with how the Empire was looked like from the point of the West. In this respect woman was instrumentalized and thus they would be become symbolic elements of westernization and

modernization. Women's existence as a symbol caused a contradictory position while their status was thought with women's political demands. Yet, the symbolization of women is not confined to Turkey and that is crucial point that feminists have drawn attention. Because as a result of "masculine definition of femininity and of women's proper place in the nation women occupy a distinct, symbolic role in nationalist culture, discourse and collective action".³⁴ In this respect, women are subordinated through masculinised factors of nationalist discourse and women's existences are made into the symbols of those factors of nationalist discourse.

Attributing different identification to men and women in historical processes anticipates different positions, duties for them. That is why McClintock said that all nationalisms were gendered; contrary to conventional theorists of nationalism "all nationalisms are dependent on powerful constructions of gender differences."³⁵ With this connotation McClintock notes that nationalism is built with the references which distinguish and emphasize gender differences. Because the nationalism is identified with different roles ascribed to women and men. Anderson argued that the nation is the imagined community because it is defined as a profound and common spirit of comradeship which resulted from fraternity.³⁶ At this point this kind of fraternity appears as the starting point for some feminists who try to clarify masculine roots of nations and citizenship making women excluded from the his-story. One of them is Pateman who figures out that civil freedom is an essence of the social contract discourse, which is not universal. With this critique Pateman emphasizes the significance of sexual difference at the participation into citizenship, which distinguishes men and women with their interests and demands. According to Pateman, also civil freedom is not universal, to Pateman. Civil freedom is a

³⁴ Nagel J. (1998). Masculinity and Nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of nations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21 (2), p.252.

³⁵ McClintock A. (1991). "No Longer in a Future Heaven": Women and Nationalism in South Africa. *Transition an International Review*, 51 (104), p.105.

³⁶ Anderson B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. UK: Verso. p.7.

masculine attribute and depends upon patriarchal rights. Then, she says although women could demand extension of citizenship, indeed, identity is masculine. For this there are some reasons. First of all, the social contract theory -except Hobbes- never ever talks about sexual differences when they define the 'individuals'. But in fact they explain the emergence of unity with defence of sons against power of fathers. And the relationship among men is based on brotherhood.³⁷ At that point; the social contract which transferred the authority from the father to brothers couldn't go further to construct masculine concepts. Therefore, women were subordinated to men who are 'brothers'. To Pateman, this is the "disorder of women" caused by exclusion of women from the social contract.³⁸

Along similar lines, Fraser argues the construction of public sphere with regards to gender equality. To her, the approach, led by Habermas, which idealizes the liberal public sphere consists of social equals for their private interests has failed to analyse conflictual nature of public. Contrary to the popular opinion about the sole public sphere, Fraser claims that there are multiple publics which are in competition. Hence, one who asserts that women are excluded from the public sphere would come to mean class and gender biased notion of publicity.³⁹ Because the public sphere is constructed as an arena of bourgeois men who esteems themselves as a universal class.⁴⁰ This concept of public sphere couldn't build common sense which is composed of juncture of private interests but rather constructs within distinctions. For this, 'the public sphere' is built within the exclusion groups such as women, children, workers, gays and etc. Thus the theory of the public sphere reflects an ideology based on class and gender biased. Because of its discriminative nature,

³⁷ Pateman C. (1989). *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory*. Stanford: Stanford University. p.78.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p.6.

³⁹ Fraser N. (1990). Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy. *Social Text*, 25/26, p.61.

⁴⁰*Ibid.* p.60.

Fraser opposed the liberal public sphere of Habermas and calls ‘subaltern counter publics’. These are “parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counter discourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests and needs.”⁴¹ Fraser, by this way, provides subordinated groups public, as have the bourgeois men, which they also able to produce their own common sense by means of their private interests. Hence the theory allows groups like women to create their own agenda in accordance with their needs and demands against the hegemonic gender-biased ideology.

However, Enloe argues the discriminative nature of the nationalist movements with regards to militarism. To her, nationalism doesn’t consider women’s experiences and necessities rather “nationalism has typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope.”⁴² This connotation demonstrates that the relationship between nationalism and masculinity is not a random but betokens the historical binds of patriarchy.

As all these theorists show, the nature of nationhood differs for men and women. Furthermore, the way of participation creates dominant roles for men and women which are appropriate for cultural meanings of nations. To analyse these symbolical signs due to manhood and womanhood the relation between gender and nation has progressively become crucial over years. Specifically, Yuval Davis asserts that the construction of nationhood engages with different considerations of both ‘manhood’ and ‘womanhood’.⁴³ Anthias and Yuval-Davis asserts five roles of women ascribed in relation with nation especially during foundation or transformation process of nation-states. The first one illustrates women as biological reproducers of the nation. This

⁴¹Fraser N. (1990). Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy. *Social Text*, 25/26, p.61, p.67.

⁴² Enloe C. (1990). *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. USA: University of California Press, p.44.

⁴³ Yuval-Davis N. (2010). *Cinsiyet ve Millet*. İstanbul: İletişim, p.1.

kind of positioning caused two different population policy. The first one aims to limit the reproduction of a particular group just like immigrants. Thus, with a concern of limit the number of members of specific ethnic groups women's reproductive capacity tried to be controlled by population policies. The other side of such a concern aims to encourage the number of people from the 'right kind'.⁴⁴ So women as being reproducers of nations are urged to have children for the sake of their nations. However, it resembles the biological reproduction the cultural reproduction is another role attributed to women. Women generally exist as guards of cultural values in the name of unity of collective body, which is symbolically embraced by the nation.⁴⁵ This position is so ambiguous that the cultural values attributed to women could be in various shapes such as a strict way of laughing or teaching children descendants as a part of their history. In Yuval Davis' categorization, the third duty of women is being reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic and national groups; which generally arises with national struggle.⁴⁶ To this category, it is not enough for women to reproduce the future generation of the nation but also women are needed to be controlled for the 'proper way' of the reproduction of boundaries of their group.⁴⁷ Women's fourth duty is determined as signifiers of ethnic and national differences. Women does not only reproduce the cultural values of the group but also frequently constitute the form of 'proper womanhood'.⁴⁸ To this, differences of women's behaviours distinguish ethnic groups from each other. Because ethnic groups constitute themselves with reference to the proper behaviours ascribed to their groups' women. In this way women become the signifiers of characteristics of their group which differ them from the others.

⁴⁴ Yuval- Davis, N., Anthias F.(Ed.) (1989). *Woman-Nation-State*. London: Macmillan Press, p.8.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p.23.

⁴⁶ Yuval-Davis N. (2010). *Cinsiyet ve Millet*. Istanbul: İletişim, p.25.

⁴⁷ Yuval- Davis, N., Anthias F.(Ed.) (1989). *Woman-Nation-State*. London: Macmillan Press, p.9.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p.9.

Finally, women could take part in national and ethnic struggles; but generally seen in a supportive and nurturing relation to men in those struggles.⁴⁹ Because actually masculinity is correlated with militarism because its main ideology based upon emotion and ideals glorified masculinity. As a consequence, these categories give us opinion about the general forms of womanhood shaped in relation to the nation.

Studies examining feminist movements in relation with nationalism rising against colonialism argued that feminism appears as a resistant to the imperialism and spread in common with nationalist movements. Jayawardena studies on countries such as Turkey, Egypt, Iran, Afghanistan, India, Sri Lanka. She argues that in the Third World countries due to the late modernization and in some cases by means of colonization -also with the impact of religion- feminist movements were shaped with nationalism. Because to Jayawardena women become signifiers of cultural values of the nation that nationalisms and religious movements determined women's body with regards to their belief and policy. Further, Jayawardena grounds the resistance struggles of women as a response to transformation and the growth of capitalism which led new classes and social order for these Third World Countries. Indeed, reforms directed to the emancipation of women generally appeared in the early 20th century, which the 'woman question' acquired new expansions with the altering social order.⁵⁰ In other words, previous gender norms before the reforms were found unsuitable for conditions of new social order. Furthermore, to elites of modernization process women needed to be westernized and educated to develop the image of their country as being modern and civilized.⁵¹

During modernization process, gender concepts gain new meanings in accordance with patriotic ideals. Because first of all the nation is largely a unity of brotherhood. In this sense, relation of women with 'motherland' has also significant meaning for patriotic ideals. Najmabadi illustrates the motherland as mother of all nations which

⁴⁹ Yuval- Davis, N., Anthias F.(Ed.) (1989). *Woman-Nation-State*. London: Macmillan Press, p.10.

⁵⁰ Jayawardena K. (1994). *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*. UK: Zed Book, p.8.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* p.8.

is described in danger due to powerful threats such as foreign occupants or abstractly western ideals. The main fear bases on the perception that the West would degenerate essential authenticity of the Iran society. Thus motherland needs help of men 'citizens' because the motherland has meanings first as a beloved and seconds a mother. She conceptualizes the changing meanings of homeland with women's roles in the light of modernity. In her claim, with modernity the motherland has become both an object gravitates by interests of men and protected also by them. However, these positions trigger contradiction for citizenship of women, absolute equal citizenship both for men and women was claimed to be accomplished. From this point of view women were formally equal with men but also needed to be saved from dangers by men.⁵²

Likewise, Mayer mentions that in narratives the nation is frequently described as feminine and as indigent to be protected. Moreover, it is portrayed that women's 'purity' and 'modesty' are required to be protected by men.⁵³ Also thought that the narratives as the ideal image of the nation⁵⁴, the distinction between men as national heroes and women as in need of protection is resulted from the nationalist discourse. Also this argument is closely related with family, because women are thought to be symbolized the nation and the family according to traditionalist men. Therefore "women's shame is the family's shame, the nation's shame, the man's shame."⁵⁵ That is why women are seen as the moral code of society which should be protected by men. Inevitably, this kind of duty attributed to men led to the different kind of dependency on nation beside women.

⁵² Najmabadi A. (2011). Sevgili ve Ana Olarak Erotik Vatan: Sevmek, Sahiplenmek, Korumak In Ayşe Gül Altınay (Ed.). *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*. Istanbul: İletişim, p.134.

⁵³ Mayer T. (2000). Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Setting the stage In T. Mayer (Ed.). *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*. London: Routledge, p.10.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p.9.

⁵⁵ Nagel J.(1998). Masculinity and Nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of nations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21(2), p.254.

As noted in that literature below, women are represented as being in need of protection from foreigners. On the other hand, since women are regarded as the victim and the symbol of backwardness of the country, they are also need to be saved from ignorance. Indeed, male reformers described Turkish women by comparing women in civilized countries. Thus, Turkish women appeared as symbolic signifiers of degree of civilization. In order to develop the country, women were need to be transformed with regards to new necessities of the patriarchy. In this context, the emancipation of women was explained with reference to past but the reformers avoided to justify reforms as a radical break from the past.⁵⁶ In this way, legitimizing reforms might be easier than perceiving people for radical innovations for society. The civilization is the solution of backwardness which is generally illustrated on women's attitudes, appearances and social status. With drawbacks about moral corruption focused on women had to be signals of reformed and civilized country. It is what Najmabadi asserts as 'modern-yet modest'.⁵⁷ When Najmabadi illustrates Iran in 19th century, she emphasizes that the 'women question' had been sacrificed to the rising nationalism by means of ideologisation and instrumentalisation. Thus when the woman question peaked with social reforms and cultural debates in 19th century, actually women's status was absorbed in national expectations and Islamic apprehensions. Because of the religious and nationalist demands, fears and protectionist concerns over women became the symbol of social morality and cultural conservatism at the same time: "To break out backwardness without transgressing the boundaries of social morality, without betraying national/Islamic culture within which the modern ideologies were shaped, became the impossible task of becoming modern yet remaining modest and authentic."⁵⁸As we could observe in Najmabadi's metaphorical concept of the homeland male reformers simultaneously wanted women to be educated and be supportive for development of country and not

⁵⁶ Kandiyoti D. (2004). Women and the nation. *Dossier 26: Identity and its Discontents*, 26, p.3.

⁵⁷ Najmabadi A. (1991). *Hazards of Modernity and Morality: Women, State and Ideology in Contemporary Iran* In Deniz Kandiyoti (Ed.). *Women, Islam and the State*. USA: Temple University Press, p.49.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p.70.

to transgress boundaries which keep them needed to be protected. It is worth noting that nationalism has dual discourse that the first presents itself as a modern project which advocate new identities adhered to traditions and the second presents itself as a justification of authenticity of the culture.⁵⁹ Therefore, it leads to overwhelmingly ambiguous position about women's question which makes it easily absorbed with nationalist ideologies. The modernizing reforms which partially satisfy women's demands are politically powerful parts of the nationalist ideology. Because women who participate into the national struggles was generally eager to expand their roles determined by the nationalist project in the name of patriotism.⁶⁰ In other words, those women regarded being part of the nationalist struggle as a way of participating into the public. Thus, we could claim that women's positioning is under effect of wide variety of paradigms to which the nationalist project refers. The national discourse tries to adopt modernity with authenticity, contrary to the popular misguided claim that the nationalist ideology completely rejected the West. Chatterjee defines this as an ideology rooted on a principle of selectivity, which embedded by the nationalist paradigm.⁶¹ In the use of ideology, the principle of selectivity points to the selection of paradigms not merely from the west but from the east.⁶² In other words, modern images appeared in women's existence, bodies and social conduct by means of the nationalist ideology. In some cases, nationalism refers to modernist discourse indicating backwardness of the social order, but on the other hand it would also warn society against dangers of modernity with reference to conservatism. In fact, to Chatterjee the nationalist discourse creates a new type of patriarchy by placing woman's question into the domain of sovereignty. Indeed, main dichotomies about the gender regime such as home/world, material/spiritual,

⁵⁹ Kandiyoti D. (2004). Women and the nation. *Dossier 26: Identity and its Discontents*, 26, p.2.

⁶⁰ Kandiyoti D. (2004). Women and the nation. *Dossier 26: Identity and its Discontents*, 26, p.3.

⁶¹ Chatterjee P.(2011). Kadın Sorununa Milliyetçi Çözüm In Ayşe Gül Altınay (Ed.). *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*. İstanbul: İletişim. p.111.

⁶² Bagchi J. (1990). Representing Nationalism: Ideology of Motherhood in Colonial Bengal. *Economic and Political Weekly*, October: 20-27, p.65.

feminine/masculine etc. led to changes on women's dress, organization and decoration of their houses, relations with their husbands, children and the way of conducting the family, type of occupation that they work. Modernized and civilized middle-class with the new order try to constitute a new type of relations over gender, which inevitably figures out a new type of patriarchy consistent with the nationalist project.⁶³ But on the other hand, although within the secularism law and education were removed to the authority of secular state, Islam maintained its power as being the resource of law and also accepted as 'state religion'.⁶⁴ Because of this factor, women's status was interpreted within both nationalism and Islam. Thus, to Badran, in the Middle East feminism developed with regards to the cluster of "discursive strands, gendered secular nationalist and Islamist modernist strands."⁶⁵ But, because women became the symbolical carrier of those political construction, power of those constructed by means of the control on women's positions. In this context, according to Moghadam, in Iran and Palestine veiling was mandated by men because it was identified with national and religious values. Also in Afghanistan, mujahidin who called themselves freedom fighters against imperialism legislated veil for women after they guaranteed their authority in Kabul.⁶⁶ Therefore, while women were used as the symbols of freedom struggles and also seen as the part of this national fight, after reforms was achieved or power relations were rebuilt the control on women was also rebuilt. Thus the struggle avoided claims on women's emancipation. As a consequence, however women's movement and nationalist struggles are inseparable especially in the middle east countries, the consequences of nationalist struggles were not always on behalf of women's movement. Indeed, those were generally

⁶³ Chatterjee P.(1993). *The Nation and its Fragments*. Princeton: Princeton Universtiy Press, p.127.

⁶⁴ Badran M.(2005) Between Secular and Islamic Feminism/s: Reflections on the Middle East and Beyond. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*,1(1), p.10.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p.12.

⁶⁶ Moghadam V. Introduction and Overview In Valentine M. Moghadam (Ed.) *Gender and National Identity: Women and Politics in Islam Countries*.USA: Zed Books, p.8.

concluded within the absorption of women's movement by the nationalist power and control.

If we return to beginning, when Yuval-Davis categorizes women's roles participating the nation-state, these roles arise from the necessity for new type of woman suitable for new gender regime. As Connell claims every nation state constitutes suitable notions and relations about gender in society with the national discourse. This is, therefore, related with all parts of state, bureaucracy and familial structure.⁶⁷ Indeed, patriarchal structure is a ground which gives meanings of the concepts which are used for politics.

Consequently, although women play a part in nationalist movements they frequently symbolize the unity that they take part in. As a result of this symbolical duty, the relationship between gender and nation includes many designations based on metaphors about femininity and masculinity. In this respect, women are generally forced to be shaped with regards to those figurations linked to patriarchal meanings. In fact, ideals of nationalism about language, unity, flags, uniforms, armies are actually nourished by gender differences because all these ideals point to various but 'proper' performances attributed to men and women. Nationalism anticipates different attitudes from men and women and according to these expectations women and men are thought within categories. These categories are strengthened by means of national ideals but on the other hand determination of these categories appears as an operation which tries to give sexes shape with regards to ideal images of patriarchy transformed with the new regime. Therefore, as a result of the social change of patriarchal order gender roles are expected to adapt those changes by means of the discourse of the nationalist ideology. Since this ideology is built and reproduced with references to differences of gender roles new roles consolidate gender differences in common with new duties attributed to men and women. In other words, those new national roles are reshaped in relation to transformation of gender roles.

⁶⁷ Connell R.W. (1987). *Gender and Power*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp.119-125.

2.2. Women's Positioning During the Turkish Nation-Building Process

In this chapter, the nation-building process in Turkey is examined with regards to women's positions and demands. Creating new woman of Turkey was already a part of Ottoman modernization process. Although this process began in the Ottoman, with the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 the historical references became secular and rational. Foremost, the modernization process was defined upon the women's bodies, behaviours and social conduct. Because according to male elites the sufficient degree of modernity was identical with modern attitudes attributed to women. In other words, the appearance of modernity was mostly ascribed to women. In this context woman's positioning with reference to symbolic values of the nationalist discourse shaped social expectations from woman. As a result, those expectations indicated new duties embodied in 'new woman' of the Republic. Besides, women's movement adopted these social changes and expectations in various ways. In this section, the discussion will point to Turkish women's positioning in the Republic era and how womanhood was reshaped with regards to changed gender roles.

Men and women are attributed to different roles especially during the nation building processes in light of the national values. At this point, theories of Yuval-Davis, Najmabadi and Chatterjee are relevant for explaining the relation between gender roles and nation. During Turkish modernization while women's positions were basically developed by the Republic's reforms at the same time woman's social conduct were determined by patriarchal norms of the new regime. According to male reformers, women had to adapt to gender roles determined with patriarchal necessities of the modernity and also shouldn't neglect cultural traditions.

As a result of this fragile balance, the nationalist ideology's protective contents over women's positions are generally quite ambiguous. Because the Turkish nation building process is neither only defined with modernity nor with nationalism. This process included both values of modernity and nationalism and the cooperation of

modernization and nationalism constructed over the women's positions.⁶⁸ Because while modernization supported Turkish women's civilized images about their appearance and behaviours, nationalism emphasized the national characteristics of the ideal woman created by the reforms of the Republic. The balance between modern and tradition resulted in an ambiguity for women's positions but not a conflict. But, in spite of this ambiguity women were expected to be modesty which points to being in balance between modern and tradition. Because we could claim that 'the rules of modesty' and 'public morality' have been the essential dynamics used for testing women's propriety with regards to modern and traditional dichotomy.⁶⁹ Therefore, in the case that women behave improperly to those rules could be labelled as dangerous for public morality. Indeed, the prevalent expectations from women were shaped in those various ways referred to nationalist, conservative and modern characteristics of the Reforms. In contrast to the conflict among these ideologies, this variety of ideological references resulted in different forms of control over women which are derived from various combinations of these ideologies. In terms of women's positions since proper manners of women are determined with reference to those ideologies norms and rules of ideal woman are ambiguous. As a consequence, the corporation of modernization, conservatism and nationalism during the Turkish nation-building process resulted in ambiguity in women's positioning while maintained this corporation with agreement of proper social conduct of women.

Within the political and economic changes of the Republic, patriarchal order was also reproduced with political factors of the reforms. Turkish modernization was produced itself over the gender differences in relation with national duties attributed to men and woman. As a result of this dramatic transformation, hegemonic discourse of the Republic pointed to the new woman and the new man with the changes of the

⁶⁸ Bora T. (2005). *Analar, Bacılar, Orosular: Türk Muhafazakâr Söyleminde Kadın* In Ayşe Öncü and Orhan Tekelioğlu (Ed.). *Şerif Mardin'e Armağan*. İstanbul: İletişim, p. 277

⁶⁹ Parla A. (2001). The "Honor" of the State: Virginity Examinations in Turkey. *Feminist Studies*, 27 (1), p.66.

gender roles during this process. The new woman in the Republic was shaped in accordance with the necessities and demands of the new man of the Republic. So, what kind of image did the group of male reformists lust for as an ideal woman is the subsequent factor which expresses the new gender regime of the Republic. Actually, the demands on women's changing implied extensive demands about emotional relations in the society. For, those men dreamed of romantic relationship with women whom share their ideas. Also, they would like to be in marriages which weren't arranged by elderly woman relatives. In other words, new men wanted to experience romantic relationship eliminated from oppressive rules of the Ottoman life.⁷⁰ The discontent about the traditional social relations between men and women carried an essence of the new familial order, which could transform the traditional Ottoman family into the middle-class nuclear family. At this point, the ideology of the modern nuclear family was considered as the way for avoiding elderly people's guard in families.⁷¹ Regarding to expectations of new men, "targeted new woman was a national woman who both gained the qualifications of Western knowledge and also had responsibility of being woman of her home, thus was the national woman who preceded the old/traditional woman as well as Western woman. It was exactly the dream of Kemalism and 'the New Man'. In this ideal composition, the balance breakdown and the woman's neglect her household responsibilities were also their nightmare."⁷²

In relation with the modernization of the familial order women were also be encouraged to be visible in the public sphere and to be employed. By means of legal improvements such as the Turkish Civic Law of 1926 women became equal citizens to husband. Also in the education Turkish women had gained equal positions with

⁷⁰ Kandiyoti D. (2011). *Ataerkil Örüntüler: Türk Toplumunda Erkek Egemenliğinin Çözümlemesine Yönelik Notlar* In D.Kandiyoti (Ed.). *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar*. İstanbul: Metis, p.191.

⁷¹ Kandiyoti D. (1995). *Patterns of Patriarchy: Notes for an Analysis of Male Dominance in Turkish Society* In Şirin Tekeli (Ed.). *Women in Modern Turkish Society Reader*. London: Zed Books, p. 313.

⁷² Bora T. (2005). *Analar, Bacılar, Orosular: Türk Milliyetçi-Muhafazakar Söyleminde Kadın* In Ahmet Öncü, Orhan Tekelioğlu (Ed.). *Şerif Mardin'e Armağan*. İstanbul: İletişim, p.255.

men. Right to elect and be elected are also substantial acquisitions for women's political rights. But in the society reforms were considered from various angles due to the family, the motherhood or the wifehood. For instance, the article of Ismail Hakkı Baltacıođlu gives us substantial notions about that time's ideal woman:

“New woman isn't a housewife. Firstly, she is well-educated. It is no longer meaningful to support the consumer type of woman, both economically and morally. The new woman is successful for bringing up children in a secular way and for being good partner to their husbands. The new woman has been transformed into the assistant partner and the friend. Also the new woman brings a new notion of the body with itself. This kind of beauty is not flirtatious, sick and fragile but a beautifulness which identifies with power, health, agility and success.”⁷³

Indeed, the portrayal of Turkish woman was drawn mostly with their duties because the ideal woman was shaped within the national goals. In this sense women were encumbered with being well educated and being trained to raise beneficent children for the nation. In other words, women's main role was defined in family as being mother and wife. The significance of women's roles is clearly seen in expressions of Mustafa Kemal:

“I'd like to point that, apart from duties specific to our women; motherhood is the most significant, the most beneficial and the most virtuous duty of them. As far as time passed, the science progressed and the civilization developed with its giant steps we are becoming aware of increasing the difficulties of upbringing children in recent circumstances. Currently the upbringing children is not as easy as previous times with regards to today's mothers. (...) Consequently, our women need to be more enlightened and more favourable than men. If they really want to be the mother of the nation, they need to behave in this manner.”⁷⁴

⁷³ Durakbařa A. (1998). Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek kimliklerinin Oluřumu: Kemalist Kadın Kimliđi ve “Münevver Erkekler” In Aıře Bertkay Hacımırzaođlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.43.

⁷⁴ Kadiođlu A. (1998). Cinselliđin İnkarı: Büyük Toplumsal Projelerin Nesnesi Olarak Türk Kadınları In Aıře Bertkay Hacımırzaođlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.94.

Therefore, Mustafa Kemal precisely emphasized the significance of motherhood with regards to the Reforms. In other terms, although visibility of women in the public sphere was encouraged distinctly from the Ottoman Empire, main duty attributed to women still built in private sphere as being mothers and wives. When the dominant discourse urged women to follow the new rules about veils and wearing modern clothes at the same time it tried to determine limits of the modern appearances of women. The Reforms encouraged women to make changes in their outfits and to modernize the way of covering their heads but still did not allow women to dress and behave as their will. We could see that in the Mustafa Kemal's speech made towards women in Konya in 1923. To that, some women imitated European behaviours and conduct and also dressed attractive outfits which were not proper to Turkish traditions.⁷⁵ With this statement, Mustafa Kemal warned those women not wearing improperly to morals of the society. The new modern Turkish women were warned not to imitate Western women's flirtatious, frivolous attitudes and therefore were advised protecting their mannered behaviours. Thus, it is worth to noting that even new men of the Reforms demanded modern women that they could share civilized life styles with them but with some substantial borders. In fact, with regards to these cultural values even they called themselves 'new man' and tried to determine features of new woman actually male Reformers were not really different from men who were opposed to the principles of the Republic.⁷⁶ Moreover, Kandiyoti mentions that male writers who strictly opposed 'Westernism' were same people with those who precisely supported the emancipation of women in Tanzimat era.⁷⁷ Briefly, being a supporter of the improvement of women's legal status couldn't be identified with being supportive of Westernism. Those two sides might be nourished by the different ideological stances. In this respect, Bora argues that nationalist conservatism is not opposed to modernisation on the contrary is articulated to

⁷⁵ Arat Z.F. (1998). *Kemalizm ve Türk Kadını*. In Ayşe Berktaç Hacımirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.55.

⁷⁶ Berktaç F. (2010). *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: Metis, p.108.

⁷⁷ Kandiyoti D.(1991). *End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey*. In Deniz Kandiyoti (Ed.). *Women, Islam and the State*. USA: Temple University Press, p.25.

modernity with the agreement of women's positioning.⁷⁸ Because although both modernity and nationalist conservatism support the development of the country in light of Western civilization they also have concerns about women's social conduct during this process. In this respect, Gökalp's opinions are significant for demonstrating these ideological references of Turkish modernization. Ziya Gökalp who is the leading ideologue of Turkists tried to build modernizing theories of Turkey upon national roots. Indeed, the aim of synthesizing Turkism, Islamism and Modernity is still read as the theoretical essence of the modernization project in Turkey. It is substantial in his theory that traditions are not only limited with Islamic ones and also it is not necessary to alienate from national culture for to become modernized.⁷⁹ With these essential claims, *Gökalp* tried to figure out that the emancipation of women had already been identified with Turkish national roots and actually it is not contrary to Islamic values. Therefore, references from women's position in the Middle East family life and also from uncorrupted aspect of the history of Islam- without Arabic impacts- are the most recurrent examples to support the main thesis of Gökalp. Further, Ziya Gökalp mentions about ancient Turkish cultural values such as communal landownership, democracy in the family, the equality between men and women and monogamous marriage. Indeed, he labelled this order as 'Turkish feminism' which is "Shamanistic religion and rituals were based on the sacred power vested in women".⁸⁰ As a consequence; Turks had lost their authenticity with the alien impact but the return to cultural essence would provide women equal status with men. At the same time, it seems significant to think with regards to legal transitions to clarify places of *Gökalp* and his thought in relation with Republican principles. The abolition of the Caliphate and the abrogation of the Shari'ah with transforming them into secular codes and law was the reply of the Kemalist ideology given to the conflict between religion and Kemalism.

⁷⁸ Bora T. (2005). *Analar, Bacılar, Orosular: Türk Milliyetçi-Muhafazakâr Söyleminde Kadın*. In Ahmet Öncü, Orhan Tekelioğlu (Ed.). *Şerif Mardin'e Armağan*. İstanbul: İletişim, p.21.

⁷⁹ Göle N. (2011). *Modern Mahrem*. İstanbul: Metis, p.66.

⁸⁰ Kandiyoti D.(1991). *End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey*. In Deniz Kandiyoti (Ed.). *Women, Islam and the State*. USA: Temple University Press, p.35.

Because when the Family Law was presented as a proposal, it suggested maintaining polygamy, eliminating first wife's consent and lowering the age of marriage to 9 for girls. Hence, because of the law proposal, some of the hard-earned legal gains improved the gender equality might have been abolished. Most of them were achieved by the 1917 Family Code. This code aimed at making regulations about the 'new family model', which wouldn't be previously completed by the Mecelle (the Ottoman Civic Code).⁸¹ To this code, the presence of state employee alongside two witnesses became obligatory in the marriage and also marriage without consent condemned illegal. Polygamy was not abolished but was complicated with the obligatory content of the first wife.⁸² On the other hand, abolition of the Caliphate and the abrogation of the Shari'ah was crucial step towards secularization and emancipation of women. In this context, those changes were the precise responses to the oppositions to the women's rights; which also figures out a radical ideological break from the pro-Gökalp ideological approach.⁸³ Instead, the "Turkish History Thesis" was recognized and spread as the main ideological reference of the Republic. Afet İnan who is the adoptive daughter of Mustafa Kemal was charged with setting a systemic and scientific task of the origins of civilizations lived in Anatolia and with revealing the history of Turks in this area. According to Afet Inan's task, Turks contributed to civilisation long before the Ottoman Empire and even their acceptance to Islam.⁸⁴ In this sense, the thesis built a historical break from the Empire which led them to cite to secular life styles before Islam. Therefore, on the one hand, Turks' civilized culture was depended on historical resources on the other hand these historical resources didn't force them to synthesize with Islamic traditions. As a consequence, women's status, power and relations with men in pre-Islamic Turkish societies have a subsequent place for struggle of women's emancipation. With these

⁸¹ Kandiyoti D.(1991). End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey. In Deniz Kandiyoti (Ed.). *Women, Islam and the State*. USA: Temple University Press, p.36.

⁸² *Ibid.* p.36.

