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NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

WOMEN WRITERS AND WOMEN'S FICTION IN 1970-1985 PERIOD OF TURKEY

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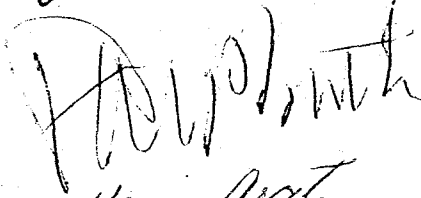
Women Writers and Women's Fiction in 1970-1985 Period of Turkey

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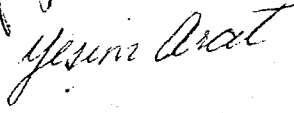
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ABSTRACT

This is the study of Women Writers in Turkish Literature who have burst upon The Turkish Literary scene in the decade of 1970's. That remarkable fact has been studied in two different but related axes. We examined the biographies and the books of these women writers side by side in order to bring some hypothesis to understand their existence in this particular time.

(M. S. PAA)

ÖZET

Bu çalışma 1970 lerden başlayarak Türk Edebiyatında ağırlığını koyan kadın yazarlar ve eserlerini incelemektedir. Kadın yazarların biyografileri ile eserleri birlikte okunmaya çalışılarak, bu dönemde ortaya çıkışlarına ışık tutabilecek hipotezler geliştirilmiştir.

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INTRODUCTION

This is a study of women authors-novelists and short story writers who have burst upon the Turkish literary scene in the decade of 1970's. The phenomenon is remarkable both in terms of the number of authors and of the literary and popular success of their work. While in the history of Turkish fiction it is possible to cite the names of a few prominent woman authors, these were mostly exceptions. The decade of 1970's opens a new chapter both in terms of quality and quantity of works authored by women. It must be underlined here that we are not talking about "feminist" works, but rather fiction written by women, for other women-romances or drawing room noveletas but rather fiction which has received serious critical acclaim in both literary circles and reading public.

Between 1970-1985, in a 15 year time span, 41 new woman fiction writers appeared on the literary scene in Turkey; 30 of them with two or more books in print. (See Table 1).

Who are these women? How and why did they begin to write fiction? Why in the 1970's and not before? How have they managed to publish their works? What are the imaginary themes, issues, realities they have attempted to express in their fiction? These are the concrete questions the present study will attempt to explore.

Analytical Framework:

The answers to the questions above resides in the interplay between three conceptually different domains: a)the real political social contradictions of Turkish society as they have evolved through time; b)the personal experiences, crises, dilemmas, which have led the women under study to channel their creativity to fiction; c)the symbolic and imaginary themes and alternative realities they have

created in their fiction. My assumption is that these three domains are not "reflections" of one another; but they are interlinked in the sense that the specificity of the decade of 1970's from the point of view of women in Turkish fiction can only be explained by exploring all three

Since, the point of departure of this study is a scepticism of the "reflectionist" bias in the existing sociology of literature, I will below provide a brief review of the basic theories in the sociology of literature. This will pave the way for an attempt to move beyond "reflection theories" and ground our topic in a concrete historical and social situation as experienced and expressed by women of a particular stratum.

a) Reflection Theory

Lukacs (1885-1971) has been considered as the most typical exponent of a historical conception of ideology. Here, our concern is to examine his views on literature, especially on fiction/novel. Besides the fact that the main concern of this thesis is fiction, he built his theory with the concrete examples from the novel rather than the other branches of literature. His stress is basically on two points, first, literature (here novel) does represent a particular reality. And second, it is a reflection of a particular time. The historicist position of Lukacs must be underlined J.Larrain criticizes this historicist position in Concept of Ideology (1976). In this work, Lukacs's work is interpreted as a much more mechanistic and simplistic account of literature. The relationship between society and literature is uni-directional, causal and unproblematic. Although Lukacs' theory of literature is considered out-dated it is necessary to point out that he was the teacher of Lucien Goldmann who has been

a very influential figure in the development of sociology of literature.

b) Genetic Structuralism

Lucien Goldmann's (1913-1970) contribution to the sociology of literature is based on a criticism of positivist approaches and attempts to bring in historical and social dimensions. Goldmann's theory is called "Genetic Structuralism". He argues that literature is the creation of groups or 'transindividual objects', the product of collective consciousness by 'exceptional individuals'. According to genetic structuralism there are 3 fundamental characteristics of human behaviour, which are decisive for the methodology of every cultural activity. These are I)the tendency towards significance and rationality II)the tendency towards totality III)the tendency towards transcendence. These characteristics are embedded in the 'World Views' of social groups. Goldmann's view is that great literature is the expression of a cohesive social group. In certain historical conditions these ideas cohere in an explicit 'world vision' and a world view and this occurs when the group in question is forced to other groups in society. Therefore great literature is a product of the expression of such a world vision, and is a product of collective group consciousness. According to Goldmann, every philosophical and literary work is an expression of a "world view" that is the conjunction of aspirations, feelings and ideas which bring together the members of the groups or a social class and oppose them to other groups, directly.

The concept of 'genesis' needs to be elaborated to understand the whole theory. The significance of social phenomena~~y~~ is given by their structured existence and upon the fact that these significant structures are 'the results of genesis' and can not be understood or

explained independently of genesis. The genesis of structures must be sought in the wider structure which subsumes it. Goldmann's work is very important in the sense that it avoids from reductionist, reflectionist equations vis-a-vis society and literature. Instead it insists on social life's totality and its deterministic character. But still there are some points which seem unsolved.

Larrain criticizes Goldmann's theory and states that the relation between class consciousness and cultural product is debatable. His tendency to collapse cultural products into the collective consciousness of class, without much regard for the mediation of the individual and of other cultural products, seems highly debatable. J.Wolff (1985) also discusses this one-way argument based on a nearly automatic relation between cultural product and class consciousness, and points out the uni-directionality of the theory. An other problem is the selectivity of the theory. Larrain proposes that Goldmann worked on the selected or privileged works as literature output or cultural products. Also Goldmann is interested in analysing texts only as an expression of the world view of the class.

I have reviewed the basic sociology of literature approaches in order to construct my theoretical framework. But the sociology of literature theories are only working on the 'fictive reality' in order to compare them with 'social reality'. My research problem is much more grounded and empirical than this concern.

Besides, the desire in my research is not only to understand the fiction of 70'ies rather to concentrate on the authors as well. In other words, we are not only interested in the women writers' products but we are interested in both writers and their books together in this particular period of Turkish Literature. Rather, the main research problem for us is why these women writers burst

upon into the Turkish Literature in 70'ies. The literature, will be used as supplementary material to the main topic. Therefore to begin with sociology of literature theories do not help us construct our theoretic framework. That's why family level analyses seems more appropriate. With family concepts; I would be able to refer: macro and micro level indicators much more easily. The macro indicators of social change and micro indicators of social psychology may be interpreted under this level of analyses easily.

As a result, sociology of gender concepts were more appropriate for my work than those of sociology of literature. I basically built my framework on the transformation of the family structure in Turkish history from the late Ottoman up to 70 ies in relation to women writers. Women writers are mostly coming from bureaucratic elite background. The effects of modernization, westernization were observed in their family structure very clearly.

Consequently, I will not use the sociology of literature concepts, instead I will try to look at women writers within the social change and sociology of gender indicators. But first of all, I will look at the data that I gathered from the interviews of the writers than in the second chapter I will propose my theoretic framework relatedly.

Information Gathering and Design of Study:

The information upon which this study is based was gathered from two major sources.

a) In depth interviews with woman fiction writers: The interviews were confined to authors who had published at least two books. Thus out of a potential '41' authors, only 30 were considered eligible for inclusion in the study. Of these 30, 11 were for various reasons unavailable; either could not be located, refused to co-operate or had died. Thus the information used in the study is based on 19 interviews conducted in Istanbul and Ankara- during a period of three months (1985 Summer). The interviews aimed to elicit standardized information on family and personal background as well as the authors' own interpretations of their life-story, personal feelings about work, assessment of their own fiction etc. These interviews were taped and transcribed.

b) Fiction written by the 30 authors: The books written by each author were read ahead of time to get prepared for the interviews (see Appendix for list of books written by each of the 30). Also after the entire set of interviews were completed much of the fiction had to be re-read, and the texts had to be re-evaluated by recording paragraphs dealing with the subject matter of particular relevance.

Outline of the Study:

In the following pages I will first attempt to draw a composite biographical portrait of the woman authors under study. Thus the first chapter will be a presentation of materials collected through in-depth interviews by the authors themselves. My aim in this context will be both to present background information and also try to summarize how the women authors themselves interpret their own personal life

experiences by quoting extensively from taped interviews. Within the analytical framework adopted, this first chapter corresponds to the first of the three distinct set of factors, interlinked but conceptually distinct, which has contributed to the post-1970 surge in literature by woman authors: the personal experiences and life crises and dilemmas which have led the women under study to channel their creativity to fiction.