⁸³ *Ibid.* p.38.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p.40.

references to the past, building a nationalist ideology supporting rising of women's status became convincing because of historical roots and tendencies. Indeed, "the new woman of the Kemalist era became an explicit symbol of the break with the past, a symbolism which Mustafa Kemal himself did promote".⁸⁵

Besides, being mother and wife in a new type of nuclear family, the new gender regime in Turkey burdened women for also being professionals with well education. Further, an educated professional woman was considered at higher position than housewives.⁸⁶ Education system was the leading part of the Reforms till the beginning of the Republic. Towards this attempt significant transformations were made about education. Ten days after the creation of the Grand National Assembly the Ministry of Education was founded and then presented its education plan. In 1921, *Maarif Kongresi* (the Public Instruction Congress) was organized by the Ministry; which focused on the creation of national education system. In 1923, elementary education was made mandatory and free for both sexes. For 10 years from the beginning of the Republic the most substantial progress for a serious campaign especially for girls' education was realized.⁸⁷ During these reforms, women's education was taken as a significant part of the Reforms because of the main goal which was to glorify women's image. Thus Mustafa Kemal mentions about modernization emphasized the role of women's education:

"(...) Circumstances today require the advancement of our women in all respects. Therefore, our women, too, will be enlightened and learned, and like all men, will go through all educational stages. Then women and men, walking side by side, will be each other's help and support in social life."⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Kandiyoti D.(1991). End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey. In Deniz Kandiyoti (Ed.). *Women, Islam and the State*. USA: Temple University Press, p.41.

⁸⁶ Durakbaşa A. (1998). Kemalism as Identity Politics in Turkey. In Zehra F. Arat (Ed.). *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Woman"*. UK: MacMillan, p.144.

⁸⁷ Arat Z.F. (1998). Educating the Daughters of the Republic. In Zehra F. Arat (Ed.). *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Woman"*. UK: MacMillan, pp.157-158.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p.160.

As in those expressions, education was recognized as a part of social unity in light of the civilization. At this point, it is significant to build a national education as distinguished from domestic education. Indeed, this kind of mobilization for education marked the history in 20th century. Yet, still this system claimed separate education for girls.⁸⁹For example; physical education and military training were only introduced to boys only. At the same time, girls were taught sewing, embroidery, home economics and child-care. Then although physical education and military training were incorporated into the girls' curriculum; the segregation of girls' and boys' classes still remained.⁹⁰ However girls and boys had equal rights to educate; content of the education was still based on the gender differences. Militarism was the dominant factor linked to gendered education that the special course on the military became compulsory for male students in 1926 and later for female students in 1937. Because militarism was primarily the most sacred duty of citizenship and women were given another duty: motherhood.⁹¹ Thus, by means of curriculum and the content of textbooks girls and boys were taught those gender roles linked to the ideals of the nationalist project. We could claim that education had played a major role in embedding social and political values reproduced by the Republic.

The male reformers thought that well-educated, fashionable, modest and graceful Turkish women were seen as good image of their country. The image of 'employed woman' is also related with duties specific to women because Turkish women should contribute to the country's development and so should work for the sake of their nation. Some economic reasons such as poverty, development of the country, the death of the main male provider forced women to work outside. Indeed, these were evaluated the necessity of women's employment for the social benefit. In other

⁸⁹ Akşit E.E. (2005). *Kızların Sessizliği: Kız Enstitülerinin Uzun Tarihi*. İstanbul: İletişim, p.91.

⁹⁰ Arat Z.F. (1998). Educating the Daughters of the Republic. In Zehra F. Arat (Ed.). *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Woman"*. UK: MacMillan, p.161.

⁹¹ Altınay A.G. and Kancı T. (2011). Küçük Askerleri ve Küçük Aşşeleri Eđitmek: Ders Kitaplarında Askerileştirilmiş ve Cinsiyetlendirilmiş Vatandaşlık. In F. Gök, M. Carlson, A. Rabo (Ed.). *Çokkültürlü Topumlarda Eđitim -Türkiye ve İsveç Deneyimleri*. İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, pp.53-58.

terms, raising numbers of women in the employment was attached to being beneficiary to the nation. On the other hand, demands of women towards working outside rose with some desires towards transformation of women's social being. Those demands are like "to have women's existence accepted, to change their status as second-class citizens, to be able to enter spaces that were closed to them, and to do work other than 'women's work'".⁹² However, there was apparent effort to carry women's labour from the agricultural sector to the industry; there was a decline of women's participation in the labour force.⁹³ Moreover, enhancing political interests on agricultural sector with the multi-party regime demonstrated that majority of employed women were still working in agriculture of which proportion was almost 30% higher than men working in the agricultural sector. (In 1955 63.3% of men and 96.1% of women were working in the agriculture. In 1960 60.9% of men and 94.65% of women were working in the agriculture.)⁹⁴

Women were purged from sexual identity and then were recognized as a 'helpmate'. This type of characteristics points to a woman who is well-educated, works for homeland and avoids from earthly pleasures.⁹⁵ Durakbaşa claims that unless there wasn't a social fear for women to be masculinised by getting a job encouraging women for being employed are derived from a tacit agreement between women and men. The moral code about protection of women's modesty and virtue was maintained by means of purifying national women from sexual meanings.⁹⁶ Indeed, in various novels women were illustrated as asexual. Along similar lines, when Halide Edip Adivar was illustrating the Kemalist woman hero in her novel 'Yeni Turan' she

⁹² Demirdirek A. (1998). In pursuit of the Ottoman Women's Movement In Zehra F. Arat (Ed.). *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Woman"*. UK: MacMillan, p.69.

⁹³ Urla Zeytinoğlu I. (1998). Constructed Images as Employment Restrictions: Determinants of Female Labor in Turkey In Zehra F. Arat (Ed.). *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Woman"*. UK: MacMillan, p.183.

⁹⁴ Abadan Unat N. (1981). *Women in Turkish Society*. Hungary: E.J.Brill Leiden, pp.20-21.

⁹⁵ Göle N. (2011). *Modern Mahrem*. Istanbul: Metis, p.80.

⁹⁶ Durakbaşa A. (2000). *Halide Edib: Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*. Istanbul: İletişim, p.74

writes as follows: “There is absolutely nothing to remind sex, whether woman or man, at this glance”.⁹⁷ As we could recognize in this statement, she describes the new woman who almost forgot her womanhood for the sake of national will. Also there wouldn't be sexual signals describing women's appearances.

The distinction between Anatolian women and women in Istanbul points out parts of women which were put in the center of the reforms. In line with the political references of Turkish Reforms to the significance of traditions, Anatolian women were regarded as continuation of the ideal Turkish women for being diligent and creative, together with their men.⁹⁸ At this point, when Anatolian women were glorified and idealized in light of romantic ideals such as self-sacrifice, asexuality and productivity; women in Istanbul were illustrated as being easily deceived by dangers of modernity such as luxury, laziness and selfishness. That is why women in urban centres were generally warned against these dangers of modernity. As mentioned previously, the draft of the Family Code of 1917 which included some changes weakening women's legal status led to discussions in the parliament. With the overwhelming reaction of press against the draft; *Necmettin Sadak*⁹⁹ criticized the silence of women towards the draft law which would have a directly impact on their lives. Also, especially women in Istanbul were encouraged to break the silence in this article.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, *Nezihe Muhittin* condemned women for remaining insensitive to the law.¹⁰¹ Within that period, the distinction between Anatolian women and women from Istanbul became apparent with the reciprocal articles in newspapers. To an article written in the newspaper *Tevhid* “women in Istanbul who are hanging out in parties and are addicted to dancing and fashion couldn't have represented the Turkish

⁹⁷ Göle N. (2011). *Modern Mahrem*. Istanbul: Metis, p.81.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p.78.

⁹⁹ Necmettin Sadak was Turkish politician and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey from 1947 to 1950.

¹⁰⁰ Abadan Unat N. (1981). *Women in Turkish Society*. Hungary: E.J.Brill Leiden, p.12.

¹⁰¹ Toska Z.(1998). *Cumhuriyet'in Kadın İdeali: Eşiği Aşanlar ve Aşamayanlar* In Ayşe Berktay Hacımirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.80.

women. Also these women in Istanbul didn't have enough capacity to talk on veiled peasant women's behalf. Essential part of which the state has to care for was peasant women."¹⁰² These expressions severely emphasize that the categorisation of women as far as suitability to gender regime of the State. Further, some women were charged of their life styles. Ultimately life styles, daily routines and personal pleasures of women were evaluated whether being self-sacrifice in the name of the nation or not. As a response, *Halide Edip Adivar* wrote an article as severe as accusations:

“Going to parties, addicted to fashion and even dancing does not mean that women couldn't think earnestly about issues of their homeland. Intellectual women in urban centres also advocate and analyse interests and rights of women living in rural and burdening problems of the homeland.”¹⁰³

Thus, she apparently criticized the view categorizing women's social conduct as proper to their national task or improper with regards to their social lives' activities. As we could see also in *Halide Edip Adivar's* expressions womanhood were examined by nationalist discourse. It is worth noting that, historically the women's question in Turkey has inseparable ties with nationalism. That might be the reason why women could not create autonomous agenda in the past as apart from the nationalist ideals. More precisely, it would have taken time to struggle for their own problems almost 60 years from that time with regard to the women's movement in Turkey.

Especially Adivar's expressions show us that women's demands about their lifestyles, rights and statuses were generally dominated by nationalist ideals and modernization policy. Because essential ideals of the new Republic were seemed superior than other social demands. The regime was really strict about its outcomes and proceeds thus tried to melt other demands in nationalist ideals. Moreover, these outcomes and proceeds try to shape gender roles under the name of new woman and

¹⁰² Toska Z.(1998). Cumhuriyet'in Kadın İdeali: Eşği Aşanlar ve Aşamayanlar In Ayşe Berktaş Hacımırzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.80.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p.81.

new man. Also the regime was on alert against the opposition to the principles of the Republic. Therefore, it is the thing that gives disciplinary character to the regime and its supporters. The regime was really impatient about the opposition of idealization of national woman that these ones were denigrated. Moreover, the denigration of improper women to the regime's expectations is actually the base of the nationalist discourse. Because nationalism could call for women and men to national duties such as protection of homeland against enemies and for this, actually nationalism create a discourse which determinates which men and women are worth to be called for national mission, which women and men are deserved it. This nationalist call is considered important because its power comes from the belief on the imagined unity. As a consequence, this belief seems to strengthen by means of the emphasis on 'the unity'. Moreover, the borders drawing 'the unity' could change depending to political conditions and they are the things which make these borders really ambiguous and unstable. Therefore, when the discourse of the new woman refers to many national factors, these could be frequently contradictory. Consequently, the new woman and the new family simultaneously refer to many necessities both contradictory and compatible, which resulted to complicated control system on images attributed to women.

2.3. Imagined Women of the Imagined Community: The New Woman of the New Regime

With regards to nationalist ideals, just as how citizens' duties differ for women and men, women's and men's roles in the familial order are also built and consolidated in different ways. Furthermore, the family has an essential place in nationalism as being the constituent of the nation. Thus, this chapter aims to follow the features of the new family of the new regime. Especially during transformation processes of regimes women and men are directed to act through national ideals attributed to them. Especially magazines, newspapers or textbooks could be places of symbolical characteristics of gender roles in relation with changing policies. According to this, in this chapter the main purpose is to describe the family's place in nation states and

then specifically to emphasize the creation of the new family in relation with national ideals. As mentioned previously, duties and norms ascribed to women in nation-building process and modernization become visible especially with households, relation between mother-children and wife-husband. All these factors are crucial to determine the characteristics of an ideal woman. So that, the chapter tries to figure out the expectations from the new woman in the familial relations.

For nation states, the family is significant for various points of view. Firstly, the family is an essential mean transferring cultural codes by which the nationalist discourse builds its ideology. In this context women's purity is identified with the honor of the nation, which assigned men a national task to protect that. That is why nationalists have specific interests in women's sexuality and their sexual behavior. Because women embodied the family and the nation "women's shame is the family's shame, the nation's shame and the men's shame"¹⁰⁴ To this, while women are positioned in the side of protected, men are in the side of protector. Thus we could claim that this relation constructs gender hierarchy linked with familial and national roles. Because family is the place where the 'organic' hierarchy is built.¹⁰⁵ This hierarchy is naturalized in the family as social arrangements normalized within "family values". On the other hand, the family is defined as the bearers of new social order which rebuilt by nationalist and modernist ideals. Indeed, the family is regarded as the main signifier of the healthy, modern, moral and happy nation.¹⁰⁶ Within the assigned traditional meanings to the family, it becomes the essential unity of the nation.

¹⁰⁴ Nagel J. (1998). Masculinity and Nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of nations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21 (2), p.254.

¹⁰⁵ McClintock A. (1993). Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family. *Feminist Review*, 44, p.63.

¹⁰⁶ Caldwell L. (1989). Women as the Family: the Foundation of a New Italy?. In Nira Yuval Davis and Floya Anthias (Ed.). *Woman-Nation-State*. UK: MacMillan, p.176.

Similarly, in a country like Turkey which had experienced modernization process in light of Westernization and nationalism the family was transformed due to changing gender roles. As a result of Republican reforms, the family was placed in public sphere as ‘national family’ while it had been placed in private sphere in the Ottoman.¹⁰⁷ Actually, we could claim that the family had pivotal role in the Republican reforms because of new constructed relations. Within Republic the old family model of the Ottoman Empire was changed. In the Ottoman Empire there were families which included numerous generations from old to young. It was crucial because this ‘big house’ symbolized this extended family gave family members their identification. Indeed, members introduced themselves within their families’ name in the public. Yet, the Republic created a new definition of kinship and thus required to find alternative bonds that will designate and legitimize social relations. Before the Republic, relations in this ‘big house’ derived from kinship. But the Republic changed this meaning of kinship. Within de-legitimizing of ‘big house’, relations were rebuilt in the form of nuclear family and love was made the essence of those familial relations.¹⁰⁸ Thus, it actually means intervention of state in the realm of family by means of new social arrangements. In this context the family of the Republic equipped with the principles of Turkish modernization and was placed in public as being a minor model of the nation. In fact, the Family Code in 1917 was the first step of this policy that is the first time for the central state to interfere with familial order of all *millets*. The Civil Code promulgated in 1926 also legalized this form of new and national family with relations of power clearly shaped with regards to gender.¹⁰⁹ Within these regulations the national family became the main signifier of the nationalist project’s polity. According to Sirman, the nuclear family was designated with both structural and cultural functions. Structurally, ‘new man’ of the Republic was defined as husbands in spite of as fathers. They gained this position by

¹⁰⁷ Berktaş F. (2010). *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*. Istanbul: Metis, p.104.

¹⁰⁸ Sirman N. (2005). The Making of Familial Citizenship In E.Fuat Keyman, Ahmet İçduygu (Ed.). *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences*. UK: Routledge. p.158.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p.164.

means of equality constructed among men. Within this position, men could formally relate with the state but women were citizens as long as they performed their role as helpers and advisors.¹¹⁰ At this point, the place of family demonstrates us the forms of construction of citizenship in relation to gender roles. Thus, although by means of the Civic Code of 1926 women and men were built as equal citizens; this kind of citizenship involved familial relations and hierarchies.

In this sense, the family was placed as the constituent of the society. Also, the family has significant role for socialization and educating the society besides schools. Actually when gender roles are constituted primarily around the family, also the family provides to convey these familial codes to previous generation. The transformation of the familial order was seen as essential for the new life as in the journal of *Kadınlar Dünyası*;

“We are experiencing a Reform in our country. We achieved the political reforms but also social reforms are required. Thus we could realize this type of reforms only by regenerating the family life.”¹¹¹

By means of written sources expressing women’s lives as women’s magazines, we could observe duties of mothers and fathers and also the relation between them. We could follow the changes of people’s roles in the family life and of the home design as places of those lives. On the other side, home was also a significant place for carrying the roots of the Turkish origin, which holds the entire nation together. One of major concerns of the Republican elites depended upon the destruction of the traditional family which was recognized as the essence of social morality. *Gökalp*’s theory was crucial to consider this social concern that he is the notable figure for examining the family to synthesize modernity with original codes. *Gökalp* illustrates the meaning of the house to women as follows:

“The house is a heaven to us

¹¹⁰ Sirman N. (2005). The Making of Familial Citizenship In E.Fuat Keyman, Ahmet İçduygu (Ed.). *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences*. UK: Routledge, p.164.

¹¹¹Berktaş F. (2010). *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*. Istanbul: Metis, p.104.

I owe to save my homeland because it's under threat
But then I need to be a housewife
I also study but never define house as a dungeon
Actually I always tell that neither the woman leave home nor home leave woman"¹¹²

Gökalp emphasizes women's main duty as being housewife and the main place women were responsible for is house. Apparently, woman and home were identical. In parallel, male writers of the Republic recognized woman as living for her family and being self-sacrificing. Thus, they identified woman and the family with reference to each other.¹¹³ Indeed, women were considered as identical with private sphere.¹¹⁴ At this point, the nationalist discourse metaphorically reinforces the perception that women should be protected by their men. At the same time, this notion evaluates loyalty of women to their family similar with loyalty to their nation. Above all, the distinction puts women to the private and men to the public created a distinction between the contemporary and traditional family. Gökalp tries to describe the Turkish family and points out the ideological, political difference between the ancient and the contemporary family. According to Gökalp, neither the Turkish family would imitate other countries' familial order nor strictly rejected modern types of family. But the Turkish family needed to be modernized by taking new ideas from the European civilization.¹¹⁵ Therefore, Gökalp tries to adapt Turkish cultural origins of the family to the Western civilization. Furthermore, this argument points to the distinction between modern and tradition. Because social conducts were evaluated through the balance between modern and tradition. In other words, we could claim that the family was also crucial signifier of the degree of civilization.

¹¹² Sancar S. (2012). *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: Metis, p.213.

¹¹³ Berktaş F. (2010). *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: Metis, p.157

¹¹⁴ Kandiyoti D. (2011) Kimlik Kavramı ve Yetersizlikleri: Kadınlar ve Ulus In D.Kandiyoti (Ed.). *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar*. İstanbul: Metis, p.172

¹¹⁵ Sancar S. (2012). *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: Metis, p.215.

The outfit of women was another factor which points to the civilized but moderate image of the country. Thus, in some speeches, Mustafa Kemal encouraged women to dress more fashionable and mentioned his discontent about some women's old style clothes.¹¹⁶ Therefore, women's appearance emerges as a significant measure which adjusts the image of the country. Along similar lines, appearances of students were expected to reflect a civilized image but with limitations drawn under effects of social concerns attached to modernity. For instance, girls weren't allowed to make up or they were tied to firm rules about their clothes and hairpins. Students must have short hair, ponytail hair or shape hair in plaits. Similarly, their uniforms should be simple with maxi skirt and dark black or brown socks.¹¹⁷ All these practices point to the major aim to conceal femininity of girls. The existed woman was tried to be transformed into an asexual woman of the idealized womanhood. Therefore, as being proper to idealized Turkish woman of the Republic women's modesty would be promoted with asexuality. Furthermore, we could claim that women's participation in public life was legitimized by means of this non-sexual image.¹¹⁸ In this respect, there was an ambivalent between beauty and modesty was constituted for the women's appearances. According to this dominant approach, generally basic visual categorizations about women's appearances, outfits, life styles and relations were appreciated. In printed media women were illustrated with regards to categories shaped with well-known images such as silk socks, diamond jewelers, luxury cars, mansion etc.¹¹⁹ All these images are used to describe the everlasting and so unabashed desires of women. Thus, this description of women with limitless pleasures and joy is derived from the image identified women as demons because of dangers of women's sexuality. Kandiyoti mentions that in the Ottoman/Turkish

¹¹⁶ Arat Z.F. (1998). *Kemalizm ve Türk Kadını* In Ayşe Bertkay Hacımirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.54.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.67.

¹¹⁸ Kandiyoti D. (2011). *Ataerkil Örüntüler: Türk Toplumunda Erkek Egemenliğinin Çözümlemesine Yönelik Notlar* In D.Kandiyoti (Ed.). *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar*. İstanbul: Metis, p.196.

¹¹⁹ Cantek L. (2008). *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı: Gündelik Yaşama Dair Tartışmalar (1945-1950)*. İstanbul: İletişim, p.94.

literature, dangers of the modernity embodied in women running after pleasures such as luxury, shopping, fashion and sexual relations.¹²⁰ That kind of woman was designated as a person who should be kept out of the familial life and the house. In other words, it symbolizes the corruption of the traditional family life. Besides, men were also warned to avoid those women. We could see similar warnings in religious resources implying men's physical weakness against women so advise men not to get out the God's line.¹²¹ Therefore, social norms attributed to women seem to constrain women's sexuality in the society and acting out of those social bonds is identical with being immoral woman.

With regard to well upbringing, educated generations the notion of motherhood was also transformed. Therefore, the content of motherhood was determined with rules and reshaped in toward positivism. Advises for mothers about methods of upbringing children were frequently mentioned in newspapers and magazines. When it is considered with the dominant idea that motherhood was the main duty of women educated women were expected to use their education firstly at their homes.¹²² Therefore, women could exceed backwardness of the society by upbringing children with their knowledge. Because of this, firstly women should be saved from ignorance that they condemned to by the old regime. This is why motherhood was described as social duties of women.¹²³

At this point, the other significant fact is about rationalization of the knowledge of motherhood. In other terms, forming the motherhood with strict rules and methods which were inevitably under effect of rationalist and positivist stance of the

¹²⁰ Kandiyoti D. (2011). *Cariyeler, Fattan Kadınlar ve Yoldaşlar: Türk Romanında Kadın İmgeleri* In D.Kandiyoti (Ed.). *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar*. İstanbul: Metis, p.150.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* p.148.

¹²² Arat Z.F. (1998). *Kemalizm ve Türk Kadını* In Ayşe Berktaş Hacimirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.p.53.

¹²³ Toska Z.(1998). *Cumhuriyet'in Kadın İdeali: Eşiği Aşanlar ve Aşamayanlar* In Ayşe Berktaş Hacimirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları. p.71.

Republic. When the new order tried to constitute a new educated society by means of women actually it shows the conventional domestic roles and norms as the reason of the social ignorance. Therefore, the new woman should modernize these conventional roles which she learned from her mother. In other words, the girls of the new regime could have constituted modern families differently from their mothers. In this respect, the knowledge of womanhood was begun to learn in schools not in homes by means of womanly knowledge circulated in families.¹²⁴In this sense, we could say that the knowledge of womanhood was turned into publicity and for this, women are expected to be voluntary signifiers of this publicity.¹²⁵

Similar changes might be also observed in the decoration of houses and the meaning of houses. Before the Republic, houses had been organized for separate places for men and women yet with the new regime men and women began to sit together in guest rooms. Besides, the ‘visiting day’ was very popular among women and became a significant symbol of modern women.¹²⁶Along similar lines, Özbay claims that “in those days guest rooms were windows of women to the world. According to women it was the form of the transformation into the public life.”¹²⁷

As a consequence, specific features and roles attributed to women took forms in socially constituted marriages. To draw up the borders of the ideal marriage there were generally advises for women in the journal about how to behave to their husbands or how to make them happy.¹²⁸ In this respect, the recipes of the ideal marriage emerge as crucial evidences to figure out roles postulated for conjugal

¹²⁴ Akşit E.E. (2009). Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye’de Kamusal Kavramının Dönüşümü ve Dışladıkları. *SBF Dergisi*, 64(1), p.6.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* p.11.

¹²⁶ Durakbaşı A. (1998). Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek kimliklerinin Oluşumu: Kemalist Kadın Kimliği ve “Münevver Erkekler” In Ayşe Bertay Hacımirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.44.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* p.44.

¹²⁸ Sancar S. (2012). *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: Metis, p.243.

relation between men and women. Because the family means at the heart of nationalism and it is considered as a social construction which reconfigures the foundations and ideals of the new regime. When this is considered along with the gender basis of nationalism, familial relations become the main realm which reflects the proper attitudes expected from women. Besides, those proper attitudes pointed to 'proper citizenship' of women. Characteristics such as supporting and helpfulness assigned to women and actually determine the form of women's participation into the public. In other words, women were expected to being in the public within those rules of propriety. The prevailing emphasis of the Republican discourse on the modesty of social conduct, which frequently seen in *Kadın Gazetesi*, aimed to embed a psychological discipline in citizens to control their lives.¹²⁹ Within this purpose, writings emphasized the significance of ways of motherhood, scientific recommendations for child rearing, outfits and appearance and indeed detailed forms of make-up. Because with this detailed cluster of necessities about social conduct pointed to the Republican attempt to teach proper citizenship. On the other hand, this cogent way of control also involved with the citizens' behaviors in the private sphere. Control over citizens' social conduct not only in the public but also in the private led the holistic insight of publicity.¹³⁰ As a result, on the one hand the family and women's familial and national duties were publicized within the national rules of the Republic; on the other hand, along with the distinction of public and private the family was positioned in the private. While relations based on familial hierarchies were seen as a part of privacy of the family; norms about those relations could be a part of public citizenship education. As a result, women were also the part of citizenship education yet, because their citizenship was shaped within motherhood and domestic duties their education remained limited within those forms determined in public and private. Along similar lines, *Kadın Gazetesi* regarded women's life as a part of proper citizenship and thus a wide variety of topics from motherhood to ideal marriage, from make up to home design were evaluated as necessities of this national

¹²⁹ Üstel F. (2005). *Makbul Vatandaşın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi*. İstanbul: İletişim. p.323.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* p.323

role. As a part of extensive social engineering, the journal tried to develop womanhood of the country by means of those detailed recommendations. Thus they could have reshaped Turkish women properly to the idealized images of gender.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONTENT OF *KADIN GAZETESİ*

3.1. The Importance of Women's Writings and the Women's Movement

This section points to the history of women's journals in Turkey and also of women's movement in Turkey. To this, the study aims to demonstrate historical background of *Kadın Gazetesi* and figure out the meaning of women's journals in women's activities. To see changes of women's demands depending upon current policies on women's status, it seems effective to argue the Republic's discourse embodied on women. In this context, this section focuses on experiences of women who gathered around publishing which led them to share their demands and expectations.

In the Ottoman Empire women's movement began with the Tanzimat Reform Era in relation with the attempts through Westernization. Main reforms by the Tanzimat included development of military innovations and also pointed out backwardness of the Empire contrary to the Western countries. As well as technological progress the reforms aimed to catch up innovations around the World which posed to significant debates on public policy. Although the Tanzimat or Islahat didn't include changes about women's status, even if indirectly, caused dynamism for the women's movement in the Empire.

Especially by the second constitutional period in the Ottoman women's rights increased. Profound transformation on the legal system had effects on women's legal rights. Primarily we could claim this legal improvement began with *Arazi Kanunnamesi* (Land Registry Law) in 1858. To this, women and men took an equal

sum of inheritance. On the other hand, with the edict in 1857 regulations about abolition of slavery¹³¹. Another significant development was about the criminal code. To this regulation, men were also sentenced to imprisonment just as women in the event of committing adultery, while previously men had been imposed fine.¹³² Yet, among these regulations the most crucial one in terms of women's legal status was *Aile Kararnamesi* (The Family Law) which was promulgated in 1917. According to *Aile Kararnamesi* the declaration of the consent for marriage became obligatory. Also the law decreed women's right to divorce in some cases. Within this law, polygyny was not abolished but the consent of the first wife became obligatory.¹³³

With the second constitution promulgated in 1908 the numbers of women's journals dramatically increased.¹³⁴ Thus, printed media became crucial realm for women's activities; especially for the communication among women about their social and personal problems. Moreover, in that period writers of woman's journals tried to raise readers' consciousness about women's problems and in accordance with this purpose, a large number of women organized conferences, associations in which they placed active role.¹³⁵ Therefore, these organizations, conferences and journals are the most significant resources which demonstrate us women's historical struggle in Turkey. Also the debates in the daily newspapers on gender issues provides us an idea about the popular arguments during the early years of the Republic. For example, polygamy was one of the popular issues debated among men and women. Popular writers of this period such as Şinasi, Namık Kemal, Abdülhak Hamid, Şemseddin Sami and Ahmet Mithat Efendi wrote quite critical essays about the

¹³¹ Çakır S. (1996). *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. İstanbul: Metis, p.139.

¹³² Akagündüz Ü. (2015). Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Siyasi Atmosfer ve Dönem Dergilerinde Kadın Düşüncesi (1923-1925). *Fe Dergi*. 7 (2). p.112

¹³³ Durakbaşa A. (2000). *Halide Edip: Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*. İstanbul: İletişim, p.100.

¹³⁴ Çakır S. (1996). *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. İstanbul: Metis, p.32.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* p.22.

status of women in the Ottoman society.¹³⁶ *Muhadderat* was the first woman journal published in 1888 as 48 issues which was a part of the newspaper *Terakki*' began to be published in 1868.¹³⁷ Then other journals such as *Vakit*, *Şüküfezar*, *İnsaniyet*, *Ayine*, *Parça Bohçası*, *Aile* followed *Muhadderat* although they were published for a brief period only. *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (The Newspaper Exclusive for Women) was the most popular and significant one with regards to its period of publication. It was published between 1895 and 1908 with 604 issues. It was the Turkey's longest published weekly woman's journal at that time.¹³⁸ Fatma Aliye who was the first woman novelist of Turkey regularly wrote in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* and her writings were generally about anti-polygamy. Fatma Aliye is the daughter of Ahmet Mithat Efendi, who was an important statesman. His thought about a new way of understanding of Islam and the progression of New Ottomans had been effective on socialization of Fatma Aliye.¹³⁹ Fatma Aliye strictly rejected polygamy in her articles and stated that Muslim women were not aware of their historical development. She cited examples from Muslim women's successes and tried to prove that the Islamic tenet didn't pose an obstacle to women's progress.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, neither *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* nor Fatma Aliye mentioned only women's domestic duties, motherhood and wifeness; generally, they referred to social impediments carried by men. Indeed, Fatma Aliye claimed that women were discriminated by men, especially at art and science, even in civilized countries in America and Europe.¹⁴¹

The world's first wave of feminism emerged with demands for the political rights of women. Similarly, the Ottoman women's movement struggled to enhance the

¹³⁶ Tekeli Ş. (1982). *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*. İstanbul: Birikim, p.196.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* pp.196-197.

¹³⁸ Çakır S. (1996). *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. İstanbul: Metis, p.27.

¹³⁹ Akşit E.E. (2008). Üç Osmanlı Feminizmi ve Doğu Kadınları. *Doğudan*, 7, p.85.

¹⁴⁰ Çakır S. (1996). *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. İstanbul: Metis. p.29; Akşit E.E. (2008). Üç Osmanlı Feminizmi ve Doğu Kadınları. *Doğudan*, 7, p.85.

¹⁴¹ Çakır S. (1996). *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. İstanbul: Metis, p.29.

political rights of women and to develop their social status by means of civil rights about wifehood and legal improvements diminishing polygamy. In the second Constitutionalist period, we could observe the revival of the women's movement in the Ottoman Empire. Because in tough war circumstances, with the effect of Young Ottoman's nationalist thoughts against the danger of breaking down of the Empire women become conscious 'citizens'.¹⁴² Women acquired awareness about their positions and investigated their rights, liberties due to nationalist sensitivity. We could claim that with the effect of rising nationalism and consciousness about citizenship in the Republic women's movement developed with nationalism for long years. Emine Semiye, the sister of Fatma Aliye and one of the popular novelists in the Second Constitutionalist period, emphasized these demands; "to be seated better places for women in ships, in ships and trolley to take primary, to have place for women in nation gardens, to be acted historical and moral plays for women by theatres, impoverished women could go into business by means of institutions founded by charitable women."¹⁴³ Thus, educated women from middle-class living in Istanbul asked for a woman-friendly social life for their sisters and reforms about their positions' in the public. Since these demands couldn't be covered by the Second Constitutional period, it created profound disappointment for women.

Kadınlar Dünyası (Women's World) was one of the popular journal of that time and women in the journal pointed to the urgency of the transformation of patriarchy and its ideology. This could be done only by the reforms made by women.¹⁴⁴ *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) began to be published in 1913 as three-week journal in Istanbul. Its publication was interrupted for three times; first one was because of the lack of paper and secondly, it was cut in the First World War. Because women of *Kadınlar Dünyası* wanted to take a part in the war and so worked as nurses behind

¹⁴² Berktaş F.(1998) Cumhuriyet'in 75 yıllık Serüvenine Kadınlar Açısından Bakmak In Ayşe Berktaş Hacımirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.1.

¹⁴³ Toska Z.(1998). Cumhuriyet'in Kadın İdeali: Eşiği Aşanlar ve Aşamayanlar In Ayşe Berktaş Hacımirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.75.

¹⁴⁴ Çakır S. (1996). *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. İstanbul: Metis, p.111.

the fronts. Finally, it wasn't published between 1918 and 1921 probably because of the Turkish War of Independence. In *Kadınlar Dünyası* women principally decided to publish only women's articles. Ulviye Mevlan was the publisher of *Kadınlar Dünyası* and the founder of *Osmanlı Müdafaa-I Hukuk-I Nisvan Cemiyeti* (The Ottoman Countrywide Resistance Women Organization).¹⁴⁵ Ulviye Mevlan criticized men to express their opinions on social life, child care, commerce and industry, family, law as if they are the only authority.¹⁴⁶ In general, there were some letters from women and some essays in *Kadınlar Dünyası*. Especially these generally bothered of sexual discrimination and complained about the disadvantages of the social status of women.¹⁴⁷ It is significant that the journal published photographs of women members of the Ottoman Countrywide Resistance Women Organization, so it was the first time for women to be taken photos and to be published in a journal without their veils.¹⁴⁸

We could see similar ways of demands in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (The Newspaper Exclusive to Women). To this, according to women in the journal men's stance was the major obstacle in women's development.¹⁴⁹ The debates on polygamy were also prevalent in journals and newspaper. In respect to this, Fatma Aliye wrote her demands for removal the polygamy.¹⁵⁰ Also demands about the improvement of women's positions in the family were another prominent topic. In addition to

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p.80-102. *Osmanlı Müdafaa-ı Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* was the association of the journal *Kadınlar Dünyası* and worked during the Second Constitutional Period as a popular women's association. This association aimed to struggle for women's demands and to develop women's status. The association became popular by means of its official publication, *Kadınlar Dünyası* see also Çakır S. (1996). *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. İstanbul: Metis, p.57.

¹⁴⁶ Akşit E.E. (2008). Üç Osmanlı Feminizmi ve Doğu Kadınları. *Doğudan*, 7, p.86.

¹⁴⁷ Çakır S. (1996). *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. İstanbul: Metis, p.103-110.

¹⁴⁸ Toska Z.(1998). Cumhuriyet'in Kadın İdeali: Eşiği Aşanlar ve Aşamayanlar In Ayşe Berktaş Hacimirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.76.

¹⁴⁹ Yıldız H. (2015). *Türkiye'de Kadınların Siyasi Haklar Mücadelesi ve Nakiye Elgün* (Unpublished Master Thesis). Ankara: Ankara University, p.23.

¹⁵⁰ Akşit E.E. (2008). Üç Osmanlı Feminizmi ve Doğu Kadınları. *Doğudan*, 7, p.85.

women's civic rights, women's participation into the political and social realm was frequently supported ideal of women in *Kadınlar Dünyası*.¹⁵¹ With historical knowledge about women's movement in the Ottoman Empire, we could see that the political rights for women was supported by a large number of women. Indeed, the number of readers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* was 3000 in 1910s¹⁵², which shows women's close interests in women's activities and writings.

The Turkish War of Independence had significant impacts on women's demands for rights. Women of Anatolia had taken part in the war in various ways, but mostly behind the fronts. Besides, especially in demonstrations against the conquest of Istanbul women appeared as speakers. Secondly, women participated in the organizations all over the Anatolia and they separately established resistance organizations which made up only women members.¹⁵³ Being a part of political protests provided women visibility in the public. Also after the foundation of the Republic women's demands on equal political rights dramatically increased. To struggle for these rights became the major point of women's activities as we could see in the case of the Women's Party.

Nezihe Muhiddin is the important leader of the Ottoman feminism along with Fatma Aliye, Emine Semiye, Ulviye Mevlan. Nezihe Muhiddin was a leader of suffrage activists gathering around *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* (Women People Party) and *Kadın Birliği* (Woman Association). Nezihe Muhiddin actively played a significant role in the woman's movement since the second constitutional period. To women of that time enlightenment and education of women were so significant for the development of women's status. She took part in the founding cadre of the journal of *Türk Kadını* (Turkish Woman). At that time women like Fatma Aliye also mentioned their appreciation of the increasing number of woman journals, but Nezihe Muhiddin

¹⁵¹ Çakır S. (1996). *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. İstanbul: Metis, p.115.

¹⁵² Çakır S. (1996). *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. İstanbul: Metis, p.320.

¹⁵³ Tekeli Ş. (1982). *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*. İstanbul: Birikim, p.203.

complaint about the lack of solidarity among women's journals.¹⁵⁴ This complaint shows us her ideal of women's unity even before the Republic and its legal achievements for women. Indeed, in the first days of 1923 Muhiddin and her women friends struggled to establish the Women People's Party, which stands to date as one of the most significant early political efforts of women in the early Republican period of Turkey. Nezihe Muhiddin strictly advocated the view that national reform was impossible without women's reform. Furthermore, she emphasized this reform could become true by means of women. Thus womanhood could have developed and at the same time nation-building could have been realized.¹⁵⁵ But Nezihe Muhiddin's ideal didn't coincide with the hegemonic national discourse in nation building process of Turkey. Nezihe Muhiddin had ideals on development of women's status and she argued possibilities of women's policy with regards to their own demands. Actually according to Muhiddin women's reform could not be separated from the national reform and moreover she had some political and radical strategies to demonstrate the importance of women's legal status. As demonstrated in the issue of Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, her ideals about women and also the way of woman's politics were not appreciated by the masculinity dominated the nation-building process in Turkey. With these factors, Nezihe Muhiddin might be regarded as the radical activist from the point of the Republican elites' view.

As mentioned below, almost all members of the Turkish Parliament resisted legalizing women's right to vote. Then Nezihe Muhiddin and a group of woman activists decided to protest the lack of women's representation by organizing a council. Muhittin overwhelmingly asserted their political approach as follows:

“Even if they won't give us our rights, we will take them. The workings and thoughts of our women for fifteen years bestowed us rights for that political

¹⁵⁴ Tekeli Ş. (1982). *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*. İstanbul: Birikim, p.63.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p.22.

status. Also the real necessity of the country commands us to possess these statuses”.¹⁵⁶

With reference to experiences that resulted from women’s workings and thoughts, Muhiddin indirectly figures that women possess the political knowledge to exercise political rights. In the first stage they organized a conference in preparation for the council. Firstly, the council wouldn’t be limited with women in Istanbul because intellectual women from a great variety of associations in Anatolia would come together in Istanbul. Secondly, their main goal was to obtain women’s political rights, especially to gain right to elect. Moreover, they tried to establish a woman’s party. Consequently, they decided to found an association with a decision in the council which would work for the principles of the unity of the nation. Also the council manifested that Turkish women shouldn’t be passive towards political development on the contrary they should work toward having political rights.¹⁵⁷ Consequently, in 15th June 1923 the *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* was founded with the decision of the council gathered in *Darülfunun* conference hall. When Muhiddin gave an interview with a journalist she especially emphasized that they didn’t want to be a minister or a member of the parliament but they tended to demonstrate their absolute intention for gaining a right to elect.¹⁵⁸ But the proposal for foundation of the *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* was ignored by the government because women did not bestow political rights yet. Finally, those women were persuaded to make some changes on their party’s regulation and a form of political party was transformed into an association which is called *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* (Turkish Women’s Association).¹⁵⁹ The entity decided to transform into an association. The attempt to found a Women’s Party is a significant cornerstone for the women’s movement in Turkey. This political step was oppressed by the government’s rejection of the

¹⁵⁶ Zihnioğlu Y. (2003). *Kadinsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği*. Istanbul: Metis.p.37.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p.125.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p.127.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p.149.

demands on the political rights of women. In this case, those activist women taking part in the effort to found a party actually aimed to prove everyone that women were ready to possess civic rights. Because women's demands for political rights had been denied previously on the grounds that women were not conscious enough to practice these rights. However, just as the First Wave of the Women's Movement in the world did, these women demanded equal citizenship rights with men, which means gaining legal equality with men.¹⁶⁰ Yet, in 1927 *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* began to be disrupted by the government because of different reasons such as claims about lawlessness in the account of the association, infraction of rules in the congress of the association. With these accusations the association was outlawed and its regulation was abolished. Although Nezihe Muhiddin resisted that she had not resigned yet, an extra-ordinary congress gathered and elected a new committee; which was approved by the government. Thus the government supported opponents against Nezihe Muhiddin in the association. Then the new committee eliminated Nezihe Muhiddin from the association. Finally, *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* decided to abolish itself in 1935. Latife Bekir who was the chief of *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* explained the reason of the closure by stating that the association became unnecessary because the Turkish constitution had established equality between men and women.¹⁶¹

Before the 1927 election, *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* organized meetings to discuss women's nominations in the election. Furthermore, the head of the association announced that the entity hoped to gain political rights in the 1927 election.¹⁶² Yet, women could not gain rights in this election. Tekeli stated that the First Parliament of the Republic consisted of men who were not egalitarian about women's rights and also the Second Parliament of the Republic was not so different from this point of

¹⁶⁰ Sancar S. (2011). Türkiye'de Kadın Hareketinin Politığı: Tarihsel Bağlam, Politik Gündem ve Özgünlükler In Serpil Sancar (Ed.). *Birkaç Arpa Boyu: 21.Yüzyıla Girerken Türkiye'de Feminist Çalışmalar*. İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi, p.63.

¹⁶¹ Zihnioglu Y. (2003). *Kadınsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği*. İstanbul: Metis. pp.250-258.

¹⁶² Tekeli Ş. (1982). *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*. İstanbul: Birikim, p.211.

view. In fact, at 17th session hold in the parliament in 1923 because of the draft for recognizing women as equal citizens with political rights a fight broke out among members of the parliament. The fight turned into the violent brawl that the session was terminated.¹⁶³ The second parliament was not so different from previous one even so it was possible to debate on women's right to vote in the Second Parliament. In spite of political conflicts among members of the Parliament, almost all members arrived at a consensus that it was early for women to be recognized as citizens and so to have right to elect.¹⁶⁴ Yet, those political rights were given to women in 1934, much earlier than in most European countries. Thus, in 1934 citizens older than thirty were entitled to be elected and to vote. Sadri Maksudi, one of the supporters of the electoral act, said that:

“Today there are countries under anti-democratic regimes, where women are deprived of political rights. The granting of political rights of Turkish women is a natural consequence of Turkey's evolution towards the real democratic system.”¹⁶⁵

Despite democratic developments by means of political innovations, Tekeli thought that the timing of bestowing political rights to women arouses suspicion. It could be strategically planned. For, firstly, the assembly which worked between 1923 and 1927 had enacted really critical laws such as the abolition of the Caliphate, the Law of Unification of Education, and the Civic Law. So, this assembly which enacted radical legal changes was expected to bestow political rights to women. Besides, the eagerness of women to participate in politics seems obvious by means of struggles of *Türk Kadınlar Birliği*. Finally, the Reform on women's rights extended over a period of time that included two important elections where women's right to vote was recognized: the municipality elections in 1930 and the general elections in 1934.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Tekeli Ş. (1982). *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*. Istanbul: Birikim, p.206.

¹⁶⁴ Zihnioğlu Y. (2003). *Kadinsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği*. Istanbul: Metis, p.121.

¹⁶⁵ Abadan Unat N. (1981). *Women in Turkish Society*. Hungary: E.J.Brill Leiden, p.19.

¹⁶⁶ Tekeli Ş. (1982). *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*. Istanbul: Birikim, p.211.

Due to these reasons, Tekeli interprets the process as a strategic political step to strengthen the democratic image of the country. In other words, the alleged reason for the delay, namely that the intention was to prepare society for women's political participation, was not real. Mustafa Kemal planned to start the democratization experience with women's political rights, which was followed by the establishment of *Serbest Fırka* (The Free Party).¹⁶⁷ In other words, the beginning of women's rights was planned to be the part of the democratization process in the political life of Turkey. This kind of strategy would result in quite a democratic image of Turkey with politically powerful Turkish women, with regard to the entire World.

In this sense, Tekeli mentions that the existence of women in the assembly between 1935 and 1943 was used as a contribution to the democratic image that they wanted to create. Therefore, women's existence was symbolic the first time they took seats in the parliament.¹⁶⁸ In fact, the number of women in the parliament remained few for long years; in the 1937 general election, 18 women deputies were elected, which is 4.5% of the National Assembly.¹⁶⁹ From that point of view, women's enfranchisement is a part of westernization. On the one hand, giving women seats in the assembly might be considered as a firm response to Islamists, because there were common critiques coming from Islamists about women's changing positions resulting from the Reform. For, they interpreted social changes to women's status as alienation from Islamic rules designating women's social positions. There seems to be a prevalent opinion in Western countries that Turkish women were subjugated under Islamic rules. Thus, on the other hand, it might be an answer to foreigners who criticize the Turkish reform because of Islamic dependencies.¹⁷⁰ As a consequence,

¹⁶⁷ Tekeli Ş. (1982). *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*. Istanbul: Birikim, p.213.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p.296.

¹⁶⁹ Kandiyoti D.(1991). End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey In Deniz Kandiyoti (Ed.). *Women, Islam and the State*. USA: Temple University Press, p.41

¹⁷⁰ Arat Y. (1989). *The Patriarchal Paradox: women politicians in Turkey*. Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson, p.31.

the move for women's legal rights seems to be related to both of these reasons, because, according to the new regime, the inadequacy of the steps following the attainment of election rights demonstrated the symbolic meaning of women's liberation. Frederick W. Frey presents significant details by means of his study of the activities of women deputies in the parliament. During the period between 1935 and 1957, 64% of women MPs were observers, 24% were active members and just 3% were leaders.¹⁷¹ Tekeli explained that women's passivity in the assembly, which arose from general patriarchal obstacles, depended on the handover of authority between wife and her husband.¹⁷² A similar interpretation comes from Güneş-Ayata, who separated women participating in the parliament into two groups. The first is women doing politics on behalf of their husbands, the second one is independent women in politics. Women in the first group do not get in the politics personally but participated by means of their husbands' support, for the sake of enhancing their families' and husbands' statuses. Also those women try to create a powerful network for their husbands.¹⁷³ Both opinions seem crucial for demonstrating that patriarchal oppression could maintain despite women's political rights.

In Turkey, the percentage values of female MPs are as follows: in 1935 women deputies were 4.6%; in 1943, 3.7%; in 1950, 0.6%; and in 1957, 1.3%. The highest point is 18% today with the assembly in 2015.¹⁷⁴ But up until 1988, the percentage of female MPs never rose above 4.6%.¹⁷⁵ The most dramatic regression was experienced after 1946. It is crucial that this regression arose from the beginning of a multi-party

¹⁷¹ Arat Y. (1998). Türkiye'de Kadın Milletvekillerinin Değişen Siyasal Rollerini, 1934-1980 In Ayşe Berktaş Hacımiraçoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.250.

¹⁷² Tekeli Ş. (1982). *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*. İstanbul: Birikim, p.291.

¹⁷³ Güneş Ayata A. (1998). Laiklik, Güç ve Katılım Üçgeninde Türkiye'de Kadın ve Siyaset In Ayşe Berktaş Hacımiraçoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.239.

¹⁷⁴ KA-DER[database]. (2015). 2014-2015 Kadın İstatistikleri- Karne [online]. <http://www.ka-der.org.tr/tr-TR/Page/Show/400/istatistik.html>

¹⁷⁵ Güneş Ayata A. (1998). Laiklik, Güç ve Katılım Üçgeninde Türkiye'de Kadın ve Siyaset In Ayşe Berktaş Hacımiraçoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.237.

regime in Turkey. As a result, women lost their symbolic significance in the parliament.¹⁷⁶ Arat claims that in spite of the fact that the percentage values of women MPs in the single party period were higher than the values in the multi-party regime, those women MPs of the single party period better presented an image of a democratic parliament. As a consequence, this political shift seemed to cause changes in female MPs' status. Tekeli explained that women lost their previous status as the symbols of the democracy, which made them live on the margin of politics, and not within politics, ever since.¹⁷⁷ The topics that the female MPs were involved with changed by means of their positions. The female MPs in the first period generally talked about womanly issues and problems regarding women voters.¹⁷⁸ In the multi-party period, women began to represent not only Kemalist ideals but also their parties' ideals. It is worth noting that there was a competitive era among the two parties that had impacts for women's speeches.¹⁷⁹ Yet, those women continued to make speeches about issues relevant to women, such as education, the health system, and children's problems.¹⁸⁰

The concept of 'state feminism' resulted in substantial consequences for the struggles of the women's movement of Turkey. State feminism is the key concept for resolving the conceptual complexity regarding policy in the women's movement. When Durakbaşa talks about 'state feminism' she means that while Kemalist reforms encouraged women to take a wide variety of roles in the public sphere, moral values about family, including chastity, continued to hold sway over women's

¹⁷⁶ Tekeli Ş. (1982). *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*. İstanbul: Birikim, p.296.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p.297.

¹⁷⁸ Arat Y. (1998). Türkiye'de Kadın Milletvekillerinin Değişen Siyasal Rollerini, 1934-1980 In Ayşe Berktaş Hacımiraçoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.254.

¹⁷⁹ Arat Y. (1989). *The Patriarchal Paradox: Women Politicians in Turkey*. Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson, p.121.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p.122.

attitudes.¹⁸¹ As we consider the process of bestowing the rights of women in Turkey, state feminism actually aimed to carry on modernization with women's modern images' support.

After 1934, there was a dominant notion among women that equality between men and women was gained by legal arrangements. In other words, 'the women revolution could return home now'.¹⁸² In fact, this approach is defined by a wide variety of writers in different concepts. Joane Nagel spoke about the Algerian freedom war, where so many women participated in military action; however, after independence was gained, Algerian women had to return their homes.¹⁸³ Likewise, in Enloe's quotation, the Algerian feminist Marié-Aimée Hélie- Lucas talks about the conditions restricting the women's social and political participation in Algeria: "Not only are we prevented from speaking for women but also (not allowed) to think, and even to dream about a different fate. We are deprived of our dreams, because we are made to believe that leading the life we lead is the only way to be a good Algerian..."¹⁸⁴ Similarly, it is expected not only to be proper citizens but also proper women in Turkey. In this sense, official definitions of the ideal women were consisted of symbolical and frequently intangible features.

Similarly, as we could see in the event that Turkish Women's Association stepped back from nominating candidates in the 1927 election, they clearly announced that the government exceedingly bestowed all rights that women deserve.¹⁸⁵ Also *Şirin*

¹⁸¹ Durakbaşı A. (1998). Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek kimliklerinin Oluşumu: Kemalist Kadın Kimliği ve "Münevver Erkekler" In Ayşe Berktaş Hacımırzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.31.

¹⁸² Sancar S. (2012). *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: Metis, p.229.

¹⁸³ Nagel J. (2011). Erkeklik ve Milliyetçilik: Ulusun İnşasında Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Cinsellik In Ayşe Gül Altınay (Ed.). *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*. İstanbul: İletişim, p.83.

¹⁸⁴ Enloe C. (1990). *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. USA: University of California Press, p.44.

¹⁸⁵ Kılıç Z. (1998). Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Kadın Hareketine Genel Bir Bakış In Ayşe Berktaş Hacımırzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.349.

Tekeli called this the ‘delusion of being able to achieve all of one’s goals’ which women supposed to achieve their goals with civil and political rights. For a long time, new elite women of the Republic depended on an idea that the gender equality was gained by means of Mustafa Kemal.¹⁸⁶ That kind of ‘regression’ had negative impacts on the women’s movement. After the oppressive regime of the single-party, also in the Democrat Party period women’s movements were limited and tried to remain stable in ‘womanly’ issues such as charity activities, education, and public health. Even so, charity organizations significantly improved the role for women after enfranchisement of women’s political rights. After gaining political rights, directing women’s political activities to charity seems proper to the Republic’s women’s policy. Because the feminist movement linked to the charity activities of women was based on the idea that women and men should engage in works specific to their sex. But the struggle for suffrage supports the view that women had to grant equal rights because of equal positions with men. This divergence points to the different political tendency about positioning women in the society. We could see similar tendency in *Kadın Gazetesi*. When Iffet Halim was criticizing TKB she clearly asserts that “the foundation of TKB was the right decision, but the association would not be the child of the Republic because of wrongdoing.”¹⁸⁷ Indeed, in 1957 *Kadın Gazetesi* published the headline as follows: “That it could not be considered a government which is made up of only women members”. The journal opposed the project of a woman’s party. Moreover, the journal frequently declared that their main aim was not suffrage because it was an outdated political issue. According to women activists gender equality was achieved and biological differences between men and women would remain as they are,¹⁸⁸ the political rights bestowed to women seemed sufficient, and that women did not have to struggle for political status.

¹⁸⁶ Tekeli Ş. (1998). Birinci ve İkinci Dalga Feminist Hareketlerin Karşılaştırmalı İncelemesi Üzerine Bir Deneme In Ayşe Berktaş Hacımirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.338.

¹⁸⁷ Zihnioglu Y. (2003). *Kadinsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği*. İstanbul: Metis, p.224.

¹⁸⁸ Arat Y. (1998). Türkiye’de Modernleşme Projesi ve Kadınlar In Sibel Bozdoğan, Reşat Kasaba (Ed.). *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.105.

Kadın Gazetesi was concerned about actual state policies of women's representation in the parliament, of bureaucracy and of women's employment despite the fact that it was not a daily newspaper. Also, its news was not only about women's issues. Its writers also discussed general economic decisions, political debates among leaders, international relations, and even social events such as concerts, exhibitions, and movies. But since the first issue, women's political representation came to the fore in the journal. Indeed, we could say that the journal worked as an association to improve women's political status. Also political interpretations about parties and leaders are crucial factors for recognizing the journal's political tendencies. This chapter considers how the journal suggested and/or constituted a systematic policy for women's issues in relation with other political issues.

Kadın Gazetesi frequently was engaged in efforts for increasing the number of female MPs. Thus during election periods, they closely showed follow the actual politics to introduce candidates. Also political rights of women had a really important role in the agenda of the journal. Reading articles published about suffrage movements around the world and following the leading names such as Susan B. Anthony, Wollstonecraft, it was apparent that the journal was under the impact of the discourse based on demand for rights. In other words, the journal explicitly followed the way of first wave feminism and avoided radical activities. For this, equal political and civic rights were enough for them with regards to their vision about women's movement. The other major political topic was the defending of the principles of Kemalism. For this, the journal considered political and civic rights bestowed to women as the heritage of the Republican reform to be protected. Furthermore, the political discourse on women's status linked to the state feminism achieved to persuade most of activist women to approve legal improvements granted by the Reform. Thus we could claim that with the effect of state feminism the women's movement in Turkey diminished since the early years of the Republic to the late 1970s.

In addition to political representation of women, charity activities had significant role in the journal's agenda. Generally, those activities were arranged in coordination with other charity associations. The associations such as *Çocuk Dostları Derneği* (the Friends of Children), *Yardımsevenler Derneği* (the Charity Association), *Bar Kadınlarını Koruma Derneği* (the Protection of Barmaids Association), *Kadınları Koruma Derneği* (the Protection of Women Association)- took part in those organizations which arranged with the aim of helping especially for poor women and children. Similarly, over time *Kadın Gazetesi* completely addressed charity activities instead of the political issues and actual political relation.

In this period women's journals and women's associations had significant role for providing communication among women about their demands and problems. But actually, with the effect of state feminism women's movement changed with regards to aims, demands and political discourse. As we could follow women's movements in the Ottoman and in the early years of the Republic took form with demands on equal rights. Also around the world suffrage was the main theme of the first wave feminism. But this political strategy actually included two main sides which point to 'equality' and 'difference'. Feminists following the tradition of 'natural law' assert that women are humans who possess essential rights just like men.¹⁸⁹ Women's movements have separated into different groups due to different goals and theories. At this point the theory dominating the first wave of feminism is based on a principle of equality. The principle advocates equality between men and women with reference to the theory of human rights.¹⁹⁰ The opposing view emphasizes the significance of sexual difference. In this sense the theory asserts women have cultural patterns which are different but as valuable as men's.¹⁹¹ According to this sense of humanist equality, differences between men and women were not accepted

¹⁸⁹ Donovan J. (2000). *Feminist Teori*. İstanbul: İletişim, p.29.

¹⁹⁰ Arat Y. (1998). Türkiye'de Kadın Milletvekillerinin Değişen Siyasal Rollerini, 1934-1980 In Ayşe Berktaş Hacımirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.250.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* p.251.

because they are all human. In this sense, responsibilities and privileges derived from gender differences are disregarded. By contrast with this insight, the other one demands that both equality and recognition of differences as we could see in Wollstonecraft's claims. According to Wollstonecraft, women would have equal civil and political rights and their economic independence from their husbands. On the other hand, women's citizenship need to be defined differently from men's. Because they have different positions as being mothers and their citizenship should be defined through their motherhood.¹⁹² They asserted the notion of 'uniqueness of sex' against the demand for equality. To this essential divergence, *Kadın Gazetesi* might be placed in the first claim because of the negligence of gender differences. Their political view about women's status mainly based on the struggle for equal rights and after those were gained to struggle for the sake of nation as being equal citizens was the main goal of *Kadın Gazetesi*. Although they emphasized the gender differences, such a thing was interpreted linked to tasks determined with the nationalist project. Therefore, we could claim that *Kadın Gazetesi* was a part of women's movement which was derived from the notion of liberal rights and humanism. On the other hand, writings on *Kadın Gazetesi* seems crucial for including the wide variety of issues about Turkish women in relation with daily political arguments. Besides, *Kadın Gazetesi* achieved to publish for 32 years in the period which was relatively stagnant with regards to Turkish women's movement. Because Tekeli defines the period from 1940s to 1970s as stagnant years following the lively women's organizations of the early years of the Republic.¹⁹³ In spite of this definition, *Kadın Gazetesi* constituted a significant realm of activism at least for women around the journal

¹⁹² Pateman C. (1992). Equality, Difference, Subordination: the Politics of Motherhood and Women's Citizenship In Gisele Bock (Ed.). *Beyond Equality and Difference*. London, UK: Routledge. p.17.

¹⁹³ Tekeli Ş. (1998). Birinci ve İkinci Dalga Feminist Hareketlerin Karşılaştırmalı İncelemesi Üzerine Bir Deneme In Ayşe Berktaş Hacımiraçoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.338.

3.2. The Place of *Kadın Gazetesi* in the History of Women's Printed Media

This section focuses on the conjuncture that *Kadın Gazetesi* published in relation with its main features. During the stagnant years of Turkish women's movement, there were several women's organizations and journals, but those women had to avoid political struggle. When *Kadın Gazetesi* published its first issue in 1947 it was cited that they wouldn't work for equality between men and women because the Republic Reform had already extended Turkish women equal rights and a high status among woman of the developed World. They expressed their aims in the following way:

“The Reforms of the Republic have given our women a place among the advanced womanhood of the world. By means of the qualifications based on the blood and the soul of Turkish women, this change was quickly realized and successfully concluded. Therefore, The Woman Journal doesn't want to get in the conventional issues of Turkish womanhood. In sum, it is not necessary to work on the equality between women and men. We embrace the scientific and artistic movements as well as the ideas which are beneficial for the homeland, family and the development of womanhood.”¹⁹⁴

In addition to these expressions, the ‘founders’ of the journal manifested that their aims were to reflect women's emotions and compassions. Besides, *Kadın Gazetesi* stated that with the objective to serve the ideas, observations, tendencies and demands of Turkish womanhood they began this publication. In this respect, the major point of the journal was Turkish women's political rights granted by the Republic. It is considered that they were appreciated for these gaining. Thus the journal conceived that women's struggle for suffrage was accomplished. In spite of this understanding *Kadın Gazetesi* emphasized the necessity of a realm for women to share their demands, ideas and observations just like women's publications. During these stagnant years of women's activism in support of gender equality *Kadın*

¹⁹⁴ Çıkış Amacımız. (1949, 1 March), *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1(1). p.1.

Gazetesi appeared as a long standing publication for women and arranged a wide variety of organizations to women around the journal.

In these years, we could observe that women's journals and associations directed their efforts mostly to charitable activities, to aid campaigns for impoverished children and women, educational activities and professional training for some occupational groups.

One of the women's organizations worked in these years was *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* (Turkish Women Association). In 1949 *TKB* reestablished itself with new which were different from the ones that existed at the time of its establishment. These were:

- To protect the rights of women bestowed by the Turkish Reform
- To provide Turkish women's cultural development
- To contribute womanly consciousness about rights, duties and responsibilities in Turkish democracy
- To increase the numbers of Turkish mothers who are literate, who are aware of rights and to enable them exercise these rights appropriately.

TKB strictly severed all connections with political activities. Hence, according to the association's decision people who took part in a political party or an association could not be member of *TKB*. In 1955 *Kadın Gazetesi* became the official publication of the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği*. Other associations established in these years tended to work for charity activities, education campaigns for the poor or work through some special occupational groups' legal statuses.¹⁹⁵

In 1949 *Üniversiteli Kadınlar Derneği* (The Association of Women of Colleges) was established by well-educated, career women. Its founder, Prof. Sara Akdik stated that she had frequently been in foreign countries for meetings and she realized that people were unaware of the existence of well-educated women with academic careers in

¹⁹⁵ Kılıç Z. (1998). Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Kadın Hareketine Genel Bir Bakış In Ayşe Berktaş Hacimirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.350.

Turkey. Hence, Akdik and her friends decided to show foreign countries their existence as being Turkish well-educated women with a professional career.¹⁹⁶ In 1938 another association was established: *Yardımsevenler Derneği* (Charity Association). As is suggested by its title, their main goal was to support *Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu* (the Institution for the Protection of Children) which works especially for children.¹⁹⁷ This association had close relationship with *Kadın Gazetesi* so the journal generally published the association's activities and encouraged readers to participate in charity campaigns. There were some organizations such as *Türk Kadınlar Konseyi* (Turkish Women Council is the extension of international organization called 'Conseil International Des Femmes), *Dünya Kadın Hukukçular Derneği* (Women Lawyers of the World Association), *Gezici Köy Kadınları Kursları* (Travelling Peasant Women Courses), *Türk Anneler Derneği* (Turkish Mothers Association), *Türkiye Kadın Dernekleri Federasyonu* (The Federation of Turkish Women Associations), *Türk Kadınları Kültür Derneği* (Culture of Turkish Women Association), *Ev Ekonomisi Kulübü* (Domestic Economy Club).¹⁹⁸

Besides *Kadın Gazetesi* there were some other journals by women published during the same period. These were:

Sesimiz (Our Voice-1940), *Kadın Dünyası* (Woman's World-1940), *Kadınlar Alemi* (Women's Life-1940), *Ev-Kadın* (House-Woman-1943), *Asrın Kadını* (Woman of the Century-1944), *Türk Kadını* (Turkish Woman), *Ev Kadını* (Housewife- 1945), *Aile* (Family-1947), *Hanımeli* (Woman's Hand-1947), *Yeni Moda* (New Fashion-1948),

¹⁹⁶ Tatlı C.(2008). *Demokrat Parti Döneminde Toplumsal ve Siyasal Hayatta Kadın* (Unpublished Master Thesis). Istanbul: University of Istanbul, p.107.