In the second chapter, I will try to provide a macro perspective by attempting to situate the life stories and experiences of the women authors in the broader ideological shifts concerning women's roles in Turkish society. My aim here will not be to summarize historical events which correspond to the life span of the authors under study. Instead, I will focus upon the ideological definitions of women's roles in the sense of ordering everyday life, creating future expectations and normative codes. Undoubtedly, the ideological shifts in women's roles are related to social-structural transformations of Turkish society. But my own emphasis will be upon the shifts in formal ideology concerning women's roles; the expectations and promises held out to them; and the contradictions and dilemmas that emerge when these expectations and promises are juxtaposed against the real life experiences of the women under study.

In the third chapter, I will focus upon the books written by the woman authors themselves, by selecting a number of books which may be considered most illuminating from the point of view of the present study: fiction which focuses on the mother-daughter relationship. I believe that the mother-daughter theme is particularly important in understanding how these authors deal, on an imaginary and symbolic basis, with the contradictions and inconsistencies between formal ideologies and real life experiences; the transformation of the

"female space" over time; and the shifts in the "power domain" of women. Thus in the third chapter, I will focus on novels where the mother-daughter relationship is in the foreground; attempting to summarize the specific dilemmas and conflicts created and the resolutions offered in fiction.

I. MODERN TURKISH WOMEN WRITERS: A COMPOSITE PORTRAIT BASED UPON LIFE EXPERIENCES

In this chapter, I will attempt to piece together a composite portrait of the Turkish women writers of the 1970's, based on the background information gathered through interviews. What emerged is a remarkably consistent picture, not only in terms of 'factual', standardized questionnaire items such as father's and mother's occupation, education, current marital status etc., but also in terms of how these women themselves, relate, assess and interpret their own life patterns. Thus their "life stories", as they relate it, as they evaluate it themselves, exhibit a strikingly similar pattern. In discussing this pattern, I will below try to provide "facts and figures". Also, by using quotations from taped interviews, I will try to convey, as much as possible, the authors' own retrospective viewpoint.

It may be useful at this point to summarize a number of salient points which will, in the subsequent pages, be elaborated in detail.

Thus:

1. Our authors, with remarkably few exceptions come from families of civil servants-father prominent bureaucrat, mother housewife-pattern. Furthermore at the same time these women were growing up, i.e. in the 1940's and early 1950's civil service was very prestigious representing the state and its Kemalist ideology. In other words, the authors we are talking about, grew up in families where the father, because of his position in the state bureaucracy, had both education and prestige, if not actually wealthy. It is only in the late 1950's in Turkish Republican history, that we find a nascent bourgeoisie and a budgening "private sector" outstripping government employment both in terms of economic status and of prestige.

2. Again, with very few exceptions, our women authors come from metropolitan backgrounds. But a sizable proportion have spent their childhood in provincial towns where their fathers were stationed as government employees. Thus they grew up in a context- the provincial town-where civil servants as representatives of the secularizing, modernizing state ideology, differed sharply from the local notables in outlook. For it was in the provincial town with its conservative, cloistered atmosphere and religious orthodoxy, that the contradiction between the ideology of the center and of the periphery in the etatist era in Republican history was most clearly experienced. Thus our woman authors spent their childhood and in some instances their adolescence years, in an environment where government employees constituted almost an "island", very different but also superior in the certainty of their "modernity" and Western value judgements. The government employee of this era, in a provincial town, was also the "westernizing" agent, entrusted with the mission of educating and "enlightening" the people.

3. The mothers are housewives, but educated, reading a considerable amount, very "modern" in appearance. Nonetheless a persistent theme, mentioned by the authors interviewed, in reminiscing about their childhood, is how the mother despite her considerable accomplishments fell short of the father's conceptualization of the "western" women. Thus a condensing attitude toward the mother appears to be typical within the family context.

4. Both the mother and father, in their different ways and for different reasons, have encouraged their daughters' careers in professional occupations. In describing the future expectations of their parents from them, the picture depicted is one of the daughters studying to become a doctor, lawyer, a judge, etc... In other words the daughter's future symbolized, much more so than the sons', the

promise of Kemalist enlightenment. This was particularly pronounced in the case of families where there was only one daughter. Thus the daughter was exempt from household chores, all that was asked of her was to study well in school and become a member of a professional occupation.