¹⁹⁷ Tatlı C.(2008). *Demokrat Parti Döneminde Toplumsal ve Siyasal Hayatta Kadın* (Unpublished Master Thesis). Istanbul: University of Istanbul, pp.113-116; Kılıç Z. (1998). Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Kadın Hareketine Genel Bir Bakış In Ayşe Berktaş Hacımiraçoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.109.

¹⁹⁸ Tatlı C.(2008). *Demokrat Parti Döneminde Toplumsal ve Siyasal Hayatta Kadın* (Unpublished Master Thesis). Istanbul: University of Istanbul, pp.135.

Yeni Holivud Magazin (New Hollywood Magazine- 1948), *Büyük Moda Mecmuası* (Big Fashion Magazine-1949), *Familya*(Family-1949), *Dişi Kuş* (Jenny Bird-1949), *Resimli Romans* (Romance with Picture-1951-52).¹⁹⁹

Among these journals *Kadın Gazetesi* is the longest published woman's journal and had an important role for including various issues for women. The first edition of the journal was published on May 1, 1947 with a newsstand price of 25 kuruş. In the first years of publication the journal consisted of 10-12 pages until it was reduced to 5-6 pages. The content included essays, columns, comics, stories, anecdotes, weekly news and interviews. Generally, in the cover there would be a headline regarding the top issue of the week, such as national holidays as well as the breaking news of the week. Headlines were written in large font and generally in daily dialogue language. The journal was published in black and white just the '*Kadın*' part of the title was written in red. On the first page, in general, there were the beginnings of the essays which would continue inside. Also a big picture was used under the headline, for example, in the first issue they placed the portrait of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

During publication the magazine's editorial board consisted of women. The first writers of the magazine were İffet Halim Oruz, Hasena Ilgaz, Emel Gürler, Feyhan Elbi, Füzuan Eksat, Münevver Ayaşlı, and Nimet Selen. At that time, the popular writers and poets such as Halide Nusret Zorlutuna and Şükufe Nihal also joined the magazine's writers' group. These women writing in the journal generally had a middle class background and had come of age during the national independence struggle. By virtue of their education, these women became qualified to be fully employed.

In 1947, two woman journals were published and they were the first ones which had women as both founders and editors. The first one was *Kadın Gazetesi* and the other was *Güngör Gazetesi*, which defined itself as 'A Social Family Newspaper'. İffet

¹⁹⁹ Pınarcı A.G.(2013). Kadın Dergileri. *E Bülten Atılım Üniversitesi*. [online], 29(8)
<http://e-bulten.library.atilim.edu.tr/sayilar/2013-03/images/Kadin-dergileri.pdf>.

Halim Oruz, the owner and head writer of the *Kadın Gazetesi*, was popularly known for her work in charity associations. She also was a significant figure for women's movement as she had a large group of women in her network. Because her mother had been involved in *Osmanlı Müdafaa-ı Hukuk- ı Nisvan Cemiyeti*²⁰⁰, İffet Halim was familiar with the women's movement in Turkey since her childhood. Moreover, she was one of the first woman journalists in Turkey. İffet Halim had a significant role in the journal and wrote many essays, especially about political debates on current issues in her column called "*Kadın Gözüyle*" (Woman's Point of View) all throughout of the years of the journal's publication. İffet Halim's story "*İstifçi*" (Stacker) was also published in the journal. In addition to that, Füzuan R. Eksat wrote articles known as "*Dertler/Düşünceler*" (Problems/Thoughts) covering issues about social life with a candid everyday language. The journal changed its name into 'Kadın' in 1965 and then evolved into a magazine concerned merely with topics such as fashion, cinema and news about popular artists.

Şirin Tekeli, a well-known researcher and academics specializing in the history of the women's movement in Turkey categorized the period 1940-1980 as "stagnant" years for women. Because in her opinion, legal rights that were given to women was a strong illusion which empowered state feminism.²⁰¹ State feminism created a perception about women that the goal was achieved by civil and political rights bestowed. On the one hand, this situation resulted in obstacles for autonomy of women's movement in Turkey on the other hand, different demands about women's status have been stigmatized as a marginal policy for years. In other words, because state feminism has determined limited area for feminist movement firstly woman activists had difficulty to create their own agenda. Over the years, exclusion and marginalizing have become permanent policy of the state against woman activists who pushed these limits of state.

²⁰¹ Tekeli Ş. (1998). Birinci ve İkinci Dalga Feminist Hareketlerin Karşılaştırmalı İncelemesi Üzerine Bir Deneme In Ayşe Berktaş Hacimirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.338.

3.3. Women's Portrayals in *Kadın Gazetesi*

This chapter deals with the main political arguments about women's positioning in *Kadın Gazetesi* in relation to the popular debates of that time. Firstly, the chapter aims to argue the content of the journal's political vision and then to focus on the women's categories that the journal frequently emphasized. In this context there were some major topics that the journal frequently argued in relation with actual political developments. These were: the opposition to Islamism from the stand of Kemalism, critiques against the government about bureaucratic problems, the importance of civil organizations, anti-communism, the Cyprus conflict between Greece and women's employment. By means of those topics, *Kadın Gazetesi* argued the popular political debates of that time.

The journal expressed their discontent about people who were called as 'reactionary' because of their attitudes seemed opposed to the Republican reforms. Mustafa Kemal's principles had major role in the political vision of the journal. As a result, political debates were interpreted in the light of the distinction between old and new factors of the regime. That's why they frequently interpreted ideologies, political debates or situations in the direction of images such as the modern-looking women without veils, the secular daily routines and the familial order. Indeed, Islamism was the major enemy of the regime because it evoked the Ottoman Empire and the Sultan.²⁰² *Kadın Gazetesi* showed this political defense within the images of women in spite of the political arguments on Islamism. In the article of Saide Çalt called 'Towards Realism', she warned people about reactionism. At the writer's rate, this is the only way for people to maintain the legacy of the national will.²⁰³ Because

²⁰² Cantek L. (2008). *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı: Gündelik Yaşama Dair Tartışmalar (1945-1950)*. İstanbul: İletişim, p.272.

²⁰³ Çalt S.(1951, July 2). Realizme Doğru. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 5 (227), p.1.

according to the writers, Islamism was dangerous for secularism and for the Republic.

The veil came to the forefront in the debates on reactionism. In this respect, veiled women were seen as danger to the modern regime according to writers they were opponents to the secular Republic. The journal frequently gave examples from daily events to prove their negative critiques about veiled women. According to their daily observations the number of veiled women had been increasing day by day. So that, the journal mentioned with the concern that the society gradually had moved away from the ideals of Kemalist reforms. In this context, *Kadın Gazetesi* used women's outfit to interpret the political stance of the country and the dependency on Republican reforms. Because women's images were signifiers of the major political conflicts between the new political order and the Ottoman Empire. Women's appearances represented political notions of those different historical periods.

On the other hand, another popular approach was to interpret the women wearing headscarf as the minority who were not able to keep up with modernity. The writer, *Mahinur* questioned what would have been happened if veiled women had opposed to the Kemalist reforms.²⁰⁴ In the same issue there was an article written by *Nezihe Muhiddin* and she asked what would happen if women made a mistake by choosing to be hidden with headscarves:

“While women and men of all the Turkish nation are protecting the reforms which were developed by means of the common purpose of the nation, I can't imagine a woman who willingly damage the national will and the consciousness. In spite of the ancient belief and sanctions, there are anomalous people among the powerful entity of the Turkish society. There were also masses identified as ‘Ticani’ (*it is an Islamic religious order*) who are wearing black underpants and are fool clowns as much as the black-veiled women...”²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ Mahinur (1952, July 28). Peçe-Çarşaf. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (283), p.5.

²⁰⁵ Muhittin N. (1952, July 28). Yüzlerimizi peçelemek için bir utancımız mı var?. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (283), p.2.

In this respect, veiled women were identified as ignorant, close-minded. Actually, those represented the backwardness of women's status in the Ottoman. Thus veiled women were identical with the 'uncivilized' order of the Ottoman Empire. To examine the originality of the veil to the Turkish customs, the journal researched the historical background of veil or headscarf. According to the article with title 'When did Turkish Muslim women started to cover their faces with veils?', a Turkish clan took refuge in the Ottoman Empire and women of that clan were so beautiful that notable people warned them to hide their faces for not to be seen by everyone. Then when other women realized that hiding faces corresponded to beauty of a woman, they also decided to hide their faces. Thus wearing veil came into the fashion.²⁰⁶By means of the historical narratives, the journal tried to prove the underlying functional purpose of the wearing veils.

Another significant topic in the journal was critiques against the government about bureaucratic problems. There were also some articles complaining about the bureaucratic corruption and bribery so they hoped to reduce those problems with the development of social awareness in the light of democratic institutions. In this context, *Hasene Ilgaz* who was the member of parliament from *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi- CHP* (The Republican People Party) and frequently wrote in *Kadın Gazetesi*, stated that because of the immature Turkish democracy society needed to change its mentality to the national development.²⁰⁷

Kadın Gazetesi frequently called for Turkish women to participate in civil organizations as to support the development of civic realm. Especially İffet Halim emphasized the necessity for civil organizations which consisted of educated, conscious people. If individuals would gather around the collective ideals for charity issues by means of charity associations, the society could supply necessities with its own hand. İffet Halim encouraged women to take part in the associations involved

²⁰⁶ Türk- İslam Kadınları (1947, June 7). *Kadın Gazetesi*,1 (15), p.5.

²⁰⁷ Ilgaz H. (1952, March 24). Demokrasi Örnekleri... *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (265), p.1.

with charity activities because democratic organizations could also ensure the development of the country.²⁰⁸ According to the journal, to develop social awareness, these organizations could educate the community with the principles of Kemalism. If the associations organize in order, destructive thoughts and activities such as reactionism would not damage the characteristics and peace of the society. Under favor of these educated people, the reformist principles could be properly educated to the society and so the Republican reforms would be embedded in social roots. At this point, the journal talked about the secularism which should be explained detailed to the society not as being atheism. Since, according to the journal, the false perception on the secularism which identified it with atheism was derived from the lack of social knowledge. Thus the associations charged with raising the educational level of the society.

Anti-communism was also another significant and popular issue in the magazine. According to the journal, communism was enemy of the world. Also except for Islamism, communism was the other enemy of the Republic. Actually this stance reflected the political arguments specific for that period. On the occasion of the attack against Tan newspaper, known with leftist thought, anti-communist violence became more clear in Turkey. After the publication of its first issue, Tan newspaper was attacked by the government and youths supporting the government in 1945 because of the claim that the newspaper propagated communism in Turkey. In 1945 printing house of Tan was mugged people shouting the slogans such as ‘Allah Allah’ and ‘Kill Communists!’ However martial law was in effect nobody was charged because of the attack²⁰⁹. Yet except for this violent attack the accusing each other of being ‘communist’ became prevalent among political parties.

²⁰⁸ Oruz İ.H. (1952, April 21). Fertlerden Gelen Hareketler. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (269), p.1.; Oruz İ.H. (1953, January 8). İnkılabın Gelişmesi. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (306), p.1.

²⁰⁹ Eroğul C. (2003). Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi. Ankara: İmge, p.51.

After the election in 1946, *Demokrat Parti* (The Democratic Party) accused the government for the vote rigging. Şükrü Sökmensüer, the minister of the internal affairs, stated that this charge of Demokrat Parti was one of their communist tactic. As a response, Demokrat Parti mentioned that they would leave the parliament if the problems about the election were not be solved. Yet, still, the government's charge for 'tactic of communism' predominated the threat of *Demokrat Parti* and *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* remained in power.²¹⁰ Indeed, that conversation demonstrates that the charging for communist worked effectively in the politics. Similarly, Fevzi Çakmak²¹¹ was also charged for being communist. Because he tended to take part in *İnsan Hakları Derneği* (The Human Rights Association) which was planned to establish in 1946. There were some people from *Demokrat Parti* in this attempt. Because of the existence of members of *Demokrat Parti* and the powerful supports of people to Çakmak in his İzmir trip, *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* used the charge for being communist against him. Çakmak couldn't stand to those oppressions and charges thus he left the association. And he rejected charges of *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* because according to his statement communism was red-fascism because it was the one leader's order.²¹² These occasions seem crucial for showing the political effect of the charging for communism in that time.

According to *Kadın Gazetesi*, Cyprus was also crucial as being effective on the national territorial integrity. Cyprus issue which has been significant issue between Greece and Turkey was put on the agenda of United Nations in 1954 with the demand of Greece. Both sides claimed that Cyprus should have been given to themselves with their national thesis. With the persistence of Greece on their thesis, the Turkish government started to activate public opinion in accordance with Turkish thesis about Cyprus. As conclusion of reactions negotiations about Cyprus among

²¹⁰ Eroğul C. (2003). *Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi*. Ankara: İmge, p.51.

²¹¹ Fevzi Çakmak was the significant commander of the Turkish National Struggle. He is the first Minister of National Defence of Turkey and also the first Chief of Defence of the Turkish Armed Forces. In 1948 Çakmak established *Millet Partisi* (Nation Party).

²¹² Taşkın Y. (2007). *Milliyetçi Muhafazakar Entelijansiya*. İstanbul: İletişim, p.105.

Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom started in London in 1955.²¹³ The writers of *Kadın Gazetesi* generally used nationalist and aggressive language about this issue which pointed to their nationalist approach. They never avoided defining Greeks as betrayal and national enemies who look for ways to damage them. Therefore, when the journal tried to connect with women from Cyprus, they referred to the ‘same blood’ that they share. They encouraged women in Cyprus to struggle with their enemies. Furthermore, they promised to help their kin.²¹⁴ Besides, they referred to the Turkish national war when they mentioned the Cyprus issue because national memory on the war could gather people to support Cyprus.

Women’s employment another frequently argued topic in *Kadın Gazetesi*. It was generally argued around the suitability of circumstances of women’s employment for their household responsibilities. The writers examined women’s employment with regards to family relations and responsibilities attributed to women as being mothers and wives. According to the journal, when women decided to employ they should choose proper occupations for their sex. Thus, occupations were categorized whether adequate to women or not because of their familial responsibilities. As a result, women’s existence in the public remained under the control of proper images of the Republican reforms. Yet, in some cases women’s employment argued with regards to economic necessities. According to Şükufe Nihal, although there were powerful social obstacles to the women’s employment, women required to guarantee their lives by means of their own earnings. Especially in the event of divorce women needed to gain economic independence.²¹⁵

From the news covered in the journal, we understand that the Ministry of Labor had opened a course for women to be domestic workers. In 1947 the third of the course was completed and participants’ certificates were given by Mevhibe Inonu who is

²¹³ Eroğul C. (2003). *Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi*. Ankara: İmge, p.176.

²¹⁴ İstanbuldan Kıbrıs’a. (1948, August 2). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (75), p.2.

²¹⁵ Nihal Ş. (1947, April 5). Sakat Cemiyet III. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (6), p.1.

Ismet Inonu's wife.²¹⁶ In this context, *Kadın Gazetesi* was appreciated such policies for women's employment. Moreover, the journal mentioned working conditions of domestic workers. Also they suggested a general exam for these certificated women by the Ministry according to exam results, domestic workers' wages could have been paid with respect to the national standard. In other words, according to the journal, the rules of house workers' occupation should be determined to set standards for the same quality. Similarly, the scientification and modernization of housework transcended the primitive and traditional ways of domestic works.²¹⁷ Thus, writings on the journal emphasized on education of nurses in the country with modern techniques. "A nurse must for every house" was determined as one of the main goals in the Health Congress not only in war period but also in peace.²¹⁸

Although the journal did not have a clear common idea about appropriate occupations for women, generally the writers agreed women need to have occupations which does not constrain them in dealing with the familial responsibilities. At this point, authors strictly criticized people who could still debate whether women could be doctor or judge. Furthermore, *Kazım Nami Duru* wrote an article of *Ziya Gökalp* about employment of women which was written 31 years ago and she mentioned that women had educated in *Darülfünun* since the Second Constitutional period in the Ottoman.²¹⁹ In fact, *Duru* emphasized the futility of that debate, because women had already gained their civil rights. On the other side; writers tried to inform people about the history of employment of women in Europe.²²⁰ In this sense, they said that women's struggle for the right to employment was so powerful that it was impossible to restrain them and on the other hand they

²¹⁶ Kadın Gazetesi (1947, June 7), 1 (15), p.1.

²¹⁷ Navaro-Yaşın Y. (2000). 'Evde Taylorizm': Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin İlk Yıllarında Evişinin Rasyonelleşmesi. *Toplum ve Bilim*, 84, p.51.

²¹⁸ Oruz İ.H. (1947, June 7). Sağlık Şurası. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (15), p.1.

²¹⁹ Duru K.N. (1949, April 25). Bunlar nasıl münazara konusu?. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 3 (113), p.1.

²²⁰ Lovell P. (1948, May 31). Modern Kadının Çalışması. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (66), p.6.

needed to work because of financial requirements.²²¹ For justification of the financial requirements and the working conditions of women the journal frequently pointed to female workers employed in shift working, night duty which pushed women too much because of familial responsibilities. On the other side, with regards to the economic development, it seems impossible to remove night shift. Also high tax rate forced women to work overtime. Thus, according to Iffet Halim, the MP's should work for women to improve their working conditions.²²² In this context, Iffet Halim was eager to increase the number of working women. Her tendency could be seen in her reply given to Şadan Talat Ural who stated that working women couldn't be well mothers. According to Oruz, women were able to work and maintain their social responsibilities at the same time. Moreover, she asserted that they would not allow these kinds of views like Ural's to hinder the development of reforms.²²³

Besides, in the article called '*Feminizm ve Aleyhtarlığı*' (Feminism and Opposition) the writer talked about the dialogue between her conservative friend and she said to her women have to work because of the factories which were left by men in the process of the war and during that time these utilities maintained production by means of female workers. With regards to the underdeveloped country, employment couldn't be specific to men; women also need to have education at least for being mothers.²²⁴ In this sense, since they supported women equality with reference to the ideals of the Reform, someone who opposed women's employment could easily be regarded as opponent to the Reform. Therefore, being opposed to the improvements of women's rights was considered as equal with being opposed to the national struggle. Since, the journal considered the women's rights in relation with nationalism; writers believed that so far as women become powerful the nation

²²¹ Nihal Ş. (1948, July 26). *Kadın Memurlar*. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (74), p.1.

²²² Oruz İ.H. (1947, July 12). Gene işçi kadınlar meselesi. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (72), p.1.

²²³ Oruz İ.H. (1949, June 27). Kadın Göziyle: Demokrasi Buhranı. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 3 (122), p.1.

²²⁴ Erbilen, M. (1950, April 24). Feminizm ve Aleyhtarlığı. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 4 (165), p.7.

would develop.²²⁵ In some ways, these demands couldn't result in emancipatory opportunities to women. As we could see in the *Mustafa Kemal's* quotation saying that the most significant mission of a woman was motherhood; those demands on women's employment are seen as optional and primitive to be abandoned against any political decision. On the other side, the journal would say that unemployed women should stand by their husbands by reducing domestic expenditures by means of their natural womanly willingness and compassion.²²⁶

In *Kadın Gazetesi* we could realize militarist tendency in many of articles but militarist feelings engaged with nationalism came to head with demands on recruiting of women. In the article called '*Yurt Savunmasında Kadının Rolü*' (Women's Role in Defense of Country) written by *Zübeyde Mengüç*, she wrote about militarist order in peacetime to embattle women just like military strategy that women should also get military training as men do in peacetime. Just as women had been participated in the Second World War in England and the USA, Turkey should also organize a training programme in peacetime.

“It means loss of half of the national existence to leave women out of homeland defense and it is not something could be underestimated for this kind of world order”²²⁷.

In this statement, the writer illustrated gender equality with reference to the equal legal citizenship rights including equal participation into military. In fact, the military training programme was organized for female students of universities in 1947 for a month. The journal proudly mentioned the military training programme for women. Also, the journal asserted that women were able to participate in the army if it would

²²⁵ Gök N. (1954, January 16). Bir Sosyal Mesele: Çalışan Kadınların Sayısı Niçin Artıyor. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 7 (359), p.3.

²²⁶ Berke P. (1949, October 10). Çalışan kadının müşteki olduğu durum nedir?. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 3 (137), p.6.

²²⁷ Mengüç Z. (1947, March 29). Yurt Savunmasında Kadının Rolü. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (5), p.2.

be necessary.²²⁸The journal proudly enounced honorable memories of those women who kept the dignified nation in the context of death anniversary of *Mustafa Kemal*.²²⁹

Similarly, they proudly announced the first female naval officer İlgi Yener:

“I saw her in a picture of parade and recognized who she was. It’s impossible not to be influenced by watching the students of the Naval Academy who were regularly marching under the sun. National anthems played by the band warmed up every Turks’ heart. When we, the reformist women, looked into this serious and hawk-eyed girl among these young military officers, we could realize our desire to protect the national borders by means of happiness coming from deep of our hearts.”²³⁰

These statements are significant to demonstrate us how proudly they handled the military as national duty owed to their country. Similar approach is seen their approach to *Sabiha Gökçen* who is the first female war pilot in the world. They talked about her in the article with title ‘*Vatan Hizmetlerine Gönül Veren Kadınlarımız*’ (Our Women Devoting to National Service) and they mentioned that Turkey became developed by means of women like *Sabiha Gökçen* and at the same time it resulted in salvation of women.²³¹

In every death anniversary of *Mustafa Kemal* in 10th of Novembers, they remembered his workings and characteristics with reference to military success and published photographs of soldiers and also women from the military course. Besides, the journal emphasized the significance of being mother of Mustafa Kemal, which Turkish women always felt honored to have been called as ‘mothers of

²²⁸ Mengüç Z. (1947, July 23). Üniversiteli Kızlarımız Yurt Savunmasına Hazırlanıyorlar. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (26), p.1.

²²⁹ Kadın Gazetesi (1947, October 8),1 (37), p.1.

²³⁰ Divitçi C. (1955, November 26). Kadın Gazetesi, 8 (412), p.1.

²³¹ Ağaoğlu M. (1947, October 1). Vatan hizmetlerine gönül veren kadınlarımız. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (36), p.1.

Atatürk'.²³² Those women's main emphasis is not only being women soldiers they also implied that women are also crucial part of national struggle due to being mother of the soldiers. Military acts the significant role between nationalism and motherhood with reference to the new family of the new regime. In this way, militarism makes its binds more powerful by means of women's position.

Ideal masculinity has affiliation with army and it has important effect on generation of hegemonic masculinity. On the other hand, as we see in motherhood hegemonic masculinity provides roles both for men and women.²³³ Features of military are used to present an 'ideal male Turk' as a part of "collective body whose mission is to guide the Turkish nation".²³⁴ In my opinion the collective body stemmed from militarism has powerful effects on roles of men and women who defense homeland by means of belief that the homeland is always under attack of enemies. The proud of being mothers of soldiers in the journal positions women as supporters of the hegemonic masculinity. So demand of women to be soldiers like men couldn't be part of equality but a part of support for an ideal manhood.

As a consequence, *Kadın Gazetesi* included a wide variety of topics which came to the fore in Turkey's political agenda. But generally this political issues were not interpreted with regards to women's status in the country. In other words, they did not evaluate political debates from the point of women's view. If they did, the journal generally reinforced the gender roles assigned by the state feminism. In this context, the journal was involved with emotions derived from militarism and nationalism. Moreover, they referred to the notion of 'mothers of the nation' when they glorified nationalist ideals. As a result, *Kadın Gazetesi* seem to interpret political issues of the country as being mothers. Thus, they showed their pride on their motherhood and also use the role of motherhood to call women for national

²³² Oruz İ.H. (1947, October 8). Kadın Göziyle. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (37), p.2.

²³³ Sinclair-Webb E. (2000). 'Our Bülent is Now a Commando': Military Service and Manhood in Turkey In Emma Sinclair-Webb (Ed.). *Imagines Masculinities: Male Identity and Culture in the Modern Middle East*. London: Saqi, p.69.

²³⁴ *Ibid.* p.71.

tasks. As a consequence, we could claim that they legalized their participation and interests in public debates with their duty as being ‘mothers of the nation’.

3.4. Ideal Motherhood and Wifehood in *Kadın Gazetesi*

Motherhood was significant factor defining the ideal woman of the Republic. Also expectations from women as being mothers were frequently used topic in *Kadın Gazetesi*. In the journal motherhood was argued around the duties ascribed to women with regards to the nationalist ideology and the culture. In this section the discussion will point to the journal’s way of arguing the motherhood and wifehood. To this, the section analysed the articles of the journal which engaged with roles and duties of women as being mothers and wives.

Motherhood was frequently argued around the national duties such as being producers of the nation and also being signifiers of the cultural values. In this context we could claim that women are firstly represented as mothers and secondly with socialization roles of mothers. Because of the socialization roles the journal called for mothers to resolve social problems especially about daily arguments of that time. For example, when *İffet Halim* complained administrators who were accepted bribe, she warned mothers to raise moral children, and to teach them moral values.²³⁵ In this context mothers were appeared as the resource and transmitters of the moral values in the society. Furthermore, although the problem was about public administration, Oruz didn’t criticize the structural deficiencies of government or of the constitution.

Foremost, it is frequently observed that *Kadın Gazetesi* aims to teach mothers new and ideal motherhood reshaped with values and beliefs of the Reforms. For this purpose, there were recommendations for mothers about preparing their daughters for marriage, enlightening their daughters about women’s health and sexuality, and

²³⁵ Kadın Gazetesi (1947, March 1), 1 (1), p1.

further contributing to development of the society. Besides, writers warned mothers not to provide their daughters with everything they needed, because it would damage their marriage if their husband didn't provide those circumstances. It is the reason that a writer accused parents of being guilty of their children's unsuccessful marriages:

“We don't have right to affect our children negatively because of our indulgence and caprice. Women are the values and the essence of our society. The stronger the essence, the more confident we become in future.”²³⁶

Thus, mothers were represented as being able to direct and constraint their children if it is needed. Moreover, “extreme desires” such as walking around, drinking alcohol or shopping had to be suppressed for the peace of society. Thus mothers need to teach these proper conducts to their daughters. In this context daughters' health was another significant issue that mothers needed to deal with. *Kadın Gazetesi* suggested mothers being concerned of their daughters' health especially during their puberty. According to the journal, to avoid their daughters' being mocked by their friends mothers were advised to follow their ‘monthly’ position.²³⁷

In *Kadın Gazetesi* proper methods of upbringing children were illustrated detailed way:

“Organize eating times of a child as delightfully as possible. Cook their food as they prefer and enable them to eat as easily as possible. If a child doesn't want to eat, don't force or bribe them to eat. He or she may be sick or tired, don't force them. Yet, if their food is prepared delightfully and you don't persist on, you will see that your child eats more easily.”²³⁸

²³⁶ E.G. (1947, March 15). Evlatlarımızı kaprislerimiz uğruna zehirlemeye hakkımız yoktur. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (3), p.1.

²³⁷ Burak Z. T. (1947, March 29). Sağlık Öğütleri: Sağlık ve Sosyal Bakımından Kız analarına bazı öğütler. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (5), p.8.

²³⁸ Çocuğunuzun büyümesine yardım edin (1953). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (268), p.5.

In this article, feeding children was elaborately explained step by step with the aim of perfectly teaching it. As it is understood, according to the journal nurturing children was serious issue which required consciousness and knowledge. Notwithstanding natural meanings ascribed to motherhood, with those rules of upbringing children shows that motherhood is taught. Because motherhood is an ideological status that is designed by different power struggles²³⁹. With regards to the nationalist ideology the ideal motherhood entailed a stream of rules shaped by rationalization. On the occasion of modernizing discourse and nationalist project, proper rational and scientific mothering is situated within the nationalist discourse on modernity.²⁴⁰ Modern families are expected to change based on these ideals; and at the same time family relationships are expected to be built through according to those transformations.²⁴¹ As well as motherhood women play a significant role in family as being the resource of the peace of their marriage. In the journal, the authors generally taught the keys to having a happy family through a set of rules. By doing so, it seems that they pointed to the ideal woman and the convenience of these norms. Therefore, they tried to teach ‘womanhood’ through recommendations about how to behave towards their husband, friends, and children. Similarly, according to the journal, female workers should have been taught the rules of child-care by means of the women’s organizations:

“It is possible to work on some issues such as illiteracy, housewifery and women health, child- care, wastage- saving and besides stitching, embroidery, knitting, music, sports and entertainment or on the issue of that factory. If they work like that, factories could become active and vivacious. Then it would raise the productivity of workers.”²⁴²

²³⁹ Gedik E. (2013). Security of the Nation: Why Do We Need ‘Mothers of Martrys’ in Turkey?. *disClosure: A Journal of Social Theory*, 22, p.29.

²⁴⁰ Shakry O. (1998). Schooled Mothers and Structured Play: Child Rearing in Turn-of-the-Century Egypt In Lila Abu-Lughod (Ed.). *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*. Princeton, USA: Princeton Press, p.127.

²⁴¹ Aytaç A.M. (2007). *Ailenin Serencamı: Türkiye’de Modern Aile Fikrinin Oluşması*. Ankara: Dipnot, p.203.

²⁴² Ilgaz H. (1948, June 21). İşçi Kadınlarımız için Kadın Kulüpleri. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (69), p.1.

These statements demonstrate the efforts to base child rearing upon a scientific and professional foundation. For these reasons, it seems coherent with ideals of modernity and the notion of ‘new family’.

In this context, the Republican concept of motherhood was entrenched by means of ideal norms and rules. Since those included the political goal of the Republic to reshape the ‘new woman’ of the Reforms and to control them within the new social limitations attributed to the family debates on motherhood pointed to the hegemonic masculinity of the Republic. Thus teaching women the proper motherhood account for the patriarchal obligations about the ideal mother which was transformed by the Republic.

For example; Şükufe Nihal argues the proper motherhood in relation with charity and the development of the country as follows:

“Development of a nation, progression of civilization is conducted through the entire nation. Thus, the development plans should be extended to all parts of the homeland (...) such as family budgeting.”²⁴³

Afterwards she criticized women who design their inside of homes modern and fashionable but didn’t effort for the sake of nation. Nihal called for people for the development of the country and emphasized to keep away from wasting. According to Nihal, instead of this, mothers need to take part in charity activities for poor children of the nation. Because holding mothers responsible for the physical development and character formation of children led to the positioning the reproduction of nation healthy “in body and mind” embodied in motherhood. It is

²⁴³ Nihal Ş. (1948, June 28). İnkılap Kadını böyle mi evlat yetiştiriyor?. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (70), p.1.

considered that motherhood could be developed by means of the national obligations which also reshaped the child rearing.²⁴⁴

Within the rising importance of up-bringing children mothers were illustrated by their dependency on children and home. As a result of the discourse motherhood was idealized by the nationalist ideals. Thus when women were granted to take part in public by means of the Reforms because of the sacred meanings ascribed to new motherhood were pushed into the private realm. In fact, women could not take part in areas, which are aimed for educating the citizens because of their duties in the private realm.²⁴⁵ It is one of the indicators that new family and inevitably nation-state are not equally built, in terms of gender. New gender roles were interpreted on behalf of masculinity.

Mothers had to conduct properly to their national duty because they bear responsibility to the society, in terms of the attitude of their children. If their children make a mistake it is interpreted as their mothers' fault. Thus mothers were made 'mothers of the nation' and by this, they became the signifiers of the course of events in the nation. An article called 'Mother's Discipline' was written with the aim of giving mothers advices about educating and upbringing their children. They recommended readers to be hopeful and patient about their children's attitudes in the name of being a role-model for them.²⁴⁶ The concept of 'discipline' gives us the opportunity to consider family policy through the ideological features of Turkish modernization. As Ziya Gökalp mentions, society comes before the individual himself and it needs to be organized in compliance with the traditions. Similarly, İffet Halim argues the organism of nations:

²⁴⁴ Shakry O. (1998). *Schooled Mothers and Structured Play: Child Rearing in Turn-of-the-Century Egypt* In Lila Abu-Lughod (Ed.). *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*. Princeton, USA: Princeton Press, p.133.

²⁴⁵ Akşit E.E. (2009). Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye'de Kamusal Kavramının Dönüşümü ve Dışladıkları. *SBF Dergisi*, 64(1), p.13.

²⁴⁶ Anneler ve Çocuklar İçin: Anne Terbiyesi (1947, March 22). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (4), p.6.

“If we think of individuals as the cells of society, we can easily see the struggle they have against parasites and microorganisms. It is essential that these harmful organisms do not damage or overthrow the society through their bad intentions.”²⁴⁷

The hegemonic discourse of the nation-building process about women in Turkey was built on the concept of motherhood and family, and did not allow improper concepts of motherhood. For example, in an article focusing on the mother’s principle role in raising children, the significance of society’s effect on youth’s discipline was emphasized through J.J. Rousseau’s quotation as follows: “there is no bad person, there is bad society”. From this point of view, the author criticized women because they could not take care of their children. According to the author, this would result in serious problems in the society.²⁴⁸

Indeed, it is perceived mothers need to educate the youth of the nation and by this they could enlighten the society with annihilating the ignorance. Being a mother was considered to be natural for women and they were expected to have an attitude according to their nature. If they did not, they could easily become ‘impure’.²⁴⁹

The consideration of motherhood of the Republic left child rearing to mothers although pointed to the significance of the family’s effect on children’s education. Naturalization of gender roles results in defining women’s role as solely mothers, and making them responsible for all children’s education and socialization. As İffet Halim Oruz stated, girls and boys that she saw in the ferry irritated her because of improper language and mode of speaking. According to Oruz this form of speech was unacceptable because of improper speaking in Turkish. Thus, she felt ashamed as also being a mother.²⁵⁰ Because women were more responsible of child rearing

²⁴⁷ Oruz İ.H. (1954, June 18). Kadın Göziyle: Mücadele. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 8 (402), p.2.

²⁴⁸ Gençliğin yetişmesinde ve terbiyesinde kadının rolü. (1947, August 20). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (32), p.1.

²⁴⁹ Berktaş F. (2010). *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: Metis, p.162.

²⁵⁰ Oruz İ.H. (1947, May 3). Kadın Göziyle. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (10), p.2.

than men. In this context whereas the journal appreciated development of women's status by means of the Reforms, they seemed dependant to characteristics naturally ascribed to women and men. In this respect, womanhood became the most definite topic which gender roles were rooted in biological facts. To prove the reality of gender roles and gender division of labour *Kadın Gazetesi* frequently referred to historical factors. To demonstrate, the hieroglyphics are shown as an evidences of natural inequality. The journal stated that although there had never been an absolute gender equality, men and women had always been together in the Turkish communities. Therefore, it is claimed that notions such as home and family have been naturally attributed to women, who have been expected to accept that.²⁵¹ Historical references and the effort to prove the authenticity of historical 'facts' are inseparable fragments of modernization due to invention of traditions. Tradition is often seen as a base of legitimacy in the construction of nation and cultural renovation.²⁵² Thus, these traditions are easily used to control women's social conduct and to determine the 'norms' for them. Similar to the way it had been in early times of the Republic, the significance of the family as being the cornerstone of social morality did not change following periods. Indeed, we could claim that this place of the family became deep seated parameter of the nationalist conservative ideology in Turkey.

“It is the fact that women have been born as mothers. At this point, equality between women and men is not relevant, since motherhood is the most sacred duty in the world. (...) the founding cadre of *Kadın Gazetesi* who is guiding mothers and demonstrating them how to use their compassion is the glorious national service. I cannot desist myself from working with them and congratulating them for that honor.”²⁵³

²⁵¹ Nihal Ş. (1947, March 29). Sakat Cemiyet II. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (5), p.1.

²⁵² Nagel J. (2011). Erkeklik ve Milliyetçilik: Ulusun İnşasında Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Cinsellik İn Ayşe Gül Altınay (Ed.). *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*. İstanbul: İletişim, p.83.

²⁵³ Duru K.N. (1949, February 7). Analık Görevi. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (103), p.4.

These series of references to historical origins of Turkish communities such as Middle East or Islamic resources were evaluated in perpetuity of the ethnic values, which have been substantially preferred by the society/nation.²⁵⁴ With religious references, current roles of women and men have become even more persuasive.

“It is quite miserable that especially this notion, this soul has been damaged. Imagine a modern and perfect ship had an accident in an endless sea. What good are luxurious and gorgeous chambers, broad saloons, machines with thousands of horsepower do if the ship itself doesn’t work?

Nothing! Because the soul that improves the technique is dead!

They force us to lose the mother through the fanaticism of ignorance and unfortunately they tend to reform this similar to the case of a non-steam luxurious ship. But the mother is the home, the essence. Thus, being tied sensitively to the concept of family is not only a compliance to the social rules but also an exercise of a religious duty. If ignorance, misunderstandings about the essence of Islam didn’t exist for centuries, the current social circumstances wouldn’t be this way, instead they would be more developed than we have ever imagined. Prophet Muhammad has statement in which he mentions that parents are responsible for child-care. He states that: “Do justice to your children!”²⁵⁵

To develop new conception of Islam, *Kadın Gazetesi* discussed the ‘original tenets’ of Islam. Thus, they generally used the position of women in Islam to prove the equalitarian approach of Islam. On the other hand, according to *Kadın Gazetesi* on the occasion of the misunderstanding of Islam, the original Islamic opinion about gender equality was deteriorated. False interpretations of Islam underestimated woman’s social positions; however, original Islam supports gender equality.

“Thank God, people who are grateful for the glory of Islam with national consciousness piece the loyalty and reality of the Turkish soul together. They made the great Turkish reform which was achieved with the cooperation of men and women. The present regime perceived the Turk as the sole entity (...) And our sole ambition is to terminate the concept of ‘evil women’ then to replace it

²⁵⁴ Kandiyoti D.(2011) Kimlik Kavramı ve Yetersizlikleri: Kadınlar ve Ulus In D.Kandiyoti (Ed.). *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar*. İstanbul: Metis. p.167.

²⁵⁵ Çalıkoğlu Z. (1952, May 26). İslamlıkta Ana ve Kadın Telakkisi. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6(274),p.2.

with ‘good woman’, so that we can improve our posterity. Current glorious and religious Turkish women could achieve that.”²⁵⁶

These statements, which were inspired by nationalist and religious references, reflect the conservative nationalist discourse entailing the state feminism in Turkey. Thus, the writers of the journal became ardent supporters of a new type of the perception of religion, which aims to adapt Islam to modernity and adapt religious people to the new regime’s family form.

In *Kadın Gazetesi* motherhood was attributed with ‘good’ meanings linked to altruism, modesty and suffering with material developments of their nation. For example, on the occasion of the flood disaster in *Adana*, the journal stated their observations in the region and foremost, mothers in the region were illustrated as heroes. Indeed, *İffet Halim* proudly talks about a peasant mother who tidied up her house even throughout the times when the circumstances were bad because of the disaster:

“The mother, whom I recognized in the steepness of the Taurus Mountains, represents the Turkish women’s compassion in a powerful way and with such a pure emotion.”²⁵⁷

As a matter of fact, the discourse about the proper motherhood by the Republic works as the political device shaping women. While women are glorified as “mothers of nation”, they are pacified and forced to stay within the limits of this role.²⁵⁸ Actually nationalist meanings on motherhood were strengthened within the relation between nation and homeland. In this context mothers are instrumentalized as being the symbols of motherland which required to be protected by men who are the heroes of the nation. Indeed, in the nationalist patriotic narratives the scene that male soldiers are retrieving their homeland from enemies is illustrated as though “men”

²⁵⁶ Çalikoğlu Z. (1952, May 26). İslamlıkta Ana ve Kadın Telakkisi. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6(274), p.2.

²⁵⁷ Oruz İ.H. (1948, May 24). Kadın Göziyle: Ergül’ün Anası. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (65), p.2.

²⁵⁸ Gedik E. (2013). Security of the Nation: Why Do We Need ‘Mothers of Martyrs’ in Turkey?. *disClosure: A Journal of Social Theory*, 22, p.29.

children reached their mothers.²⁵⁹ We could claim that in the view that women are represented mothers of the nation and mothers of men soldiers womanhood's holiness is consolidated with the 'motherland'. It could be conceived as a strategy of patriarchal nationalist ideology to make motherhood abstract. Thus, the motherhood could be incorporated into the patriarchal patriotic discourse which caused the subordination of women by placing them passive and obedient places in the nationalist projects. Besides, this masculine power is observed in the metaphorical relationship between family and nation and that seems so useful for giving men the control over women.²⁶⁰

Motherhood in the journal was holding with good manners if those stay with the limits of idealized characteristics of motherhood. If women were not proper to this category they would be explicitly excluded from the realm of 'good motherhood'. In other terms, motherhood was represented with the holiness linked to the nationalist discourse only if they could thoroughly perform this national task. Those women were defined as 'Tango' in magazines, who were considered to represent notions such as immorality, disorder, extremism and danger for the nation.²⁶¹ Although *Kadın Gazetesi* didn't use this notion, the debates around the distinction of good and bad woman and mother widely appeared in the journal. That worked as the political strategy of the Republic for shaping women properly to gender roles. We could follow similar tendency also in *Kadın Gazetesi*. *Şükufe Nihal* criticized women who were only playing card games and neglected their responsibilities of home and of children. So, *Nihal* mentioned her concerns for those children as follows:

"Oh you, the educated youth, who is left unattended and deprived from family discipline you need! When you get home in the evening, your parents leave,

²⁵⁹ Jolly M.(1994). Motherlands? Some Notes on Women and Nationalism in India and Africa. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*. 5 (3), p.46

²⁶⁰ Nagel J. (2011). Erkeklik ve Milliyetçilik: Ulusun İnşasında Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Cinsellik In Ayşe Gül Altınay (Ed.). *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*. İstanbul: İletişim, p.84.

²⁶¹ Berktaş F. (2010). *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: Metis, p.160.

which even puts your health in danger, however you are a little child. I also have mercy for you as I do for those, who are alone and homeless.”²⁶²

Nihal complained that children from high societies were in bad conditions as impoverished ones. Thus, she implied that the ‘good’ motherhood was not related to class distinctions of society, since also people, who possess sufficient opportunities, could be unconcerned with their children. In order to refer to those women, she used the concept of ‘monden’, which means unofficially ‘having pleasure from living in luxury and being from high society’. According to the journal those women were not ideal mothers because they couldn’t correspond to obligations linked to the proper motherhood.

The similar approach is observed in the articles about the children from lower class, too. Women in the journal mentioned that children of impoverished families should also have access to education in boarding schools under favor of the support of well-organized institutions. It was illustrated as a highly crucial service for those children’s mental and physical development. According to Şükufe Nihal, these dormitories could be established if the budget of *Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu* (The Child Welfare Institution) increased by the donations of wealthy people. As Nihal states:

“Children, who are educated in this way, will both save themselves, which we owe to humanity, and will become worthy individuals for that nation just like every other individual living in our country. How could we fulfill such a profound duty? It is so easy: through the work of the entire nation together!”²⁶³

As we could see in the last two quotations in *Kadın Gazetesi*, along with the defining mothers within the socialization of future generations the writers of *Kadın Gazetesi* would undertake this task by means of charity activities. If mothers could not perform their motherhood properly the journal both criticized and labelled them but while doing that they used their privilege granted within being motherhood. In other

²⁶² Nihal Ş. (1948, May 3). Bir Köşeden: Monden Cemiyetin Çocukları. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (62), p.5.

²⁶³ Nihal Ş. (1948, April 26). Sokak Çocuklarımızı Korumalıyız! II. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (61), p.5.

words, although mothers have been placed in passive and obedient roles in the nationalist projects, this role gave them the realm of power which was left behind the limitations of the idealized women of the Reforms. Since women's roles were linked to biological and historical facts which naturalize their positions in the society those women used the power of duties recognized by the nationalist projects. Therefore, *Kadın Gazetesi* produced a discourse on motherhood which legalize their activities. They also criticized people by means of the place of being mothers of the nation. With this discourse, they could come into play as being mothers. On the other hand, the concept of 'duty' has a significant place in the ideal motherhood. To teach women their duties, *Kadın Gazetesi* listed necessities of idealized motherhood with didactical approach. Didactical approach, which enabled people to build all daily practices as an extension of national development, was an inseparable part of this discourse.²⁶⁴ Thus it became common to call for people to work for the nation and was reinforced with the concept of 'self-sacrifice'. Thus motherhood was constructed as a public task with glorified national values.

3.5. Domestic Duties and Household Relations in *Kadın Gazetesi*

Organization and decoration of home gained importance throughout the nation-building process in Turkey because those indicated the status and the wealth of its owner. Among women household goods were seen as tokens, which determined the cultural knowledge, dependency to the Reform and its principles, altruism for the sake of their country or children. Similarly, since housework was attributed to women and it was one of the crucial symptoms of ideal womanhood, household works were also included in the modernization process. Therefore, domestic works had significant place in the life of "ideal woman", which were elaborated by scientific and economic recommendations in the journal. In that section, the discussion will point to how women were related with housework and with home itself by the articles in *Kadın Gazetesi*.

²⁶⁴ Açıkel F. (2002). Devletin Manevi Şahsiyeti ve Ulusun Pedagojisi In Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekinil (Ed.). *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*. İstanbul: İletişim. p.119.

On the occasion of the gender division of labor, women in the journal generally assumed that domestic work should be done by women and indeed young women should learn how to do housework.

“The first duty of mothers is to teach their daughters housework while, at the same time maintaining to educate them, as well. As a consequence, it does not matter whether they do housework or not.”²⁶⁵

Similarly, housework was attributed to women as being altruist organizer of daily life routines. Mothers were expected to be teachers of these kinds of housework and handwork for their daughters. Especially in the articles about domestic economy or decoration, there were recommendations about the organizing home almost in entire issues the journal. Some technical information about home design, for example, such as simple ways to build furniture like tables, chairs and ornaments were given to readers. Besides, they shared some models for stitching or knitting mostly from the samples of *Kız Enstitüleri* (Institutes for Girls). *Kadın Gazetesi* gave recommendations for saving money while buying or using groceries, in the name of helping their husbands²⁶⁶, and explained the key points of removing a stain.²⁶⁷ For example, they gave some advices about home design and what was fashionable.

“If you pay attention, you could notice that recently women have been frequently shopping in furniture shops, covered bazaars and grand bazaars selling antique and they find favor in ‘old’ things. Some consider that interest as snobbism, yet it is a big mistake. (...) It is not enough to place your furniture into your house, regardless of how luxurious they are. Your room should resemble furniture shops. You should decorate your room in a very well-matched manner that your guests feel themselves in their remembrances. Use furniture which makes us forget formation of new ages and carries the romanticism of old times...”²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ Ersat F. (1948, April 5). Dertler, Düşünceler: Kızlarımızı ev işlerine alıştırmalıyız. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (58), p.5.

²⁶⁶ Berke P. (1949, October 10). Çalışan kadının müşteki olduğu durum nedir?. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 3 (137), p.6.

²⁶⁷ Ev İdaresi: Çamaşırlarımızı Nasıl Yıkamalıyız?. (1948, April 12). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (59), p.5.

²⁶⁸ Ömür L. (1948, April 5).Evin İç Düzeni. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (58), p.5.

As a part of making housework scientific and technical, *Kız Enstitüleri* were established in 1928. They aimed to nurture Turkish girls with national values and to make them more effective in housework.²⁶⁹ In this way, girls would become new women of the nation in the light of effective labor and in accordance with the scientific rules of housework. *Kız Enstitüleri* should be viewed as a production of the efforts to merge Western civilization and our national identity.²⁷⁰ Rationalization of domestic work was the significant part of this discourse. Cooking, cleaning and washing were regarded as ‘labor processes’ to be well-planned in terms of expenditures money, time, material and energy which they required. Actually this kind of effort to rationalize housework almost just like industrial planning of the production claimed a new status for housework which was identical with other economic activities. Because rationalization housework was planned as a part of the nationalist project.²⁷¹ In this context, scientific rules of cooking, cleaning and washing supported the national development firstly as being a part of civilization and secondly by avoiding wasting as a result of well-planned working processes. Planning housework with scientific rules was regarded as support to the development of women’s positions. Because organizing homes to tidy and purifying private realms from dirt assigned to women and as a part of those task women needed to adapt those modernized domestic rules. On the other hand, this process had close relationship with national economy. Rationalization of housework had purpose to make life more calculable within the guides to conduct homes. As a part of this purpose, women were encouraged to limit household expenditures, moreover, to

²⁶⁹ Navaro-Yaşın Y. (2000). ‘Evde Taylorizm’: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin İlk Yıllarında Evişinin Rasyonelleşmesi. *Toplum ve Bilim*, 84,p.52.

²⁷⁰ Akşit E.E. (2005). *Kızların Sessizliği: Kız Enstitülerinin Uzun Tarihi*. İstanbul: İletişim, p.143.

²⁷¹ Nolan M.(1990) “Housework Made Easy”: The Taylorized Housewife in Weimar Germany’s Rationalized Economy. *Feminist Studies*. 16 (3), p.559.

follow well-organized expenditure plan with income in an effort to save.²⁷² Thus, women could support the national development by limiting their spending.

Conjugal relations were seen as objects to be delicately organized almost like household goods. Therefore, the journal frequently conceived personal relationships between spouses and domestic works of women. There were insistent repetitions on relationships between women and men, which emphasized on peaceful marriage and secrets to happiness.

“The dominant qualification of man is chivalry and while that of woman is compassion. There is no doubt that woman’s heart is more delicate and soft. Naturally women are so sensitive and impressed from dramatic facts more than men do. People, who succor for the indigent, patients, orphans in peacetime; and who remediate injured people, orphans, widows’ wounds during wartime are women. Women are inherently merciful and renunciant.”²⁷³

Another article discussed the necessities for the happiness of both men and women and examined the social roles of women and men at certain points. In fact; education of women could be affirmative for the peace of their marriage.

“(…) whereas, they (girls) need to get well-education and discipline even for being ready to get married. Since, family house is not a place where girls can get in and out anytime. Even if a woman doesn’t support her husband materially or even if she doesn’t fulfill the moral responsibilities she has for her husband, isn’t it a necessity for her to perfectly prepare for life from every aspect? The only ideal of men and women should be having a happy family house. Yet, as long as our girls are condemned to look for husbands, and expect everything from men and continue to be passive entities, who only get married only for their welfare; it is impossible for us to reach a contemporary civilization and real family happiness. When they become character-wise people, we will fulfill our main duty.”²⁷⁴

²⁷² Davidoff L.(1976).The Rationalization of Housework. In Barker L.D. and Allen S. (Ed.). Dependence and Exploitation in Work and Marriage. USA: Longman, p.131.

²⁷³ Tercan S.S. (1953, March 17).Türk Kadınlarından Beklediklerimiz. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (264), p.7.

²⁷⁴ Nemlioğlu S. (1953, June 16).Cemiyet ve Aile için Münevver Kadın. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (277), p.2.

Significance of the happy family leads the journal to inquire about the reasons of divorce with a concern to prevent them, which are put in order as the following:

“1. Poverty: (...) there are women who cause disturbance because they can't afford a pearl-necklace or fur and as a result she decides to divorce. (...) But we also heard and saw some actresses, who live in luxury houses and make a lot of money, but still can't be happy and change their husbands every year. Thus we cannot consider poverty to be the main and real reason behind divorce.

2. Status Differences: A couple who has educational or disciplinary differences could not get along well.

3. Age gap: If age gap is too wide it can result in lack of harmony for a couple.

4. Mother-in law, father-in law, sister-in law issues: It is not a significant reason behind divorce; if a couple have problems with them, they could apart their house from theirs. (...)

In fact, ignorance is the most significant problem. (...) That kind of ignorance results from the lack of knowledge on the art of marriage. Yes, to satisfying her husband for a wife, and satisfying his wife for a husband through sexual intercourse is an art and ability. (...) We, our nation, fell behind that knowledge. Thus, we struggle with that kind of ignorance and malicious considerations.”²⁷⁵

These kinds of recommendations for preserving happy families might exist in different forms in the magazine. Generally, they were presented as secret methods for women, for example, what kind of an attitude they should display towards womanizers or how they could maintain the strength of their relationship.

“(...) here we are about the sixth type: the spy type. Their methods are based on following your habits. For example, what time you leave home, which route you take, at what time you arrive at home, at which café you hang out and where you get on bus or trolley... Then according to that time, they frequently come across with you and say hello to you, so they want to get closer to you. Yet, since these types are ‘KOKOZ’ (moneyless) they come to you after you pay your bill at the café, for not to pay it for you. (...) If you get bored of that order, you should get away from him as if you were in a hurry or your brother should stand by you and tell him to have a mean look on his face when the womanizer tries to get next to you. If you don't have a brother, stand by with one of your close boyfriends and when he comes to you, tell him that the guy standing next to you is your boyfriend, who gets very jealous of you. Another type is your friend's friend. That isn't too frightening so much, since this type always uses mediator for his intentions. (...)”²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ Cemal H. (1953, January 29). Boşanmalar Niçin Çoğalıyor?. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (309), p.6.

²⁷⁶ Çapkın Erkek Tipleri (1953, July 21). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (282), p.7.

They also give recommendations for wives to enchain their husbands who were cheating. It was stated in the article that cheating could result from wife's changing attitudes towards her husband.

“Now you should attach your husband to you with your talents. How could you do that? I will whisper you some realities of that:

1. Avoid being sick.
2. Wake up earlier than your husband and wear a clean robe and brush your hair.
3. Never be so familiar with your husband's relatives and be nice to them.
4. Do not splurge your money and never ask for money in middle of the month.
5. If you don't work, you must welcome your husband when he arrives home. When he is late, never question him.
6. Don't confirm every opinion of him without questioning. If you disagree, you can say that. Never argue with him.
7. Don't criticize him directly, do it delicately, and always make him feel important.
8. Take interest in your husband's hygiene and you should also always be clean.”²⁷⁷

These items could be seen as the manifesto of the journal about the relationship between husband and wife. Also these are really strict rules directing the ‘norms’ of familial relations. Thus, by force of the disciplinary approach linked to the Republican discourse these rules aim to reshape women's social conducts in accordance with the dynamics of the ideal family. On the other hand, apparently the disciplinary discourse was operated not only by men supporting the Reforms of the Republic, but also by women. Indeed, this supervising and controlling was transformed into the judgmental form by means of the mechanism built among women. Because the disciplinary discourse was used by means of women for categorizing women and for judging their conducts according to proper behaviors attributed to the ideal woman. This situation might be resulted from the lack of autonomy of the women's movement in Turkey. In other words, under the profound and fundamental effects of nationalism, it seems inevitable for the women's movement to avoid masculinized meanings attributed to femininity. National duties

²⁷⁷ Gün H. (1952, April 7). Yuva Kaygılarından: Erkek Ekseriya Niçin Aldatır?. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (267), p.2.

assigned to citizens and being always on alert with regards to the degeneration of society are two significant parameters of the nationalist ideology. By means of those political devices nationalist projects aroused people's altruism for the sake of national unity. In this respect, people are expected to behave properly to social norms determined by the gender roles. Unless people behaved properly to the image of ideal citizenship, they would be accused of being reactionist and traitor by means of the official ideology. As a consequence, we could claim that the disciplinary discourse gained its strength by means of the gender roles.

According to the modesty pointed by the Republic emotions such as passion, love, desire was seen as dangerous for a stable and traditional family order, which was also the essence of the nation unity. Therefore, according to *Kadın Gazetesi* women, as organizers and the main measurement of the family order, should learn how to control and to domesticate their husbands. According to this opinion, although a husband disturbed the peace of his family by cheating his wife, still, woman had to take care of his husband for the happiness of her marriage. Thus, those tips given by the journal seemed to be necessary for women. Literally, womanhood was regarded as something shaped and practiced due to those recommendations in the journal. *Kadın Gazetesi* referred to Islamic and national tenets with the objective to strengthen the discourse positioning women with domestic factors.

“We need to protect our girls and care them as girls of the North! Because marriage is neither a coupling nor a satisfaction of physiological necessities; it is a case of nation and homeland. Islam, which deals with social facts in a philosophic and wisdom way, orders that:
‘Get married and improve your posterity...’”²⁷⁸

The portrayal of married women in the journal was glorified as being producers of the future generation and thus women were regarded as supporting the development of the nation by means of biological reproduction. According to this opinion, while married women could work outside; they were advised not to neglect their main

²⁷⁸ Gün H. (1952, April 7). Yuva Kaygılarından: Erkek Ekseriya Niçin Aldatır?. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (267), p.2.

duties such as housework, showing interest to their husbands and caring for their children. In this respect, Hale Gün argued whether men's attitude could result in women's negligence for her home or her family.

“Housework is monotonous and detailed. Even the most optimistic woman gets bored if she does not get attention. According to men, women are human beings, who cook well, perfectly organize, know how to stitch, and are perfect ladies, who can always be cheerful. If a man is out for dinner and he leaves his wife make-up-free and with a modest dress, he will have pain in the neck from looking at a stylish woman on the street and maybe he will regret why his wife does not look like her. He will feel sad because he wouldn't see a woman like that so much earlier. (...) I ask you dear sirs, could anybody able to do the entire of housework? It's not just that, but women are also responsible for raising her children”

With these statements, Gün aimed to demonstrate excessiveness of responsibilities burdened to women. In addition to these domestic duties and chores women were expected to be presentable, beautiful and well-dressed. As a result of these factors, the writer criticized the enormous duties attributed to women. Besides, she recommended men to care for their wives through giving a set of advices:

- “1. Don't be in a hurry to get married. Don't get married before you have a job with a sufficient wage for your family.
 2. Love someone and get married with whom you have known for a long time.
 3. Look for someone who is compatible with you with regards to her family, hobbies, and friends.
- After these, don't forget to show interest in your wife.”²⁷⁹

Within those recommendations the journal showed insight of an ideal marriage. The ideal marriage was illustrated as a relationship, in which the roles were strictly determined and which consisted of people who loved each other. By force of the love among family, spouses were encouraged to show off their feelings to each other. According to the journal, if these roles couldn't be fulfilled properly, romance and poetic love as being factors hold couples together might be depleted. That would damage peace of the family, which was the most threatening occasion for supporters of the Republic. Because nationalist and modern norms of the Republican reforms

²⁷⁹ Gün H. (1952, March 31). Yuva Kaygılarından: Kadının Düşmesinde Erkeğin Rolü Olabilir mi?. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (266), p.2..

were reproduced within the presence of that ideal family. Also gender relations and hierarchies were legalized by means of the family. Thus the threat of degeneration of this national family was the powerful concern among the Republican elites. Moreover, this threat embodied in women's existence and social conduct. As a result, firstly women were needed to keep under control of social arrangements. Thus when patriarchal borders become ambiguous under effect of changing social relations women are charged with the guidance of those borders. This occasion was experienced in Turkey with the Republic and roles assigned to women included domestic roles. Because actually tidying and cleaning homes aimed to organize private spheres according to detailed and well-planned rational domestic rules. The other thing emphasized rationalization of the housework was related with the Empire as an image of old order and backwardness. To rationalization of domestic duties, women needed to get rid of traditional methods used in the homes, which were learned by their mothers or grandmothers. Because those traditional knowledge, produced within the womanly traditional networks, symbolized the old-fashioned and anonymous methods of women. Since the Republican reforms placed special emphasis on the improvement of women's education level both in private and public sphere by means of social and political channels, apart from proper social conducts determined in the public, Turkish women needed to follow scientific rules in the private. In this context, *Kadın Gazetesi* charged themselves with teaching women those rationalized rules and encouraged women to teach those also to their daughters. As a part of the Republican effort to create systemic configuration of the ideal women, *Kadın Gazetesi* struggled to adapt women to those norms. Thus, according to the journal, they would support the women's salvation from the power of traditional methods which suppressed women's improvement.

3.6. Appearance of the 'New Woman' in *Kadın Gazetesi*

Advice and warnings on women's attire, shopping expenses, personal care were the most popular topics in the journal. In general discourse of *Kadın Gazetesi* women who played card games, cared too much about their personal appearance and

indulged in consumption, were illustrated as ‘bad woman’. Thus, those habits were not appreciated by writers. In this sub-chapter, it is asserted that women’s physical existence appeared as significant realm that the modernization of the Turkish nationalist project was argued about. Furthermore, much of the current debates of the section revolves around what kind of definitions, labels and arguments are used to categorize women. In this context using Connell’s concepts of ‘gender regime’ and ‘hegemonic masculinity’ seems effective to evaluate behaviors assigned to women. To this, gender regime. As noted earlier, the gender regime implies the cultural gender order constructed within the subordination of women to men. But this order included a wide variety of cultural, political, economic factors reshaped this hierarchy and also reproduced them in relation with changes. During this all institutions reproduced their own gender regimes in relation with global changes. In this system, according to Connell, masculinities, as well as femininities, are not homogenous and stable construction. Contrary to this, those are perpetually reshaping reciprocally with the gender order. Because men’s interests in patriarchy are not same and unified. Those interest are institutionalized and produced by means of changing interests and political arrays.²⁸⁰ Actually the concept of ‘hegemonic masculinity’ points to the significance of relations among men which is undeniable for feminist studies. Because thinking masculinity and femininity as two unified pole was not right to argue changes and interrelations. At this stage we could claim that there are multiple masculinities contesting to each other and “that masculinity occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations”.²⁸¹

The authors of *Kadın Gazetesi* seriously focused on fashion, beauty care; even so they tried to raise awareness of women of overspending. From this point of view, shopping, fashion, socializing in outdoor with friends were harmful to national economy. Because the popular image ascribed to the new woman was care for inner beauty rather than physical appearance. Thus, the women, who exaggeratedly keened on beauty, shopping, and fashion, were considered as the ‘improper women’.

²⁸⁰ Connell R.W. (2005). *Masculinities*. USA: University of California Press, p.242.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.* p.76.

According to that perspective, mothers should take care of their children rather than spending time outside. However, women were encouraged to take part in civil organizations for the sake of national interests these activities should have not hinder their familial responsibilities.

News about famous women and their lives were so popular in the journal that they published article series specific for celebrity news. Those women were queens, princesses or famous actresses, and singers. In that context, they interviewed popular women, and mostly focused on their beauty or their views about the positions of Turkish womanhood. One of the interviews was done with Gisele Casadesus who played in the first national theatre, called the Comédie Française. Throughout the interview, they expressed how beautiful, charming, and friendly she was, and then they talked about her art.²⁸² Besides, there was an interview with Princess Neslişah of Egypt and they especially asked her about the rights of women in Egypt. As a respond, she stated that women in Egypt were not used to go out in public contrary to women in Turkey. At the same time, the journal illustrated the princess, in detailed way, as being so beautiful, well-behaved, kind and sensitive. The interviewer frequently said that she was impressed by the princess' appearance, attitude, and her womanhood.²⁸³ The princess asked the journal if they organized activities in support of the education of the children in the country. The interviewer responded proudly that they had undertook the responsibility of children as a national mission and thus had tried to protect a large number of children.

The journal's approach towards beauty was explicitly visible in the news about beauty contests. For example, they announced proudly that a Turkish girl won the European Beauty Contest in the first place.²⁸⁴ Similarly, when Suna Soley, the

²⁸² Comédie Française artistlerinden Gisele Casadesus ile söyleşi (1947, May 10). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1(11), p.2.

²⁸³ Prenses Neslişah ile söyleşi (1947, June 7) *Kadın Gazetesi*, Vol.1:15, 1947.

²⁸⁴ Hedef (1952, August 25). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (287), p.1-2.

Turkish beauty queen in 1952, went to Finland for the European Beauty Contest but she couldn't come win because of the Italian delegate's vote, and the Italian candidate had become the winner. The journal stated that Finnish people had protested the Italian delegate due to injustice of the final decision.²⁸⁵ Beyond the reality of this case, it is significant that they interpreted beauty contest as a part of a national pride. In other words, according to the journal, the Turkish candidate Suna Soley had to come first in the contest. Apparently, they really attached importance to be nationally and successfully represented by beautiful and modern Turkish women and to be taken seriously through national virtues. As they considered beauty contests as a 'national issue', the beauty of those girls were interpreted as a national value, thus the victories obtained in the beauty contests were evaluated as national beauty. Similarly, *Iffet Halim Oruz* complainingly wrote that women in the contest were not beautiful enough and she felt sorry and disappointed.²⁸⁶ As we discussed above, beauty of the Turkish women was considered to be a significant part of the reflection of Turkey's modernity to the World. As a result, according to the journal the beauty contests provided them to prove Turkish women's beauty to the whole world.

With the objective to prove the genetic descents of the beauty attributed to Turkish women, the journal referred to the historical practices of Turkish communities. In the article called '*Türklerde Güzel Kadın Tipleri*' (Types of Beautiful Turkish Women), was argued this genetic heritage as follows:

“Turkish women are notable for their beauty, which is mentioned in Turkish, Arabic, Persian literatures. In the Daga Gorgut Epic, Turkish woman is illustrated as tall, slender-waisted and with their blue, green, hazel eyes, red and brown hair.”

In the end of paragraph, they told a story about *Oğuz Kağan*, who couldn't share his outstandingly beautiful daughters with anyone and thus he prayed God for blessing

²⁸⁵ Suna Soley ikinci oldu. (1955, June 18). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 8 (402), p.1.

²⁸⁶ Güzellerin Seçimi (1950, September 4). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 4 (183),p.5.

his daughters.²⁸⁷ Similarly, *Şükufe Nihal* proudly put emphasis on the beauty of Turkish women with the reputation of their natural wellness and being loving mothers.²⁸⁸ Besides, the journal argued the views of foreigners about the beauty of Turkish women who demonstrated Turkish women's beauty to whole of the world.²⁸⁹

Kadın Gazetesi gave advice on beauty care for women. Outfits and beauty care of women have been the essential place where the masculine dominance settles in. As in early years of the Republic women, who wore modern clothes in exaggerated ways, were not appreciated. In addition, there was an idea that those women were seen as “poor imitations” of European women. In this sense, Turkish women were warned to protect their pureness and not to imitate European women's volatility. Doing so, the new regime transformed women into ‘asexual beings’, which were regarded as suitable for ‘fellow-woman’ which fit in the concept of ideal woman of the Republic.²⁹⁰ It is possible to observe similar approach in the views of *Fürüzan R. Eksat*, in which she talked about a friend of hers, who was ‘well-behaved, well-spoken, dependent on traditions, harmless’. According to *Eksat*, this woman changed dramatically and started to resemble European women. Indeed, the woman came up with a fur and a big hat. She spoke by using English words as well as Persian, French and Arabic ones and according to *Eksat*, her talking reflected the current circumstances and she criticized this type of Turkish women. Moreover, she said that she was born in Europe since you can get to Europe through getting on a boat in Istanbul.²⁹¹ In other words, she implied that Istanbul was also a European city, which possessed the same merit with that of the European cities.

²⁸⁷ Nihal Ş. (1947, March 29). Türklerde Güzel Kadın Tipleri I. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (5), p.5.

²⁸⁸ Nihal Ş. (1947, April 5). Türklerde Güzel Kadın Tipleri II. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (6), p.5.

²⁸⁹ Tufan A. (1947, August 6). Ecnebilere göre Türk Kadını. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (28), p.2..

²⁹⁰ Arat Z.F. (1998). Kemalizm ve Türk Kadını In Ayşe Bertkay Hacımirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.55.

²⁹¹ Eksat Fürüzan R. (1947, Mart 8). Dertler Düşünceler: Türlüden Kokteyle. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (2), p.3.

Different physical appearances of women are crucial to determinate them with categories and to associate with political stance. Although Fatma the housewife happened to be their source of pride because of her outstanding effort that spent on her family and housework; the women who played card games were explicitly excluded from the idealized Turkish womanhood.²⁹² Yet, when we focus on the historical background of this approach, there were significant political statements which had an impact on women's social conduct and status. For example, the article published in the journal, called *Hakimiyet-I Milliye* in 1924 under control of *Mustafa Kemal*, women were warned about their clothes as follows:

“We would like to point an issue for leaders of the women's movement in *Istanbul*. Current image of Turkish woman represents the women who carried munitions to front lines in Anatolia in the War of Independence. If these women leaders pay attention to that image not only as an example of a right and a sacrifice but also as the essence of our whole life; they can discover the starting point. Turkish womanhood couldn't achieve anything by walking through the civilization in *Istanbul*. They got the victory by walking from the homeland of the war to its civilization and gloriously achieved their goal with their dignity.”²⁹³

The warning points to the distinction between Anatolian women and women living in *Istanbul*. In this context, *Istanbul* symbolizes high-class sense of fun and joy which were not appreciated by the modest elites of the Republic. According to this opinion, in comparison with Anatolian women, women living in *Istanbul* were well-educated, high-class and generally unconcerned about national values. As a result, this distinction was derived from the supervising approach of the Republic which tested propriety of women to the 'ideal woman'. We could see the opposite of that opinion in Halide Edip Adivar's quotation. To her:

“Going to friendly meetings, being keen on fashion and even dancing do not mean that a woman does not seriously think of the issues of her nation. Rights and

²⁹² Bayan Fatma (1947, June 28). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (18), p.1.

²⁹³ Toska Z.(1998). Cumhuriyet'in Kadın İdeali: Eşiği Aşanlar ve Aşamayanlar In Ayşe Berktaş Hacimirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları. p.87.

interests of Anatolian women who shoulder all responsibility of the nation are also asserted and elaborated by the educated women living in the urban.”²⁹⁴

Halide Edip criticized the masculine view which define women in Istanbul as improper to the ideal woman of the Republic. The categorization of women with their apparency in the public resulted from the concern of protecting women’s purity from the dangers of the modernity. In this context, when Anatolian women were glorified by pureness of physical appearance women in Istanbul were not appreciated because of ‘extremism’ of their habits. These arguments suggest that if women went over the limit of modern women drawn by the masculine modernity could not be ideal woman who is identified with national duties. As a result, those would be accused of being traitor because of neglecting their national duties. That’s why, socializing in the public, playing card games or taking so much care of beauty amounted to damage the national and moral values in the society.

We could claim that the discourse based on the divergence between Anatolian women and women in Istanbul seemed to succeed to determine proper womanhood of Turkish nationalist project. According to this discourse, women in urban places were described as the source of corruption and degeneration of moral codes. Indeed, there were many elements could be defined as evidence of the corruption and degeneration. Idealized roles such as motherhood, wifehood, being presentable with modern outfit, characteristics such as altruism, loving, hardworking and modest were used to test women’s propriety. In case of being improper, those women were accused of being the reason of social disorder. By contrast with women in urban places, Anatolian women symbolized the national roots and the national struggle against imperialism. Women living in Istanbul were seen on the extreme which indicates ‘over-modernization’. To this, during the nation-building process in Turkey, the administrative cadre and also intellectuals partly supported the Westernization. Because, in addition to the technological innovations and cultural progress, ‘the modern’ also means concerns and anxiety about the essence of nation.

²⁹⁴ Toska Z.(1998). Cumhuriyet’in Kadın İdeali: Eşiği Aşanlar ve Aşamayanlar In Ayşe Berktaş Hacımiraçoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.81.

Yet, Anatolian women were seen identical to this essence. On the other hand, Anatolian women were insufficient about education and cultural background. For this, they were not completely in compliance with the ideal images of the new woman of the new regime. Although women in urban places might be good image of modern women with their clothes, hair styles, speeches, houses, children and all factors about their appearance those were need to be kept under control with cultural and moral borders. Since women's appearance was identified with the imaged of the country, it seems really necessary to control the social conduct of women for protection the morality of the nation.

In addition to the main distinction of between Anatolian woman and women in urban places, *Kadın Gazetesi* referred to various women's categories shaped by their physical appearances. The journal gave advice women to take care of their body, personal hygiene and to work out for physical health. In the issue of health advices, it was stated that hygiene was the first requirement for beauty and sanitation. Also, in that issue women were recommended to jog, to swim and to cycle for their fitness. Moreover, the author criticized girls, who were not clean enough, and advised them to take baths and pay attention to their personal hygiene.²⁹⁵ On the other hand, in some cases, house design was explained with regards to health and beauty. For example, they recommended women to open their houses' windows to let the fresh air in and to walk outside to get fresh air for their own health and beauty on a regular basis.²⁹⁶ Furthermore, when the journal wrote about makeup, they stated that doing make up was unnecessary because for achieving beauty and happiness, women needed to work out, which strengthened their health.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ Sağlık Öğütleri: Sağlık ve Sosyal Bakımdan Kız Analarına Öğütler II. (1947, April 5). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (6), p.6.

²⁹⁶ Ev idaresinde kendimize itina edelim (1947, April 19). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (8), p.6.

²⁹⁷ Kadın ve Spor. (1948, April 5). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (58), p.7.

The journal also published an issue on fashion, which consisted of clothing, samples of fashionable clothing, advises about accessories and etc. They emphasized the physical beauty of women, as well as elegantly dressing. There were photographs of models wearing fashionable dresses and recommendations about clothing styles.²⁹⁸ Besides, the journal gave some diet recipes for balanced nutrition, which implied that if women wanted to be look like the models in the magazine they had to take care of their physical appearance. However, at the same time, the journal warned women not to be highly interested in luxurious clothing and shopping. At this point local production came to the forefront that *İffet Halim* presented clothes stitched by the students of *Sanat Okulu* (the School of Art). Furthermore, *Girizan Tunara* recommended to put effort into advertising those domestic productions to the World.²⁹⁹ Similarly, there were some photographs of nightdress, purses, and knitted coats and skirts, which were handwork productions of Turkish artists.³⁰⁰ In this respect, *İffet Halim* emphasized the significance of purchasing domestic goods and thus tried to prove that Turkey was as successful as other countries were in the international fashion industry.

Another popular issue about saving money in the journal was about nylons. In the magazine they frequently mentioned how useful nylons were, but they complained that nylons were not durable for several usages. In one of the article written by *İffet Halim*, she stated that using nylons resulted in economic loss for house budgets, and she demanded legal regulation for the production of nylons.³⁰¹ Moreover in another issue, the magazine blamed the manufacturers producing nylons, which were not so durable as silk stocking.³⁰² The topic of nylons is an indicator for the necessity of being economical for women. Even if a woman is a modest housewife,

²⁹⁸ Kadın-Moda: Zarif giyinmek için vücut güzelliğine kıymet verilmelidir. (1952, November 20). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (299), p.8.

²⁹⁹ Tunara G. (1949, April 25). Garplılara kendimizi tanıtmaya yolunda... *Kadın Gazetesi*, 3 (113), p.6.

³⁰⁰ Moda- Zerafet (1947, March 1). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (1), p.6.

³⁰¹ Oruz İ.H. (1947, March 1). İpekli Çoraplar. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (1), p.1.

³⁰² Oruz İ.H. (1949, June 27). Kadın Çorapları Mevzuuna Dair. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 3 (122), p.1.

she should always avoid wasting too much. Because it was significant for women to help and support their husbands by reducing domestic expenses by means of their handwork. Under favor of women's helpful nature, women had to be thrifty with their expenses for home.³⁰³

To demonstrate the significance of tidy and organization of their homes, they mentioned a Swiss scientist and expert on saving and gave some recommendations for women to save electric, water and other expenditures of the household.³⁰⁴ In this respect, women were considered to be the main subject of national saving as being the organizers of their homes.³⁰⁵ Similarly, the article about women and fabrics stated that women were so extremely interested in expensive and luxurious fabrics that they did not realize that they themselves became fabrics over the years.³⁰⁶

Berktaş mentioned a 'public paranoia', which states that when the social order is transformed with the changes on masculinity and femininity, women's habits and characteristics also dramatically changed and this makes men anxious due to the changing concept of traditional manhood. At this stage, the most efficient way to deal with this threat is to identify women with suitable attitudes by increasing the control upon women.³⁰⁷ As mentioned earlier, there is a popular belief, which assumes that a nation is a big family and evaluates relationships among citizens as family relationships. According to this belief, if women's dependency on family bonds changed through the impact of modernity, it could result in corruption in the

³⁰³Berke P. (1949, October 10). Çalışan kadının müşteki olduğu durum nedir?. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 3 (137), p.6.

³⁰⁴ Oruz İ.H. (1954, January 30). Kadın Göziyle: İsmet İnönü Gibi. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 7 (361), p.2.

³⁰⁵ Oruz İ.H. (1947, December 22). Kooperatifçilik ve Kadın. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (43), p.1.

³⁰⁶ Kadın ve Kumaş (1947, October 6). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (32), p.3.

³⁰⁷ Berktaş F. (2010). *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: Metis, p.155.

family.³⁰⁸ In fact, it is the main public fear of the conservative side on the issue of social changes. Also, Bora mentioned this type of fear when he focused on nationalist-conservatives: women who rush into extremes with their social conduct might destabilize power relationships, which, in turn, often makes men with power worried and alerted. In fact, it is the apparent association of hegemonic masculinity and conservatism, which is encouraged by always being on full alert.³⁰⁹

Although gender roles are certainly determined with national values glorified during the nationalist projects, these roles are not stable, in fact, they change with respect to changing social circumstances. Nevertheless, gender roles are defined in light of masculinized meanings because of patriarchal domination over women. Although women could possess legal achievements in years, especially the notion of being a mother could not change in favor of women. Because those social and political changes generally stay within the limits of masculinity. As we could see in the reproduction of patriarchy during the nation-building process in Turkey, although legal rights were granted to women gender roles were redefined in light of the renewed masculine domination.

Consequently, even though *Kadın Gazetesi* advocated equality for women and supported the legal rights of women, they still did not avoid using stereotypes and stating discriminative features of women. For example, when the journal recommended women to stay away from luxury, they indeed referred to women, who were seen as ‘addicted’ to shopping, yet the journal still claimed that women were responsible for shopping for the household. Moreover, in one of her articles, *İffet Halim* complained that women used telephone too often, but she said she was pleased when women frequently called and spoke to her on the telephone.³¹⁰ It is

³⁰⁸ Sirman N. (2002). Kadınların Milliyeti In Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil (Ed.). *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*. İstanbul: İletişim. p.243.

³⁰⁹ Bora T. (2005). Analar, Bacılar, Oropular: Türk Milliyetçi-Muhafazakar Söyleminde Kadın In Ahmet Öncü, Orhan Tekelioğlu (Ed.). *Şerif Mardin’e Armağan*. İstanbul: İletişim. p.267.

³¹⁰ Oruz İ.H. (1947, August 2). Kadın Göziyle. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (23), p.2

possible to say that they explicitly contributed to the existing negative and discriminative classifications of women by interpreting the problems with reference to the legal hegemony of patriarchy in everyday-life politics.

Within the Republic of Turkey, women's positions became to be redefined in the brotherhood-centered public while previously womanhood was determined from the father-centered realm.³¹¹ Because the patriarchy rebuilt with this change. As a result, serious social debates about masculinity and femininity appeared according to this social transformation. New meanings about masculinity and femininity were required for rebuilding gender roles depended on political goals of the nationalist projects. Thus those meanings were created by means of characteristics ascribed to women and men. Since women's existence appeared as signifiers of social and national borders, gender roles of women reflected the essential aims of the nationalist ideology. Because this ideology included wide variety of political factors such as modernity, conservatism, nationalism, civilization; 'the new woman' was actually ambiguous. There was a political tendency about positioning women in the Republic era between the fear of being '*Alaturka*' and the danger of losing purity.³¹² This tension was working in the mind of women, which created powerful control over the Republic's women. Moreover, we could claim that this tension about women's social conduct led anxiety among women. Because this category differences reproduced by means of the control built among women. In the case of behaving improper to the idealized woman, this control system threatened women to exclude from proper citizenship. Because women's citizenship was constructed with the ideal characteristics assigned to them as national task. Thus when their social conduct was not appropriate for the gender norms shaped within Republican values they faced the risk of losing national approval. On the other hand, women in *Kadın Gazetesi* also embraced this domination and operation based on men's domination over women.

³¹¹ Bora A. (2010). Hatırlananlar ve Unutulanlar: İslam Coğrafyasında Modernleşme ve Kadın Hareketleri. *Bilig*, 53, p.59.

³¹² Kadioğlu A. (1998). Cinselliğin İnkarı: Büyük Toplumsal Projelerin Nesnesi Olarak Türk Kadınları. In Ayşe Berktaş Hacimirzaoğlu (Ed.). *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.96.

Thus as well as men, women frequently referred to the ambiguous cautions about women's attitudes. As a result, the masculine control over women and supporting women's positioning in the state feminism worked as a part of the political strategy of the Republic. This polity worked for supervising women's social conduct with regards to the social and moral values recreated by the nation building process. In this context, *Kadın Gazetesi* was dependent to those norms and reproduced gender differences with their interpretation about women's appearances. Because their main goal was to adhere to proper conducts determined by the Republic.

CHAPTER 4

THE VISION AND ACTIVITIES OF *KADIN GAZETESİ*

4.1. The Efforts to Increase Women's Participation in Politics

Since 1947 when the journal began to be published, it often complained about the deficiencies of democracy in Turkey, and it blamed *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*- CHP (Republican People Party). Yet, the journal proudly emphasized that women had gained political rights thanks to Republican reforms.

“Women sharing our political goals broke through in Turkey by means of the Republican reforms beginning from the *Meşrutiyet*. Then it was legalized in the Republic. In other words, the issue of equal rights extended to equal political rights. Through legal progression Turkish womanhood was able to gain their rights. Legal implications which scarcely give equality to women are insufficient. They were interpreted according to social construction such as family unity, which are not related to the concept of the equal right. Yet, practically do we have enough self- sufficiency to them? That is the case.”³¹³

However, according to the writers, there were still some problems about women's legal status in spite of the legal equality. As a result, the journal remarked on the necessities of the women's movement. İffet Halim Oruz asserted that their aim was not to struggle for women's suffrage like the previous women's movement. According to her, the journal endeavored for the improvement of their rights and for the development Middle-Eastern womanhood by being powerful defenders.³¹⁴

The journal was also involved in woman's positions in local policy, since they demanded to increase female administrators in municipal councils. With increasing

³¹³ Oruz İ.H. (1947, March 22). Mücadelemiz. *Kadın Gazetesi*. 1 (4), p.1.

³¹⁴ Oruz İ.H. (1947, April 5). Kadınlar Birliği. *Kadın Gazetesi*. 1 (6), p.1.

numbers of women in councils, local policy would be more effective with regard to the necessities of urbanism.³¹⁵

Kadın Gazetesi discussed the deficiencies and backwardness of democracy in the light of the government's improper policy. At the same time *Kadın Gazetesi* tried to raise public awareness about women's representation in the assembly, so it frequently gave news about female MP's political activities. There was an interview with Makbule Dıblan who was the MP of *Seyhan*, and furthermore she was the first woman speaker in the grand congress of the CHP.³¹⁶ In the same issue, the journal celebrated the 14th year of the enfranchisement of women with reference to İnönü's speech. They especially highlighted the following statement:

“That right was not bestowed to women as a favor.”³¹⁷

When writers mentioned their observations about the grand congress, they criticized the minority of women delegates. As a result of these observations, they frequently expressed dissatisfaction with the women's positions in the political realm. Similarly, Halide Edip Adıvar agreed with the journal's opinion on the basis of the regression in the women's movement. Therefore, *Kadın Gazetesi* encouraged the political parties to aim for ways to increase the number of women nominees. (However there were 18 candidates in 1935, only 9 in 1946, and in the 1950 election, there were 6 candidates from *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, 2 from *Demokrat Parti*- DP and also 2 from *Millet Partisi*- MP) The decreasing number of female nominees seemed to have been CHP's fault, on account of it being unconcerned with women's participation in politics. Thus the issue could not arouse public interest.³¹⁸ Moreover, by means of

³¹⁵ Oruz İ.H. (1950, August 14). Kadın Göziyle: İki genç kızın tramvayda konuştukları. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 4 (181), p.2.

³¹⁶ CHP'nin Büyük Kurultayı (1948, December 6). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (41), p.4.

³¹⁷ *Kadın Gazetesi* (1947, December 6), 1 (41), p.1.

³¹⁸ Türk Kadın Birliği İstanbul Merkezinin Kongresi (1950, May 8). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 4 (167), p.1.

the article, which was about the congress of the TKB, they also discussed the same issue. The title was as follows:

“Before 15 years 17 woman parliamentarians, after 15 years just 6 candidates: Thus, as compared with 1935, CHP failed in the way of reformism.”³¹⁹

From the point of view of these women, CHP was solely responsible for the backwardness of women’s statuses. Because after the Reform bestowing political rights to women, CHP need to develop women’s statuses. Yet, CHP was insufficient to increase number of female MPs, to revive women’s political activities and to develop women’s living conditions in the country. In other words, the single party could not maintain reforms derived from *Mustafa Kemal*. Moreover, *Kadın Gazetesi* stated that CHP did not try for better political conditions, even though it had power. On the other hand, the journal frequently discussed the elections’ technical details, such as task lists, and warned readers to be careful about their civil rights. Furthermore, writers encouraged their readers to teach their children to vote. With these recommendations, *Kadın Gazetesi* tried to increase voting rates so that public participation in the democratic regime would rise.

“A mother and a teacher firstly should teach her child or student that fact in the way of civil discipline:
(Demand justice and vote...) If a child of the nation doesn’t vote, he would not fulfill his national and human duty. (...) What we want from our women is for them to act in accordance with their conscience without consideration of any parties’ interests. This could be done only by exercising their rights and not with negligence.”³²⁰

In the magazine there was a series of articles about female citizens’ demands, which consisted of opinions of women from different occupations. Some opinions of Sevim Saran, a housewife, were as follows:

“Since I am the child of the Republic, I don’t distinguish women or men. But I noticed a minority of women candidates in the 1950 election. There are such strict

³¹⁹ Türk Kadın Birliği İstanbul Merkezinin Kongresi (1950, May 8). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 4 (167), p.1.

³²⁰ Oruz İ.H. (1948, August 23). Seçim Arefesinde. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (78), p.1.

problems which could be solved only by women and damages which could be relieved by only women. For example, the fact of dwelling is significant. It is very detailed issue involving such matters as conflict between house owner and leaseholder, problems of homeless and the poor, squatters and etc. Because İstanbul is such a good place, nobody wants to leave here. Thus population increases, then the problem of dwelling becomes an insolvable fact. (...) Women sensitively emphasize the problems of children. What my heart doesn't hope for Turkish children... It creates much happiness to see children have trust and be useful to the homeland.”³²¹

There was an article about the low percentage of women candidates in the election, which was written by Halide Nusret Zorlutuna, who is a popular writer and poet. She criticized women's low rate of participation into politics and stated that the Turkish War of Independence was won by means of all women and men in Turkey. Although the national struggle was succeeded together, the rate of female MPs did not reflect this collectivism. Moreover, according to Zorlutuna, it was an underestimation of women and a betrayal to Atatürk's reforms which were mostly dominated by women's rights. Then she argues a rumor which claimed that actually the public did not want female MPs.

“Which public? It is an enormous misrepresentation of prudential Turkish people. If you mean the ‘aga’ who feed four women living in imam marriage despite the law of civil marriage, then it is okay. They (these agas) don't want female MPs; neither female judge nor female doctor. Also they don't want unveiled women. Yet, these are not the public. They don't represent the supreme Turkish public. As being a person travelling all over the country, I'm really sure that the great majority of the Turkish public never says something as ridiculous as ‘I don't want female MPs’ (...) There are more than a few people who consider CHP responsible for the insufficient number of woman candidates. The vast majority thinks like this, because everybody believes that there are a great number of woman members who deserve to be elected and also who could devote their youths to the party due to year of experience with CHP. In brief, as my dear friend İffet Halim Oruz wrote in an article, in the last election Turkish women were really disappointed. We can't easily forget that. Also the precious sole of Atatürk couldn't forget people who made us disappointed.”³²²

³²¹ Kadın Seçmenler ne istiyor?. (1950, May 15). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 4 (168), p.1.

³²² Zorlutuna H.N. (1950, May 15). Kadın İnkılabımıza dair... *Kadın Gazetesi*, 4 (168), p.4.

Zorlutuna refers to distinctions among people to support her argument about women's political struggles. Ultimately, she distinguishes people who wanted female MPs and those who did not. According to Zorlutuna, people who supported women's participation in politics were the same people who were depended upon Atatürk's reforms. In other words, it is crucial that different opinions about women's social status corresponded to certain political stances in the context of modernity. According to Zorlutuna the great majority of the Turkish public was able to adapt to modern reforms.

After the election in 1950, DP came to power. İffet Halim wrote an article which gives us clues about their approach to democracy. Firstly, she mentioned the victory of DP and this success resulted from the active participation of women as compared to the previous election. Indeed, the voter turnout was so high with 89%. Then she interprets that in the light of the policy of RPP:

“Unfortunately this party's directors who didn't work on principles in idealist ways are the reasons for the loss sympathy. So this sympathy gathered on the precious existence of our ancestor, Atatürk. DP directors, you need to make a moral point with the defeat of CHP”³²³

İffet Halim again wrote about the election in the next issue, and she interpreted the election as a success of the democratic multi-party regime. When she made visits to villages, supporters of DP shared their evaluation of the election with complaints about RPP. Some of the people complained of unfair wages, the unjust grading of their children's exams, or the negligence shown toward agricultural production. Briefly, she focused on the reasons behind the defeat of CHP.

“(…) Then they said to me: ‘If we won't like that, we could also change it.’ Here, it is the key point. National will is manifested like this for a democratic regime. And that is something that a party in power should be wary of. But I told them that the interests of the nation's individuals and of the community do not always comply with each other. I explained that it couldn't be possible to demand everything manifested in their propaganda, and we need to be calm when

³²³ Oruz İ.H. (1950, May 15). Kadın Göziyle: Kadınların Zaferi. *Kadın Gazetesi*. 4(168), p.2.

changing governance. However, peasants were bored of bright speeches, even though they still consider them to be true. In fact, we are the prudential nation...”³²⁴

At the same time the journal respected DP because they are new and promising contrary to the single party’s oldness and inertia. Thus, they were worried that DP could be damaged by means of advance critiques. Therefore, İffet Halim wrote an article where she explained her concern about critiques against DP.

“Dear Adnan Menderes made a statement to journalists when he was in Yalova: ‘As being the leader of the ruling party, we follow journalists’ support for us, and we appreciate that so much ...’ These statements made us so happy. For, a few days later DP came to power, and the press has started to strictly criticize the ruling party- except follower newspapers of DP. Our democratic and independent writers such as Nadir Nadi, Cihat Baban, Sedat Simavi, Doğan Nadi support the ruling party with their valuable critiques. However, some newspapers didn’t like whatever the former ruling party had done. They couldn’t because the nation complained of many faults. The Democrats also used those kinds of critique when they were the opposition party, and now they favorably receive that kind of assistance. It would make us happy. Since, success will be gained with these critiques. Turkish mothers intimately hope the party in power would be successful with their support. In these delicate processes we never want the party in power to be disfavored in the eye of the public.”³²⁵

As a consequence, we could claim that rising number of female MPs was crucial goal of *Kadın Gazetesi*. According to the writers, Turkish women granted their political rights thank to the Republican reforms but actually this improvement could not be achieved. Because although women had right to participate into the politics social and political support was not enough for rising the number of women in the politics. Thus according to journal policies of CHP were failure because it could not successfully maintain the women reforms. However, *Kadın Gazetesi* didn’t interpret this policy around the ‘state feminism’. In other words, the writers did not regard the few numbers of female MPs as a part of the Republican policy on women’s legal status. Contrary CHP’s policies and actually negligence of the development of women’s social positions resulted in the backwardness of women’s political status in

³²⁴ Oruz İ.H. (1950, May 22). Demokrasi Yolunda. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 4 (169), p.2.

³²⁵ Oruz İ.H. (1950, July 24). Kadın Göziyle: Müzahir olmanın tesiri. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 4 (178), p.2.

Turkey. That's why they recognized this as the shift from the progressive reforms of the Republic about women to backwardness of women's representation in the politics. As a result, we could claim that the major political measurement of *Kadın Gazetesi* was the Republican reforms and Kemalism. When they interpreted actual policy they also used those references. Therefore, their ideology depended upon the political tendencies derived from nationalism, modernity and European civilization. As a consequence, *Kadın Gazetesi* remained within the ideological limits that drawn by the nation-building process in Turkey.

4.2. Soldiers of Kemalism: Defensive Stand of *Kadın Gazetesi* against Current Enemies

The dependency to reforms of Mustafa Kemal was the main essential measurement of political treatments' accuracy. Indeed, this approach revolved around the concepts of head scarfed women, Islam, reactionism, and sometimes the indulgence of luxury or consumption with regard to the woman's issue. At this point, they examined and rejected 'reactionary' movements according to these ideals. Then, they said that they would never give up the struggle for democracy and for the protection of these reforms.

“What's going on? When we try to democratize laws, will we move contrarily to improvements? How will we take precautions? In our opinion, it is the best way to improve our current democratic effort, which is the pursuance of Atatürk's reforms and to struggle against reactionary movements. That is: They must understand that we do not accept to return to the days when we all fight together. Either we do not wear 'fes' (traditional hat of men) or we do not leave our right to vote. And we won't disregard freedom of press or expression. But there is also one thing! In democracies everything is dependent on the majority. If there is a member of parliament who doesn't act in accordance with his party's principles, the party should discharge him. If not, the nation would abandon him.”³²⁶

³²⁶ Oruz İ.H. (1951, March 19). Kadın Göziyle: üzüntü verici olaylar. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 5 (212), p.2.

In that statement, she complained of some parliamentarians who tended to act contrarily to democratic improvements.

In the same days, the Kemalist reflex appeared in the journal with regards to the claim that Atatürk sculptures were damaged in various places around the country. These reactions extended so much that *Kadın Gazetesi* announced that there should be guards for all sculptures of Atatürk.

“Turkish women want to keep guard to protect their Atatürk’s sculptures! For this reason, there are lots of applications to İstanbul TKB.”³²⁷

Similar defense of Atatürk would be seen in İffet Halim’s respond to the claim that Atatürk was the humankind just like everyone else.

“Similar to how mythological characters are expressions of nation’s intellectual and mental existence, Atatürk himself a hero who had historical impacts on his era.”

She also complained of Nazım Hikmet and his supporters who act offensively with the slogan ‘Let’s debunk sculptures’.³²⁸

In her article ‘Through Realism’, Saide Çalt cautioned people to get rid of the reactionism in this era where they succeeded at resurrecting their nation. Instead, they should be grounded in the national will.³²⁹ Similarly, in another article, Saide Çalt asserted that bigotry had always existed in Turkish society. Unfortunately, it could be revived in their times, so they should extinguish this danger before it can strengthen.³³⁰

³²⁷ Türk kadınları Atalarının heykellerini beklemek için nöbet almak istiyor!. (1951, April 9). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 5 (215), p.1.

³²⁸ *Ibid.* p.1.

³²⁹ Çalt S. (1951, July 2). Realizme Doğru. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 5 (227), p.7

³³⁰ Çalt S. (1952, August 18). Kadın ve Peçe. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (286), p.2.

The assassination attempt on Ahmet Emin Yalman³³¹ was interpreted seriously in *Kadın Gazetesi*; they tended to interpret that event in the context of reactionism. Firstly, İffet Halim criticized people who blamed CHP for instigating the assassination insufficiently. Also she criticized people for claiming that DP's policies caused the assassination. İffet Halim warned people to be calm and mentioned that it would be a fault to consider this assassination as being related to the parties. On the contrary, they needed to struggle together against as the evil of reactionism.³³²

Kadın Gazetesi's approach to the 'veil' issue was identified with reactionism. They tended to debate the issue according to the distinction between supporters of reforms and anti-supporters. Ultimately veiled women were seen as a danger to the modern regime. They generally used daily events for these critiques, and as a result of these observations, the journal thought that the number of veiled women increased over time. Therefore, writers presupposed that society gradually became distant from the principles of Kemalist reforms.

In the same issue there was an article written by Nezihe Muhiddin who asked if it was wrong for them to be hidden by veils.

“Whether women and men, each citizen of the Turkish nation protected reforms which were developed by means of the unity of their aims. I can't consider a woman who damages her will to be conscious of herself. Despite these beliefs and sanctions, we see some anomalous people among the powerful entity of Turkish society. There was also the mass of 'Ticani'(it is an Islamic religious order), wearing black underpants, fool and clowns as much as black-veiled women...”³³³

³³¹ The journalist Ahmet Emin Yalman was shot when he was in the Menderes' s press tour in Malatya, in 1952. The assassin, Hüseyin Üzmez, stated that he shot Yalman because he had been previously Jewish. It is claimed that Üzmez had been a member of *Türk Milliyetçiler Derneği* (Turkish Nationalists Association).

³³² Oruz İ.H. (1952, December 4). Aynı yoldan dönmemeli. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (301), p.1.

³³³ Nezihe Muhiddin'in hayatı ve mesleği. (1952, July 28). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (283), p.7.

Again in the same issue, there was an article depicting some veiled women in Erzincan. The author asserted although husbands of women had considered veils as a mean to protect their wives' honor actually they couldn't do this.³³⁴ İffet Halim also wrote about the veil, and she said they were worried about veiled women as much as those with bikinis. According to her *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* should struggle against both of them because they are morally improper.³³⁵

When the journal researched the historical roots of the veil of Turkish women, they seemed to present functional reasons for using veils. For example, according to the article, which was written in early times, a Turkish clan took refuge in the Ottoman Empire, and women of that clan were so beautiful that notables warned them to hide their faces so not to be seen by everyone. Then when other women realized that hiding faces means beautiful, they also decided to hide their faces. Thus wearing a veil became common.³³⁶

In those days, anti-communism was widespread all over the World. And also in Turkey the concept of 'communist' was frequently used as a tool for accusing people of being anti-democrat. This kind of articles were very prevalent in the journal by which communism was demonstrated as the main enemy of the world and the country. So they should protect their children from that 'evil'. We can explicitly see that animosity in the article of İffet Halim. When she talked about the fire in the Istanbul Art Academy, she wrote about how terribly devastated she was when seeing the ruins with the ruins of that building. Then she said:

"Everyone looks for that betrayer. The betrayer is the red communist who couldn't exist in Turkey, because, when we think of 'Russian' we are reminded of communists, and when 'Russian' comes to mind we think of 'Moskof'. Moskof doesn't live in that country. Then where does this betrayal appear? We -as being

³³⁴ İki kat peçeye bürünmeğe başlayan Erzincan Kadınları (1952, July 28). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (283), p.1.

³³⁵ Oruz İ.H.(1952, July 28). Kadın Göziyle: Bikini Mayoları. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 6 (283), p.2.

³³⁶ Türk-İslam Kadınları yüzlerini ne zaman örttüler? (1947, March 29). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (15), p.5.

Turkish women- couldn't believe that. (...) We should get rid of that doubt which tends to damage to our most powerful characteristics. Our children couldn't be something called Moskof, Communist!"³³⁷

This statement signifies this period's prevalent fear about the Soviet Union. When they situate themselves beside the concept of 'Kemalism' and its ideals, the opposite side could be reactionist, communists even sometimes over-modernized. In these arguments, DP generally exploited the populist discourse which could successfully persuade the public. For, the opinion that the democracy was running with the majority's will was powerful, since it recognizes people's decisions. DP frequently referred to the concept of national will to prove its legality, which was dangerous, because it could be easily transformed into populism and discrimination of minorities. On the other hand, the main concern about the erosion of reforms would easily create an opposition against DP for being 'anti-modern'.

4.3. Charitable Activities of *Kadın Gazetesi*

Kadın Gazetesi always seems to be involved with charity organizations and campaigns for children, mothers, teenagers, or the poor. Writers generally supported these types of charity associations such as the Charitable Association or Charity for Children, and so they encouraged women to contribute to these unities. Aid campaigns might aim for a wide variety of people, but in some cases the activities of the journal seemed to imply 'welfare feminism'. It is a feminist approach which engaged with charity movements intended to reduce the consequences of social injustice. In brief, with the emergence of the welfare state, the family became a significant political object. Since women were also considered to be the center of the family, women-oriented aid campaigns became prevalent.³³⁸

³³⁷Oruz İ.H. (1948, April 12). Kadın Göziyle: Yangın. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (59), p.2.

³³⁸ Banks O.(1988). *Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement*. UK: Basil Blackwell. p.176.

Around the world, women's charity activities developed in relation to the Christian helpfulness. In industrial metropolitans this kind of organizations appeared as the control of middle-class, but in the smaller industrial cities needy people were attended to the labor market by means of industrial elites.³³⁹ Thus, their charitable giving placed in the employment market. In spite of class-based construction of charity, gathering for charitable giving created 'sex-based culture' among female friends because those organizations transformed into regular and well-organized associations in time.³⁴⁰ Investigating charity organizations specific for women seems complex because those activities highlight the gender segregated characteristics such as compassion, humility and voluntarily service to others. But on the other hand women's charity activities led women to legitimized their move from private into public life.³⁴¹ Although in some cases it might be claimed that women's charity organizations reproduced gender roles subordinated women, in other cases such as Melbourne women exploit their legal being in the public sphere by means of charity as an opportunity to exceed the female domesticity.³⁴²

Women's charity organizations in the Republic trace back to the Ottoman Empire, indeed within the well-organized charity networks among women also with great amount of money. Ottoman women constituted numerous charitable institutions such as schools, hospitals, caravansaries, bath, fountains, soup kitchens, hostels and mosques. Indeed, almost 20 or 30 percent of those charitable institutions created by means of Ottoman women during the 18th century.³⁴³ In the 17th and 18th century

³³⁹ Cumbler J.T. (1980). The Politics of Charity: Gender and Class in Late 19th Century Charity Policy. *Journal of Social Histor.* 14 (1), p.107.

³⁴⁰ Ibid. p.107.

³⁴¹ Lindenmeyr A. (1993). Public Life, Private Virtues: Women in Russian Charity: 1762-1914. *Signs.* 18 (3), p.586.

³⁴² Gleeson B.J (1995). A Public Space for Women: The Case of Charity in Colonial Melbourne. *Area,* 27 (3), p.194.

³⁴³ Ebeling J.E., Garland L., Nashat G. , Dursteler E.R. (2008). *West Asia* In Bonnie G. Smith (Ed.). The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History. Oxford University Press. p.2.

royal women of the Ottoman household maintained to support and found charitable foundations. Within those foundations royal women created a helpful image for non-royal people to follow in the similar way. Charitable activities regarded as religious and pious organizations which also contributed the social prestige of helpful women. On the other hand, those were the significant part of women's participation into the public activities thus created a social realm for women.³⁴⁴ Indeed, during the second constitutional period, wives of administrative elites had the leading roles in those activities.³⁴⁵ Those activities created such a lively social life not only for women but for people who took part in charity organizations called *awqaf*. Indeed, this increasing visibility of women in the public by means of charitable foundations came to determine relations with the state. Actually in time, Abdülhamit the second also supported those foundations and helped their development, which could be a part of his strategy to demonstrate himself as a helpful Sultan. Yet, to those associations being in close relations with the Sultan became the only way to maintain their activities. Because when Abdülhamit dismissed the Ottoman parliament in 1877 let some of those associations which were in close relationship with him to maintain their workings on charitable giving. Thus, in time, those activities became the resource of state power and authority. Within the effect of the state on those public activities resulted in a public realm which merged with the state, thus the public sphere was reshaped with national and militarist factors.³⁴⁶ Therefore, the historical development of the Ottoman public sphere developed under control of the state. As we could follow in the charitable organizations of *Kadın Gazetesi*, those foundations maintained their organizations in the forms which were determined by the Republican reforms. In this context, charitable unities made up of educated and middle-class women functioned as supportive institutions which embed national and modern values of the reforms for the enlightenment of society.

³⁴⁴ Zarinebaf -Shahr F. () Women and the Public Eye in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul In ... p.312.

³⁴⁵ Akşit E.E. (2009). Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye'de Kamusalılık Kavramının Dönüşümü ve Dışladıkları. *SBF Dergisi*, 64(1), p.7.

³⁴⁶ Akşit E.E. (2009). Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye'de Kamusalılık Kavramının Dönüşümü ve Dışladıkları. *SBF Dergisi*, 64(1),p.9.

Inevitably that kind of approach was engaged with class-based differences. When they gave news of the ball of the charity association, it was like a picture of a high-culture meeting, with the participation of Mevhibe İnönü (the wife of Ismet İnönü), *Nejad Eczacıbaşı*(the famous businessman), the wife of the Consul of Belgium, Ms. Vitol (a member of the popular and old family called ‘Vitol’ in Istanbul) etc.³⁴⁷These kinds of meetings were based on charitable goals as well as being tools for the socialization of people.

The journal interpreted charitable activities as helpful approaches extending solidarity among citizens:

‘Charitable people are merciful. A citizen who helps someone also helps him/herself.’³⁴⁸

In the article, Füzûzan R. Aksat recommended people not to give them alms but instead to support organizations helping them. According to her, alms are not a solution for impoverished people’s necessities, but donation to charity organizations could result in amendatory effects on impoverished or homeless people.

Children were also a significant part of the mass that charity campaigns focus upon. The journal intended to help children who live in streets especially to supply their needs of shelter and education. Therefore they suggested an extensive regulation for these children, which enable them to be educated from early ages about art, science, and sport by means of the entire nation’s benevolence.³⁴⁹ Similarly, İffet Halim pointed out the necessity of legal protection for those children and called MPs for the duty.³⁵⁰ In according to these demands, they generally talked about the association

³⁴⁷ Yardımsevenler Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Balosu. (1947, March 1). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (1), p.2.

³⁴⁸ Yardımsevenler Şefkat Kucağıdır. (1947, March 1). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (1), p.2.

³⁴⁹ Nihal Ş. (1948, April 26). Sokak çocuklarımızı kurtarmalıyız II. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (61), p.1.

³⁵⁰ Oruz İ.H. (1948, July 22)Kadın Göziyle: Sokak Çocukları. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (22), p.2.

called ‘Friends of Children’ which met regularly to collect donations and to provide a place where those children could educate and live by means of wealthy people’s donations.³⁵¹The campaign was organized in common with *Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu* (The Institution of Child Welfare) and at the same time they also tried to enhance the institutions’ facilities.³⁵² When Şükufe Nihal explained the goals of charity activities, she said that because women need to work outside, they could not care about their children so much, causing them to ramble in insecure streets. This is why they need to protect ‘these little ramblers’ who might go to jail in the future, and helpful people should also prevent them from going the wrong way.³⁵³

Since the journal carried on a charity works related with social activities for women, they encouraged readers to participate in charity associations in their spare times when not doing housework. With regard to helpfulness, they exemplified Nevber Seviktekin, who was the founder of the Charitable Association.

In addition, the journal presented plans for charity activities. They suggested a system in common with the state and associations to support impoverished people. Through their powerful collaboration with the government, they suggested that all charity associations meet and coordinate their efforts. For example, the writer suggested classifying disadvantaged people according to standards. Furthermore, the journal debated the content of the charity, in other words, whether it was based on education, economic help, or inhabitant and etc.

Moreover, there are many articles which emphasized the charitable nature of Turks with reference to essential characteristics. There was a special issue for charity activities, and in one of them they mentioned Turks’ historical mercifulness and charitable attitudes towards impoverished people.

³⁵¹ Çocuk Dostları Derneği (1949, March 7). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 3 (106), p.3.

³⁵² Oruz İ.H. (1949, April 11). Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumunun Çalışmaları. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 3 (111), p.1.

³⁵³ Nihal Ş. (1948, April 19). Sokak Çocuklarımızı Kurtarmalıyız!. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 2 (60), p.1.

Another significant category that charitable activities addressed was women prisoners. After a visit to prisons, there were some articles about their observations. When they talked about a woman with a child they determined that it was necessary to put in place special procedures. According to them, firstly it is not their children's fault that their mothers have been imprisoned, and secondly these children required maternal care. So, mothers in jail needed also to be secured by special legal regulations for the sake of their children. Consequently, the journal said that the majority of these women deserved to be helped and to be supported for finding a job. These were the main and urgent issues that charitable associations had to work on. On the other hand, the journal stated that their roles were insufficient unless the state worked on these issues by means of social policy institutions.³⁵⁴

Kadın Gazetesi tried to organize support for people who were war-weary and under political oppression. During the Korean War, the journal called for support for Korean people. Besides, Turkish people who migrated to Turkey due to the cultural assimilation in Bulgaria were appreciated with intense national emotions. The journal called for people in Edirne to help these immigrants because they came into the country from the border gate in Edirne.³⁵⁵ Also, for collecting donations to these immigrants, charity sales had been set up, and special organizations were made to help for immigrants.

Also, aid campaigns were organized to help victims of natural disasters such as flooding and earthquakes. The Charitable Organization in Eskişehir organized relief works for victims of the flood disaster that occurred there.³⁵⁶ Besides, the organization also helped people recover from earthquakes in Yenice and Gönen.³⁵⁷ Generally the journal addressed to mothers of the nation to help those

³⁵⁴ Sosyal yardım konusunda işbölümü (1947, June 14). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 1 (16), p.1.

³⁵⁵ Edirne (1950, October 23). *Kadın Gazetesi*, 4 (191), p.1.

³⁵⁶ Oruz İ.H. (1950, March 13). Eskişehir seylabı. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 4 (159), p.1.

³⁵⁷ Oruz İ.H. (1953, March 26). Yenice ve Gönen depremleri. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 7 (317), p.1.

victims, as it was time to recover damages and heal the injuries of the people.³⁵⁸In this sense, Olive Banks mentions that especially after the Second World War, women are appeared as the main subjects that assistances directed to because of the increasing significance of maternity. Regarding to potential and present maternity women are naturally different from men as being father. For this, welfare policies firstly centered upon women.³⁵⁹ Actually social transformation of motherhood might also be effective on this because motherhood achieved publicity with due to as being a part of national duties. So that maternity became superior than paternity, which derived from naturally features ascribed to women.

Kadın Gazetesi proudly announced that they were able to obtain help from all parts of the country that were within their reach. We could realize idealism dominates their voices, which is incompatible with the principles of the Reform. Besides, women were easily incorporated with kind, helpful, and merciful activities as being mothers. In this sense, women were supported for their work with impoverished and homeless people, especially on account of the material characteristics attributed to them. Therefore, women were placed in the leading roles for these kinds of activities, as they were the ones responsible for raising future generations. Well-educated women especially had significant roles for the development of the country, due to their awareness of political matters. It is obvious that when they frequently accentuated social policy for deprived people, they actually were referring to gender roles. For example, when *Kadın Gazetesi* mentioned issues related with children, motherhood or education articles pointed to female MPS. In other words, according to the journal there was a categorization of topics, some of which were attributed to women and some were not. Because of this discrimination, however, the number of female decision makers in policy in fact dramatically increased the influence of the patriarchal voice's dominance in society, and also policy was unable to change.

³⁵⁸ Oruz İ.H. (1953, September 24). Baf Zelzelesi. *Kadın Gazetesi*, 7 (343), p.1.

³⁵⁹ Banks O.(1988). *Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement*. UK: Basil Blackwell.p.175-176.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study deals with the women's portrayals in the woman journal '*Kadın Gazetesi*' to see which images and roles ascribed to women in relation with the nation-state, nationalism and modernity. To give a clearer picture, the women's movement in the early years of the Republic is also reviewed. The main and fundamental ideologies dominated the nation-building project in Turkey is emphasized to observe in what political conditions the women's movement appeared. Moreover, the basic aim is to explain in what extent and in what aspect *Kadın Gazetesi* was under effect of dominant factors of the gender regime. On the whole, it is crucial to examine how women historically relate with political constitutions and actually what kind of political subjects that women wanted to be. Thus, the main question was shaped around the analysis of the journal's issues as follows: How the writers of *Kadın Gazetesi* endorsed the ideological production of the modern image of Turkish woman based on Republican discourse and so how they portrayed these images in relation with their theoretical and political vision?

Women's and men's roles differ in the nation-state especially during the transformation eras of nation- states. Women's positions are designated as being cultural bearers of ethnic and national borders. Thus those ethnic and national borders are reproduced through women's existence in relation with reshaping patriarchy. Indeed because of the relationship between the mode of production and patriarchy, patriarchy transforms according to crucial shifts of the nation-state. Under the changing economic and political circumstances patriarchy reshapes and thus new models of womanhood and manhood appears with regards to expectations of new gender regime. Both national ideals and patriarchal identifications influences the positions of women. In fact, the relationship between gender and nation-state appears

as a really crucial point to emphasize changing justification of women's position in relation with historical shift. Nationalism which refers to imagined bindings among people gathering around the nation-state has also powerful relations with patriarchy. Because firstly the construction of citizenship was built as being unity of brotherhood. Secondly for this, the public sphere was also constructed to engage male citizens with debates over the rules governing their common interests. For these reasons, citizenship is built with masculine meanings and also nationalism is empowered within those masculinized meanings such as memory, emotions, and metaphors. Similarly, while men are placed as heroes of the homeland women are designated with metaphors which symbolize the measurement of civilization and westernization of the country. In this context, the images of women are examined whether their attitudes, appearances, behaviors would be appropriate to the balance between modernization and dependency to the cultural origins.

Nation-building process in Turkey was explicit with its emphasis on Westernization. Modernization frequently shaped this approach but it is also crucial for being the base of essential debates dominated the Turkish political history. During modernization process in Turkey due to the late-modernization similar with other third world countries and sudden and top-down reforms, the nation-state project led to social ruptures in collective minds. One of ideological rupture is derived from the distinction between modern and traditional because with the Reforms enormous changes happened in social life. And then, being adapted to necessities of the new regime was shown as the only way for being a part of the national unity. Nevertheless, it was not completely construction of the new but defining the new regarding to traditions. For this, through historical references of the old regime, directing the social life was revised in the light of the new regime's political intentions. In this context, national and social missions ascribed to women and men were differed.

The concept of state feminism indicates the historical, specific characteristics of the women's movement in Turkey due to the power and the role of Reforms to influence

the construction of women's organizations. The status of women was located at the heart of modernization so that women's appearances, clothing, education, child rearing was considered as the part of public policy. Thus it seemed a matter of political and social reform to comment about women's situations, relations, characteristics, qualifications. Because women's status was identified with the level of development of the country. But on the other hand as Yuval Davis contended women are regarded as symbolical bearers of the cultural heritage. So that, women are posited on borders drawn between modern and tradition. Thus while women are placed between the expectations derived from Westernization and from traditional values of the Turkish origin, the roles ascribed to women are uncertain. Because those expectations are frequently transformed within political tendencies which were reshaped within various political discourse. Since it is through women's place in society where modernity and its risks were identified, women were described in categories reflecting the different political tendencies. These categories referred to prevailing divisions among women such as modern Western and traditional Anatolian. It is generally expected from women to be hardworking but not negligent, fashionable but not extremely luxurious, cosy and smiling but not frivolous. Thus we could claim that those are some features expected from the ideal women. In short, neither being in the extreme of traditional nor in the extreme of modern were appreciated; the new woman should have both acquired superior qualifications of Western knowledge and shouldered domestic responsibilities at the same time. Thus, the ideal women signified neither traditional nor modern women but the national women.

With regards to being appropriate those ambiguous social expectations, women were generally cautioned because of their attitudes in the public. In this sense, the official control upon women's behaviors were so powerful that it led a burden on women's existence in the public. Similarly, *Kadın Gazetesi* frequently recommended women how to behave their husbands and children with lists of rules. These might be defined as a manifestato for housewives, which indicates proper attitudes of women for happy families and peace of marriages. Because women became equal citizens

but charged with being supportive and self-sacrificing. Yet, moreover, these rules actually correspond to ‘a woman’ who couldn’t exist because of inconsistency of characteristics ascribed to women. However, in spite of the reality of these women’s categories and implications reproducing and using those categories corresponded to the political strategy influences relations among women. Apparently categorizing women according to traditions and modernity seems to establish control and surveillance over women. Those controls upon women’s behaviors rendered discipline and punishment possible in case women exceed the boundaries of ‘proper behaviors’. Moreover, the disciplinary discourse used the advisory language determining the codes of proper behaviors for women. In this sense, we could claim that the disciplinary discourse and categorization of women worked together as operations of power that serves to exclude or include women in the official discourse. Similarly, women in *Kadın Gazetesi* frequently judged and warned women about their attitudes in light of the necessities of new woman. Instead of activism of women about political struggle, their duty as being cultural bearers of national values was very crucial in *Kadın Gazetesi*. So that cultural codes substituted women’s political demands with regards to the women’s movement. Thus the journal run on the way of cultural codes not of the struggle for political demands. After women had been granted the political rights in 1934, women’s organizations such as *Kadın Gazetesi* turned towards social issues since women are regarded as signifiers of the level of cultural development of the country. In this sense, we could observe that the equal rights struggle lost its popularity with regards to women in Turkey. Because the Republic’s discourse that women had been granted all their rights by the Reforms could achieve to persuade people. So that, from this point of view women didn’t need to struggle for equal rights. As a consequence, we could claim that state feminism in Turkey became successful for making the consideration that women’s reform was accomplished dominant over the women’s movement in Turkey.

The distinction between Anatolian women and women living in urban places was another crucial point that the journal emphasized. For this, peasant women were generally glorified with their efforts in the War of Independence. These women were

depicted as bringing bullets, equipment and food to fronts while they were hungry and thirsty. So that firstly Anatolian women were known with altruism for the national will. Secondly their modesty and simple life styles are magnified in the journal because extremism in the women's behaviors were regarded as the dangerous side of the modernity. So that modesty of peasant women was shown as a model for women living in urban. Actually the fear about the corruption of moral codes were derived from women living in urban places. In other words, it related with the charm of urban places which could potentially pervert people. It means that the opportunities came with the Reform especially focused on urban places as centers of civilization. But on the other hand modernity was binary when one side gains improvements with innovation the other side includes dangers about the corruption of national roots. That's why, the fear of corruption of moral codes and national ideas should be a concern for the women living in urban places. In this sense, defining Anatolian women as a sign of the national honor might be interpreted as a compensation of excluding them from the area that the Republican reforms focused on. Anatolian women did not have access to the social opportunities enabled by the modernity as easily as women in urban places. On the other side, especially in late 1950s the rising of migration from rural to urban resulted in significant social transformations. During this period, people living in urban places were concerned about the migration and made an effort to control these trends with insisting on education of these immigrants. Because, this case led to social discontent derived from the threat about disorder in the urban with those people coming from rural. As being elites of the Republic, women in *Kadın Gazetesi* frequently voiced the necessity for education especially for women had migrated to urban places or peasant women living in rural places. The national importance given to education could be a part of this intention. Moreover, the disciplinary aspect of the Reform was supported by the emphasis on education. On the one hand the journal blamed traditional women for being ignorant and not to accord with social necessities of the new regime. Yet, on the other hand, 'Tango' women or 'Kokoz' women were blamed of vulgarity and extreme of living. But to the journal, both of these accusations derived from the lack of education among the society. For this, literate people just like women in the

journal need to contribute the rally for education. Also it shows that the education comprised this kind of teaching of social manners that publicity embraced very wide area of social relations.

The emphasis on authenticity, diligence of the Anatolian women was generally emphasized by the founding cadres of the Republic and it figured out the main distinction between Anatolian women and women in Istanbul. *Kadın Gazetesi* frequently recommended to be hardworking and submissive just like Anatolian women. We can say that women living in urban places might feel themselves insufficient with regards to the national expectations. In my opinion, women from educated middle-class and generally living in urban places such as Istanbul or Ankara felt intensive pressure about women coming from rural places. Because, no matter how well educated, civilized, even well-behaved mothers and wives they were; not any ‘modern’ status could bring them higher positions than Anatolian women had enjoyed. Anatolian women were seen as being immune to the moral corruption of urban life style, luxury and fashion. So when disciplinary language cautioned women for behaving properly, Anatolian women appeared as the good example against the danger of extremism of women living in urban places.

On the other hand, the journal’s emphasis on proper codes of conduct are derived from naturalization and construction of biological facts to sexes. In this sense, women are supposed to born as mothers not only of children but also of nature and nation. For this, women are expected to behave proper to motherhood determined within national values. That is why the journal frequently referred to myths and historical narratives to show that women naturally incline to motherhood, it is something intrinsic to their nature. Basically, this discourse includes judgements such as “Women are naturally emotional and fragile but men are contentious and strong”. On the other hand, women whose behaviours or demands are disapproved by the gender regime could be easily classified as ‘abnormal’. Moreover, they are accused for behaving against their nature so that social rules and moral codes oppressing women’s attitudes could become invisible. In this respect, references to

biological and natural inequalities run as a part of disciplinary discourse which has power to identify and to entitle.

The negative and oppressive effects of state feminism could easily be observed in *Kadın Gazetesi*. In this sense, the journal projected itself generally as a protector of the new regime and its principles. That is why the journal regarded the nationalist discourse superior to women's demands. Indeed, the frequent emphasis on avoiding struggle for women's status is the proof of their accommodation of state feminism. Moreover, the journal apparently manifested their vision as developing Turkish womanhood to reach the modern and civilized countries. For this, the journal followed cultural codes determined for women and reproduced these codes within disciplinary judgements. At this point, the Republican approach highlighting duties rather than rights is crucial point with regard to the disciplinary discourse. Because if someone wouldn't behave proper to national duties determined by national ideals, it means exclusion of this person from the national ideals. It is really apparent in Nezihe Muhiddin's life. After Muhiddin was suspended from Turkish Women Association, she was denigrated by the government with judicial convictions about the association's budget fraud. Ultimately, she became excluded from women's movement and political struggle. Because her demands about women's positions were regarded improper to the national ideals built by the system of hegemonic concepts about gender differences. Muhiddin's different point of view about women's movement actually pointed to alternative womanhood but these were unacceptable with regards to the new regime.

As the concept of 'state feminism' refers, the new regime claimed to provide necessary legal improvements for women by means of the government. So that, cultural factors determined by women's appearances, education, speeches, employment were tried to be developed by public policy. For this, conflictual and radical demands about women's positions were not included by the state feminism. Also it has significant impacts on the development of women's movement in Turkey. Demands of women's movement were generally oppressed by public policies or

were transformed into modest demands appropriate to the new regime's women images. Regarding to women in *Kadın Gazetesi*, salvation of women was identical with the development of the country. So that, they apparently identified themselves and justified their demands within the discourse of state feminism. In this circumstances, the journal seems to be dependant to the official discourse and also couldn't achieve to create its own voice within specific visions.

According to women in the journal, writing in the journal was a great job for communication among women. Indeed, especially Iffet Halim regarded this job as a public service because they shouldered to inform people about happening all over the country and furthermore to treat women in the light of modernization. Especially articles about decoration, fashion, beauty and health used an educator's language which implied that women have to develop their cultural backgrounds otherwise, they would be labelled as close-minded and would be excluded.

Charitable activities were significant field included in organizations of *Kadın Gazetesi*. These organizations generally aimed to help impoverished women and disadvantaged children. Supporting children's education and developing their life conditions were also other goals that the journal have. These visions seem like improved within references to motherhood. In fact, women in the journal frequently defined themselves as mothers of the nation that regarded themselves responsible for poverty and subordination in the society. In this sense, charity activities appear as area of association national duties and motherhood. Within the effect of state feminism women in the political struggle during early years of the Republic needed to avoid political demands but tried to find a way to show their patriotism. Besides, motherhood was the sole and forefront national duty ascribed to women. As a result, those dynamics esteemed women as potential and present maternity which gave the journal a national task to help disadvantaged women and children and also gave women a specific place for being mothers. It means that women deserved more important status than men as being father because motherhood naturally makes them different from men. Because in nation-building process citizenship was constructed within the roles in the family. In other words, firstly new hierarchies were

determined in the family with social arrangements and later the citizenship was constructed with regards to those familial relations. That's why women and children were placed at the heart of the charity activities. The interests of *Kadın Gazetesi* about charity organizations could be emphasized in this context.

As a consequence, when we thought the gender regime as the inherent part of the nationalism and modernity, we could claim that attitudes ascribed to sex are operationally used to settle national values under effects of modernity. So that, one of the main distinctions between the modern and the traditional was built as a successful ideological persuasion process. To this, commitment of people was controlled by means of exclusion mechanism directed by gender roles. In this sense, social borders were also bordered by means of the distinction between modern and traditional. People forced to obey these rules under the discourse of nationalism linked to self-sacrificing and patriotism. Besides, the patriarchy was revised within the Republican regime and reproduced gender relations within new social arrangements derived from conjugal relations. Thus, gender relations are significant to reflect the social construction. During nation-building process, the nationalist discourse empowered its bindings with gender relations with reference to historical narratives. As such, the revised patriarchy attributed Turkish women a history while pretended that there was an ideal Turkish woman. The definition of the ideal woman based upon something couldn't and also didn't exist however the discourse on womanhood was an attempt to control women. Thus, studies about different womanhood and various demands of women from the history seem meaningful to demonstrate the existence of identities apart from the national identity that the official Republican discourse points out. Because alternative womanhood and their various social demands could force the limits of the official discourse. In this sense, even though *Kadın Gazetesi* organized and supported activities within masculinized and nationalized concepts of womanhood, conflictual articles about women's duties, employment, education might be seen as opinions that disagreed or opposed the hegemonic definition of Turkish women. Moreover, nevertheless writers followed the ideal woman in their writings and activities, they seemed to have difficulty to being in harmony with ideal

woman. As long as this ideal woman were cited by people within its social aspects; the tension among women carried on. Therefore, the disciplinary discourse followed a discriminative path rather than enforcing solidarity among women. As a consequence, *Kadın Gazetesi* didn't have its own voice, its activities remained restricted to a narrow area for women's emancipation. Frequently the journal couldn't go beyond endorsing submissive roles ascribed to Turkish women and so remained incapable to develop women's position or elevate its status in society.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu çalışma Kadın Gazetesi adlı derginin 1947 ile 1960 yılları arası sayılarının Türkiye'deki devlet feminizmi etkisi altında kadın yazılarının incelenmesi bağlamında analizini içermektedir. Bu konuya göre 1947 ile 1979 yılları arasında yayımlanan Kadın Gazetesi dergisinin başlangıç tarihinden itibaren 1960 yılına kadar olan sayıları incelenmiş, geri kalan sayılar da derginin içeriğine dair genel çıkarımlar yararına kullanılmıştır. Öncelikle 1960'a kadar olan sayıların incelenmesinin nedeni derginin bu süre boyunca yayımlanan sayılarının politik, kültürel ve kadınlara dair güncel tartışmalarla ilgili daha verimli sonuçlar vermesidir. 1960'dan sonraki sayılarında derginin içeriği daha çok bir kadın magazinine dönüşmüştür. Bu anlamda politik ve güncel tartışmalar azaldığı için çalışmanın amacına 1960'a kadar olan dönem baskıları daha uygun bulunmuştur.

Kadın Gazetesi'nin çalışmanın temel nesnesi olarak seçilmesinin sebebi öncelikle kadın dergilerinin Türkiye'deki ilk dönem kadın hareketi için oldukça önemli bir iletişim ağı sağlamasıdır. Özellikle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son yıllarında yayımlanan 'Kadın Dünyası', 'Kadınlara Mahsus Gazete' gibi yayınların ulaştıkları okur sayısının çokluğu ve bu anlamda popülerlikleri dergide yazılanlar etrafında bir araya gelen kadınların kendi aralarındaki iletişim ağını güçlendirmiştir. Bu anlamda bu çalışma, kadın yazılarının, dergilerinin kadın hareketi lehine güçlendirici ve canlandırıcı bir etkisi bulunduğu varsayımından ilerlemektedir. İkinci olarak ise kadın tarihi yazınında, Türkiye'de oldukça önemli ve etkili bir isim olan Şirin Tekeli'nin yaptığı kategorileştirmeye göre 1940 ile 1980 dönemi Türkiye'deki kadın hareketi açısından durgun bir dönemdir. Bu tespitten yola çıkarak, Kadın Gazetesi'nin öncelikle kadınlara dair güncel tartışmalar yürütme geleneğini

sürdürmesi ve de üstelik bu durgun dönem boyunca 1,125 sayıyla yayın hayatını tamamlaması oldukça önemli bir durumdur. Toplamda otuz iki yıl boyunca yayın hayatını sürdüren Kadın Gazetesi her ne kadar kadın hareketinin etkinliği oldukça azalmış ve canlılığını yitirmiş görünse de belli alanlarda çalışmalarını sürdürmüştür. Bu özellikler ve varsayımlar sonucunda Kadın Gazetesi'nin kadın politikasında incelenmeye değer bir örnek olduğu düşünülmüştür.

Kadın Gazetesi toplamda otuz iki yıl boyunca yayın hayatını sürdürmüş ve ilk sayısı 1 Mart 1947 yılında çıkmıştır. Dergi yayımlandığı ilk yıllarda 10 -12 sayfa olarak basılırken zaman içinde sayfa sayısı 5-6'ya düşmüştür. Derginin içeriği oldukça çeşitlidir. Köşe yazıları, denemeler, karikatürler, hikâyeler, fıkralar, haftalık haberler ve röportajlar içermektedir. İlk yıllarında haftalık olarak yayımlanırken zaman içinde iki haftada bir yayımlanmaya başlamıştır. Ancak bu periyod sıklıkla değişmektedir ve belirsizdir. Basıldığı süre boyunca derginin yayın kurulu tamamen kadınlardan oluşmuştur. Derginin ilk yazarları şunlardır: İffet Halim Oruz, Hasena Ilgaz, Emel Gürler, Feyhan Elbi, Füzuzan Eksat, Münevver Ayaşlı, Nimet Selen. Bu ilk yıllarda oldukça bilinen yazar ve şair Halide Nusret Zorlutuna ve Şükufe Nihal de yazar kadrosuna katılmıştır. Dergide yazan kadınların birçoğu orta sınıftan gelmektedir ve Milli Mücadele yıllarında büyümüştür. Bu özelliklerine bağlı olarak, bu kadınlar modern eğitim görebilmiş ve meslek edinmek için kalifiye hale gelebilmişlerdir. Derginin sahibi İffet Halim Oruz'dur ve dergiye yaptığı çok çeşitli katkılarla dergide en çok ismi geçen kişi de yine Oruz'dur. Kendisinin köşe yazıları 'Kadın Göziyle' başlığı ile her sayıda her almıştır. Dergideki yazılarda genel itibariyle gündelik bir dil kullanılmıştır ve özellikle kadınlara dair meseleler toplumsal ve siyasal gelişmelerle çoğu zaman eleştirel BİR biçimde ele alınmıştır.

Öncelikle dergideki yazılar incelenmiş ve fotoğraflanmıştır. Fotoğraflar üzerinde yapılan incelemeler sonucunda hangi konuların ön plana çıktığı belirlenmiş ve bu doğrultuda sıklıkla tekrarlanan konular kategorilere ayrılarak incelenmiştir. Yapılan literatür taraması sonucunda kadın yazını tarihi ve kadın hareketi tarihine ilişkin etkenler göz önünde bulundurularak dergi yazılarıyla ilişkilendirilerek

yorumlanmıştır. Bu anlamda derginin politik etkinliği üzerinde devlet feminizminin ve Cumhuriyet ile birlikte gelen resmi ideolojik söylemin kadınlara dair ayrımlarının oldukça etkili olduğu fark edilmiştir. Bu anlamda milliyetçilik, ulus-devlet ile toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkisi, devlet feminizmi, ideal kadınlık ve erkeklik tanımları ve sonuçta Türkiye’deki tarihsel toplumsal cinsiyet rejimi ön plana çıkan kavramlar olmuştur.

Ulus-devlet ile birlikte oluşan vatandaşlık tanımları her ne kadar teorik olarak ‘evrensellik’ iddiası üzerinden kurulsa da zaman içinde özellikle feministlerin buna yaptıkları itirazlar bu vatandaşlık ile ulus-devlet arasındaki ilişkinin farklı boyutlarını ortaya koymuştur. Kadınların ulus-devletteki konumu erkeklerin konumundan farklıdır ve özellikle savaş, reform, devrim veya darbe gibi kritik dönemlerde bu farklılık daha belirgin hale gelmektedir. Bu farklılığı farklı kavramlar ile ele alan çeşitli teorisyenler olmuştur. Carole Pateman bu ilişki kamusal alan kavramı çerçevesinde incelenmiştir ve ona göre toplum sözleşmesi kuramcılarının iddia ettiği gibi kendi yetkilerini toplum sözleşmesi ile devredenler bütün insanlık değildir. Aksine burada babaların yönetiminden erkek kardeşler birliğine geçilmiştir. Dolayısıyla toplum da ve kamusal alan da bir erkek birliği olarak kurulmuştur (Pateman, 1989). Benzer biçimde Fraser da kamusal alanın cinsiyetlendirilmiş kurgusuna dair tespitlerde bulunmaktadır. Buna göre de kamusal alan Habermas’ın iddia ettiği gibi tüm vatandaşların ortak çıkarlarını tartışmak için bir araya geldikleri yer değildir aksine kamusal alan sınıf ve cinsiyet yanlısı bir biçimde kurulmuştur. Ayrıca Fraser bu teoride yer aldığı haliyle kamusal alanın tek bir alan olmadığından, birçok kamusal alan bulunduğundan ve kadınların da karşı kamusal alanlar kurduklarından bahseder (Fraser, 1990). Milliyetçilik ile toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkisi de birçok açıdan ele alınmıştır. Bu anlamda, McClintock’a göre bütün milliyetçilikler toplumsal cinsiyet farklılıklarının güçlü kurgularına bağımlıdır (McClintock, 1991). Çünkü milliyetçilik kendisini kurarken erkekleştirilmiş hafızadan ve yine erkekleştirilmiş duygulardan beslenmektedir (Enloe, 1990). Bu bakış açlarına benzer biçimde Yuval- Davis de ulus- devlete katılım biçimlerinin kadın ve erkek için farklılaştığını ve bu farklılıktan da hâkim kadınlık ve erkeklik tanımlarının

kurulduğunu belirtmektedir. Bu özelleştirilmiş rollere bağlı olarak kadınların ulus-devlete katılımında beş farklı rol ortaya koyar: milletin biyolojik üreticileri olarak katılım, kültürel değerlerin koruyucusu olarak katılım, etnik ve milli grupların sınırlarının yeniden üreticisi olarak katılım, vatandaşlar olarak katılım, orduda ve savaşta yer alarak katılım. Bu teoriye bir de Türkiye gibi Üçüncü Dünya feminizmleri bağlamında katılım yapan teorisyenler olmuştur. Öncelikle Jayawardena Türkiye, Ürdün, Yemen gibi ülkelerde yapmış olduğu araştırmalar sonucunda geç modernleşen Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerinde feminizmin milliyetçilikle beraber gelişme gösterdiğini ortaya koymuştur (Jayawardena, 1994). Najmabadi ise milliyetçiliğin kadınların varlığı üzerinden edindiği anlamları sorgulamış ve vatanın hem sevgili hem de anne olarak erkeklikle bağlantılı metaforik anlamlandırması üzerinde durmuştur. Buna göre vatanın kadın bedenine benzetilmesi onun erkekler tarafından korunması gerekliliği fikri ile birleşmiş ve bu metaforik ortaklık üzerinden birlik güçlendirilmiştir (Najmabadi, 2011). Kadınların masumiyetlerinin ve iffetlerinin erkekler tarafından korunması (Mayer, 2000) da bu analizle oldukça uyum içinde görünmektedir. Benzer biçimde Nagel da erkeklik ile milletin ve ailenin yakın ilişkisine dikkat çekmiştir. Buna göre kadınların namusu milletin ve de ailenin namusu olarak anlamlandırılmıştır (Nagel, 1998). Milliyetçiliğin kadını masumiyet ve namus ile eşleştiren ve erkeği de bu namusu ve masumiyeti koruması gereken bir birlik inancından hareket etmesi gerektiğini söyleyen bir söylemsel düzlem kurulmuştur. Bu söylemin kadın ve erkeğe atfedilen karakter özelliklerini bilhassa aile ve ailesel ilişkiler üzerinden kurduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Türkiye’de yaşanan modernleşme süreci de bu tür cinsiyetlendirilen anlamların milliyetçilik, batılılaşma, uygarlık gibi kavramlarla oldukça belirginleştiği bir dönem olarak yaşanmıştır. Uluslaşma sürecinde kadınlık ve erkeklik kavramları ideolojik hassasiyetler doğrultusunda yeniden kurulmuş ve bu söylem aslında temel ve bütün bir toplumsal cinsiyet rejimi ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu rejim her ne kadar tutarlı ve sabit bir politik izlek olmasa da cinsiyet ayrımlarına ilişkin oldukça önemli tespitler içermektedir ve bu anlamda da çalışmanın temel sorgulamalarından biri olmuştur. Türkiye’deki uluslaşma sürecinde kadınlığa ilişkin atıflar, belli karakter özelliklerinin idealleştirilmesi ve bu anlamda detaylı bir normlar listesi oluşturulması sürecin

kadınların konumuyla ayrılamaz bağları olduğunu göstermektedir. Türkiye'deki uluslaşma sürecinin politik unsurlarını anlamak için Ziya Gökalp oldukça önemli bir teorisyendir ve Cumhuriyet'in inkılaplarının temel amaçlarını onun düşüncelerinde izlemek mümkündür. Gökalp Türk uygarlığının modernleşmek için Avrupalı ülkeleri taklit etmesini değil hem kendi kültürel aslına dönmesini hem de Batı uygarlığının yeniliklerinden beslenmesi gerektiğini vurgular. Bu anlamda aslında kültürel özcülüğün ve batılılaşmanın sınırları birbirleriyle kurulur. Aile yapısı bu anlamda merkezi önemdedir çünkü bu değişimlerin yeni aile üzerinden gerçekleştirilmesi hedeflenmektedir. Yeni aile de kendi öze değerlerine bağlı ancak inkılapların getirdiği yeniliklere de ayak uydurabilen kişilerden oluşmaktadır. Bu anlamda eğitim Cumhuriyet'in en önemli konularından ve araçlarından biri haline gelmiştir. Kadınların erkeklerle aynı seviyede ve onlarla birlikte eğitim almasını sağlayan, eğitimi sekülerleştiren yenilikler modern batı eğitiminin ülkeye yerleşmesi amacını gütmektedir. Kadınların eğitimi de bu noktada oldukça ön planda bir hedef olmuştur. Çünkü kadınların imajının ülkenin uygarlık seviyesinin de ölçüldüğü bir temel olarak ele alınması bu imajın devlet eliyle değiştirilip geliştirilerek uygarlık seviyesinin de yükseltilmesi sonucunu doğurmuştur. Özellikle İslam devletlerindeki kadınların İslamın kurallarının ve erkek egemenliğinin boyunduruğu altında özgürleşemediğine dair yaygın, Batıcı oryantalist bakış kadınların bir ölçüt haline gelmesinde etkili olmuştur. Kadınların eğitiminin, görünüşlerinin, kadınlığa dair farklı anlamlandırmaların bu kadar tartışılması da bu türden milliyetçi inançlardan kaynaklanmaktadır. Kadınların varlıklarının sembolik bir gösterge haline gelmesi modernleşme süreciyle açıklanabilir. Öte yandan, modernleşmenin getirdiği yenilikler resmi söylem tarafından takdir edilir ve desteklenirken öte yandan bunun sınırlarını belirlemek de yine bu söylemin bir parçası haline gelmiştir. Modernleşmenin 'aşırı' yorumlarının Gökalp'in savunduğu kültürel öze zarar vereceğine dair korku ve dolayısıyla toplumsal ahlakın yozlaşacağına ilişkin tehdit algısı da yine kadınlar üzerinden tartışılmıştır. Nasıl ki kadınlar Batı uygarlığı seviyesine yükselmenin temel göstereni ve sembolü olarak söylemsel olarak kuruluyorsa, bu ilerlemenin tehlikeleri de yine kadınlar üzerinden kuruluyordu. Bu anlamda kadınlara yüklenen kimi özellikler ve bu doğrultuda ayrımlar vardı. Modern

ile geleneksel ayrımı; Anadolu kadını ve İstanbul kadını ayrımı, mütevazı kadın ile iffetsiz kadın ayrımı bu tür politik anlayışlardan beslenen önemli toplumsal tanımlardır.

Modernleşme ve uluslaşma sürecinde kurulan ‘kadınlık’ tanımları merkezi olarak yeni çekirdek Türk ailesi üzerinden kurulmuştur. Ailenin milletin temel birimi ve milli birliği sağlayan ahlakın kurulduğu yer olduğuna dair yaygın milliyetçi anlayış modernleşmenin etkisi altında aileye yeni görevler atfetmiştir. Öncelikle ülkenin kalkınması ve vatanın gelişimi için çocukların aileden gördükleri terbiye oldukça önemlidir. Bu anlamda, kadınlar milletin anneleri olarak sadece kendi çocuklarından değil milletin geleceği olan tüm çocukların terbiyesinden de sorumludur. Bu anlayış aileyle kadını ve hatta evle kadını da birbirine eşitleyen bir temelden hareket etmektedir. Her ne kadar inkılaplarla kadınların kamusal alandaki görünürlüklerini arttıran gelişmeler yaşansa da kadının asli görevi anneliktir ve zaten toplumsal tehdit algısı da kadınların yeniliklerle bu görevlerini ihmal etmelerine dair endişeden kaynaklanır. Bu biçimler için de yeni milletin birliği yeni kadınlığa atfedilen anlamlarla birleşir ve bunu korumaya ilişkin bir disiplin kurar. Bu kontrol mekanizması neredeyse vatandaşlığın temel esasıdır ve kişileri haklardan öte sorumluluklarla donatır. Kadınlara yüklenen annelik, ideal eş olma, görünüşe dair normlar da tüm vatandaşlar tarafından bilinen ve aslında Cumhuriyet’in kurucu elitlerinde de görülen didaktik üslupla birleşen hakim bir söylem yaratmıştır. Öte yandan 1934 yılında kadınlara verilen politik haklar ve kadınların statülerinin yükseldiğine ilişkin başarılı ikna süreci Türkiye’deki kadın hareketi üzerinde oldukça etkili olmuş ve geri dönüşü zor olan bilişsel çıkarımlara neden olmuştur. Bu anlamda devlet feminizmi bir yandan yasal haklar yoluyla kadınların kamusal alandaki güvencelerini, görünürlüklerini arttırırken kadınların ailedeki konumlarını, annelikle bağlarını ve iffetlerine yapılan milli atıfları olduğu gibi devam ettirmiştir. Bu açıdan da devlet feminizminin kadınların konumlarına dair eşitsizliklerin tamamen kamusal alanda, haklarla çözülecek konular olarak yorumladığını görmemiz mümkündür. Bu tartışmalar ışığında, bu tez Kadın Gazetesi’ndeki kadın temsillerini devlet feminizmi bağlamında tartışma amacındadır ve kadınlara atfedilen özellikler bağlamında

oluşturulan kategorilerin hangi amaçlarla, politik söylemlerle kurulduğunu sorgulamaktadır.

Kadın Gazetesi'nde annelik ve ideal eşlik oldukça ön plana çıkan konulardandır. Annelik dergide ulusal bir görev olarak değerlendirilmekte ve kadınlar tamamen anne olarak konumlandırılmaktadır. İlk olarak kadınların bu tanımla birçok göreve çağrıldığını görmekteyiz dergide. Örneğin, hükümete veya bürokrasinin çarpık işleyişine ilişkin birçok yapısal ve pratik sorunun sebebinin yanlış aile terbiyesinden kaynaklandığına dair çıkarımlar yapılmaktadır. Bu anlamda siyasi liderlere değil annelere seslenilmekte; çocuklarına vatan sevgisini aşlamaları konusunda uyarılmaktadırlar. Benzer biçimde özellikle kız annelerinin kızlarının sağlığını, temizliğini, kadın sağlığına ilişkin bilgileri öğretmeleri gerektiği söylenmektedir. Ayrıca çocuklarının kamusal alanda yaptıkları 'aşırılıklar' veya 'görgü kuralları' na uymayan hareketler de yine annelerin verdikleri terbiyenin eksikliği olarak yorumlanmaktadır. Hareketlerde istenilen ölçülülük çocuk eğitiminde de oldukça önemlidir ve anneler bu ölçüyü kurmakla yükümlüdür. Öyle ki annelerin artık eski adetlere dayanan sağlık bilgilerinden kurtulmaları gerektiği ve yeni bilimsel sağlık bilgilerini öğrenmeleri gerektiği sıklıkla vurgulanmaktadır. Annelerin bu anlamda 'geri kalmış' bilgilerle çocuklarının geleceklerini mahvetmemeleri söylenmektedir. Dergide annelere çocuk yetiştirme konusunda sıklıkla önerilerde bulunduğu ve bu önerilerin de rasyonel kurallar çerçevesinde ortaya konulduğunu görebiliyoruz. Benzer biçimde ev işlerinde de aynı kuralların ve pozitifizmin etkisini görmek mümkündür. Kadınlara ev işleri konusunda verilen öneriler bir yandan kadınlar ile ev arasında organik bir bağ kurarken öte yandan eve dair bütün sorumlulukları da tamamen kadına yükleyen bir anlayışı dayatmaktadır. Derginin bu konuyla ilgili olarak bir de evde çalışan hizmetlilerin veya evde hizmet veren hasta bakıcıların yetişmesi için açılan bir kursa destek verdiğini görmekteyiz. Bu kurs ile verilen hizmetlerin standartlaştırılacağı ve böylece de hizmet kalitesinin arttırılacağı savunulmaktadır. Ev işlerinin yanı sıra ev dekorasyonu ve ev ekonomisine katkı sağlayacak el ürünleri de dergide sıklıkla yer almaktadır. Kadınların evlerini güzel dekore etmeleri konusunda desteklendiklerini ve hatta onlara bu konuda yardımcı

olması çeşitli fikirler verildiğini görmekteyiz. Özellikle derginin evini önemseyen, onu güzelleştirmek için uğraşan ve bilgi edinen kadınların uygun olduklarına ilişkin onaylama içeren bir söylemi bu tür yazılarda kullandıklarını açık bir şekilde görebiliyoruz. Bu anlamda kadınların evleriyle ve annelikle kurulan yakın ilişkinin ideal kadınlığın bir parçası olarak sunulduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Bu ideal kadınlık söyleminin bir kolu da kadınların görünüşü üzerinden kurulmaktadır. Kadın Gazetesi'nin neredeyse her sayısında bir moda bölümü yer almaktadır ve bu bölümde yeni moda kıyafetler, kıyafet modelleri ve hatta dikiş yapabilenler için örnekler yer almaktadır. Öte yandan sıklıkla ünlü aktrislerin fotoğraflarına yer verilmekte ve güzelliklerine, giyimlerinin moda uygunluğuna dair övgülere yer verilmektedir. Ancak Kadın Gazetesi kıyafet konusunda kadınları yeni moda uygun, temiz kıyafetler giymeleri ve temizliklerine önem vermeleri konusunda desteklese de bunun sınırlarını çizmektedir. Özellikle makyaja, alışverişe, moda kıyafet harcamalarına fazlasıyla önem veren kadınlar eleştirilmektedir. Dergiye göre bu 'aşırılıklar' hem milli ekonomiye hem de aile ekonomisine zarar vermektedir. Bu anlamda kadınlar tasarruf etmeleri ve fazla harcamadan kaçınmaları konusunda uyarılmaktadır. Bu uyarıların merkezi haline getirilmiş bir kadın tipi de vardır dergide; kadın arkadaşlarıyla kâğıt oyunları oynayan, sürekli yeni kumaşlar alan, konuşmalarında Türkçe dışında başka dilden kelimeler kullanan ve sonuçta evini, çocuklarını ihmal eden bir kadın tipine sıklıkla göndermede bulunmaktadır. Aynı zamanda bu kadınlar tembellikle ve milleti için fedakârlıktan kaçınmakla itham edilmektedir. Bu anlamda önemli bir ayırımdan beslenmektedir dergi. Anadolu kadını ve İstanbullu kadın ayrımı aslında mütevazılık ile aşırılık arasındaki farka işaret etmektedir. Bu ayrıma göre; şehirde yaşayan kadınlar yozlaşmanın ve ahlaki kodların çözülmesinin kaynağı olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Öyle ki, Anadolu kadınının Milli Mücadele'ye yaptıkları katkılara sıklıkla yapılan vurgu nedeniyle bu kadınların aslında emperyalizme karşı verilen mücadelenin ve milli köklerin sınırlarını simgelediklerini söyleyebiliriz. Ayrıca bu bağlamda İstanbul'da yaşayan kadınlar aşırı modernleşmenin belirtisi olarak resmedilmektedir. Anadolu kadını da şehirli kadınların tersine eğitim açısından yetersiz olmaları bakımından tam manasıyla ideal kadını karşılamamaktadırlar. Şehirli kadınlar kıyafetleri, saç biçimleri, konuşmaları,

evleri, çocukları ve görünüşlerinin bütünüyle modern kadının güzel bir imgesi olabilir. Ancak, yine bu özellikleri bakımından kontrol altında tutulmaları gerekmektedir. Bu özellikler bakımından ideal kadınlık oldukça muğlak bir resme işaret eder. Milli değerlerin, ahlaki vurguların koyduğu sınırlar kadınlar arasında güçlü bir denetim mekanizmasına işaret etmektedir. Bu anlamda her ne kadar kadınların kamusal statülerinin devlet feminizmi aracılığıyla yükseltildiği iddia edilse de bu kadınları kültürel alana kapatan güçlü bir disipliner söylem kurmuştur. Kadın Gazetesi'nin bu hakim dile kısıp kaldığını; bu anlamda kadınlara dair yeni ve alternatif yollar üretmekte yetersiz kaldığını görmekteyiz.

Devlet feminizminin sağladığı yasal olanakları da eğitimde ve kadınların siyasal temsilinde sorgulamak mümkün görünmektedir. Bu anlamda Kadın Gazetesi'nin bu görevleri kendisine temel aldığı ve aksini iddia eden herhangi bir politik söylemi Kemalizm karşıtlığı üzerinden düşman ilan ettiğini söyleyebiliriz. Türkiye'de kadınların 1934 yılında seçme ve seçilme hakkını elde etmeleri kadınların politik tarihi bakımında oldukça önemli bir gelişmedir. Ancak bu çalışmanın da yer verdiği üzere, bu konuda birkaç çekişmeli ve eleştirel bakış açısı bulunmaktadır ki Türkiye'de kadının konumuna ilişkin eleştirel bir bakış için oldukça değerli görünmektedir. İlk olarak, Tekeli'nin iddia ettiği üzere kadınlara seçme ve seçilme hakkın verilmesinden sonraki genel seçimlerde kadın temsilci oranlarına bakıldığında görüleceği üzere 1960'lara kadar bu oran git gide artmıştır. Ayrıca kadınların meclisteki etkinliklerini inceleyen çalışmalar da göstermektedir ki birçok kadın milletvekili mecliste sadece gözlemci olarak yer almış ve uzun yıllar kadınlara dair talepleri dile getirmek konusunda yetersiz kalmıştır. Bu anlamda Tekeli kadınların aslında seçme seçilme hakkı elde etmeleriyle yeni rejimin onlara verdiği sembolik değeri yitirdiklerini söyler. Bu nedenle de kadınların meclisteki temsillerinin artırılması için çok fazla çaba harcanmamıştır. Bu konuyla ilgili Kadın Gazetesi'nin özellikle tek parti hükümetini suçlayan birçok açıklaması bulunmaktadır. Buna göre, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) Mustafa Kemal'den devraldıkları inkılabı sürdürmede başarısız olmuştur ve onlar nedeniyle ki Türkiye'de demokrasi gelişme gösterememiş, olgunlaşmamıştır. Hem bu eksiklikler

nedeniyle hem de demokrasinin geliŖeçeđine dair umutla Kadın Gazetesi Demokrat Parti hŖkŖmetini olduka gŖnŖlden desteklemiŖtir. Ancak yazılardan anlaŖıldıđı kadarıyla Demokrat Parti de Kadın Gazetesi'nin ve hatta kadınların politik etkinlikleri konusunda en az tek parti hŖkŖmeti kadar isteksiz ve umursamaz bir tutum izlemiŖtir. Kadın Gazetesi'nin meclisteki kadın sayısını arttırmak amalı birok haber yaptığını ve yazılar yayımladıđını gŖrebilmekteyiz. Bu amala seim dŖnemlerinde kadın adayları tanıtmaya yŖnelik yazılara yer verildiđini ve kadın okurlara kadın adaylara oy vermeleri yŖnŖnde ađrı yapıldığı yine aynı Ŗekilde gŖzlenmiŖtir. Yerel siyaset konusunda da derginin kadın yŖneticilerin sayısını arttırmak iin parti yŖneticilerine seslendikleri yazıları mevcuttur. Son olarak dergi kendisini Kemalizmin ve Cumhuriyet rejiminin koruyucusu olarak tanımlamaktadır. Kadın Gazetesi'ne gŖre, bir gŖrŖŖn ve politik Ŗnerinin meŖruiyeti inkılaplara uygunluđuyla sađlanabilir. Bu anlamda baŖŖrtŖlŖ kadınlar sıklıkla eleŖtiri yazılarının konusu olarak yer almıŖlardır. Bu kadınlar ve İslami dŖŖnceye dair Ŗneriler 'gerici' olarak tanımlanmaktadır ve rejim karŖıtı olarak sulanmaktadır. Ayrıca komŖnizm karŖıtlığı da dergide sıklıkla yer alan temalardan biridir. Sođuk SavaŖ dŖneminin etkisinin altında Kadın Gazetesi'ndeki kadınlar tŖm annelere kendi ocuklarını ve dolayısıyla milletlerini komŖnizm tehlikesinden korumaları yŖnŖnde uyarıda bulunmaktadırlar. Bunun neredeyse toplumsal bir paranoya halini aldıđı da birok yazıda gŖzlemlenmektedir.

Bu alıŖma Kadın Gazetesi'nin TŖrkiye'deki kadın tarihinin ve kadın politikasının dinamikleri bađlamında deđerlendirilmesi amacını taŖımaktadır. Bu amala Kadın Gazetesi'nde kadın temsillerinin nasıl kategorilere ayrıldıđı, bu yapılırken ne tŖr siyasi referanslar verildiđi sorgulanmıŖtır. Sonu itibariyle Kadın Gazetesi devlet feminizmine neden olan uluslaŖma sŖrelerinin kadın tanımının birok uzantısıyla ŖrtŖŖen bir yaklaŖıma sahiptir. Resmî ideolojinin vatandaşlık, milliyetilik ve modernleŖme gibi kavramlarla kurduđu kadınlık tanımının baskıcı ve dıŖlayıcı imalarla dolu olduđunu gŖrmekteyiz. Aynı imaların Kadın Gazetesi tarafından da korunduđunu ve tekrarlandıđını gŖrmek gazetenin politik yaklaŖımını gŖrmek bakımından olduka önemlidir. Bu aıdan Kadın Gazetesi kadınlara iliŖkin

tekrarladığı ve yeniden ürettiği imalarla denetimci söylemin bir parçası olarak yayım yapmıştır. Bu anlamda, Kadın Gazetesi ilk sayısında da açıkça belirttiği üzere Türk kadınlarının haklarını elde ettiklerini ve dolayısıyla artık haklar için mücadele eden bir kadın organizasyonuna gerek olmadığını düşünmektedir. Dolayısıyla bu görüşe göre devlet feminizminin başarılı bir ikna süreci sonucunda inkılaplardan sonra başarılı bir stratejiyle kadınları evlerine gönderdiklerini söyleyebiliriz. Bu söylem kadın hareketinin etkinliğini azaltmış ve canlılığını söndürmüştür. Kadın Gazetesi de resmi söylemi uygun bir biçimde hakim kadınlık tanımlarına sadık kalarak kadınlara atfedilen milli görevlere talip bir biçimde etkinliklerini planlamış görünmektedir. Hayırseverlik faaliyetleri ve denetimci bir biçimde kadınlar üzerinde kurulan baskı Kadın Gazetesi'ndeki en popüler iki konu olmuştur. Bu anlamda kendine has bir söylem oluşturamamış ideal kadınlık ve erkeklik tanımlarını tekrarlamakla yetinmiştir. Dolayısıyla da ideal kadınlık kavramına işaret eden unsurlar kategoriler halinde tekrarlandıkça kadınlar arasındaki gerilim devam etmiştir. Hangi kadın tipinin hangisinden daha üstün olduğu veya modern Türkiye'ye daha çok uyduğu tartışması zaten temelden ayrımcı bir yaklaşımla kurulduğu için kadınlar arasındaki dayanışma güçlenememiştir. Kadın Gazetesi de devlet feminizmiyle ve Türkiye'deki hakim toplumsal cinsiyet rejimiyle güçlenen ayrımları takip etmiş bu anlamda kendi dönemi için kadınlara alternatif bir söz ve talep üretmekte yetersiz kalmıştır.

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