5. The woman writers in our study, appear to have fulfilled their parents' aspirations in terms of both internalizing Kemalist ideology and also becoming well educated in select schools. 17 of the 19 authors in our study speak a foreign language. They are, in reality, an embodiment of the "educated", "westernized" women of their parents' aspirations; a true product of Kemalist enlightenment. Yet in one way or another the Kemalist Paradise appears to have proved unsatisfactory, although achieved. On the one hand this may be because of internal contradictions of Kemalist ideology which offered women new roles in the public and did not question -even ignored- the traditional roles in private life. So these women having internalized the Kemalist ideal formulated for them, were disappointed when they faced the reality of actual roles in the private sphere. Furthermore the Kemalist ideology itself was not any more that influential as the capitalist ideology and rules of the market began to gain ascendancy in 1950's and 1960's, thus they could not enjoy the prestige that the first Kemalist professional woman generation was endowed with. ("kontenjan"-quota) Thus, another significant pattern in these woman writers' lives is that many of them started out performing all the roles that were ascribed to them, they went to universities, they acquired "professions", they had occupations, they married, etc.... However, at certain moments of their lives they began to question all these roles.

6. Paradoxically, the woman authors under study, when asked about their most important accomplishments, specify "motherhood" as

their most significant role. Almost all of them (except one) have at least one child and perceive motherhood as their most meaningful and important role. Thus it is not their roles in public space, in which they live up to the formal ideology of Kemalist role definitions; but rather their role in "private space" is considered most significant and questioning all other traditional sex roles, "motherhood" remains the most highly regarded role, perceived as the most significant and meaningful accomplishment. In this sense this may be evaluated as a search of a space and a new dimension; a craving for the discovery of the mind's and body's boundaries. They consider that their pride first resides in their children rather than their books.

My own interpretation is that writing fiction was a part of the silent reaction of these women to the "public oriented" woman image of the Kemalist ideology and a symbolic working out of the return to the women's sphere in the process of reassessing and reinterpreting "traditional" roles.

1.1. Background of the Women Writers

In this part, from the original life stories, the backgrounds will be pictured. The structure of the families, the educational stories, the occupational experiences will be elaborated. What I am trying to do is to get a typical story, a composite portrait from these findings. This typical story will give us clues about the dynamic structure of their personalities and social impacts upon them. At least, to diminish the categories that we are talking about will be helpful to manage this work.

1.1.1. Fathers: Prominent Bureaucrats

The fathers' education and occupation is shown in Table 2 and Table 3 in detail. Fathers are the ones who lived between 1921-81 normally (taking the normal life cycle: 60 yrs, the average age of the woman writers 44; fathers were 20 yrs older than them). They are the first generation of the Republic.

The majority of the fathers are well educated. Considering the educational opportunities in the first years of the Republic, they are from the very luck population who benefited from formal educational facilities. One third of them attended university and 68% of them attended secondary school. So that the fathers of the women writers are "educated" people.

In terms of their occupational background the fathers occupied relatively high social status as they were mostly officials, teachers or businessman, who are very tightly bounded to the political center and carriers of state ideology, here "Kemalist Ideology". They are, as A. Ağaoğlu mentioned in the interview, "the provincial agents of the Republic". They have the mission of "Kemalism" to transmit into the masses, who are "ignorant". Modernism, against traditional life styles, is imposed in Anatolia where they have spent most of their time. The role of the father in the family. Father, as the bread-winner, as the head of the family in these families, has got a key role to maintain the linkage between household and bureaucracy or between the traditional role expectations and 'modern' way of life.

"As I was a daughter, I got enormous love and affection from my parents, I was graded and honored extraordinarily." A. Kutlu¹

¹"Kız evlat olduğum için çok büyük sevgi ve şefkat gördüm. Olağanüstü bir değer, yüceltme gördüm." Ayla Kutlu.

Daughters in these families have not been degraded like other female members, mother or else; rather the daughters are the promoting members of the family for the Kemalist/Modern future. Also to be a father who let his daughter study is a prestigious position in this context.

Besides the daughters, the mothers are also encouraged to behave like a "modern female".

"My father did not let my mother veil rather made her wear a 'hat'. May be they were the reformists of their time. Anyway.. They preferred to be modern and European in their life styles and their interpersonal relations. But my father was very conservative in the sense that the education he gave us was based entirely on Islamic moral values. On the other hand he liked to dance, to take my mother to dance." Leyla Erbil²

The father as the head of the family imposes the "Western" style of life in the household on his wife but especially on his daughter.

As I mentioned before these fathers are educated elite members of the urban society. While they are encouraging their daughters towards modern style of life in general, they are forcing their daughters to fulfill their expectations for educational goals. At this point, I would like to give some quotations to summarize these expectations as a carrier of Kemalist ideology with education.

²"Babam annemi örttürmüyor. Şapka giydiriyor. Zamanın belki ilerici-lerinden sayılıyorlar...neyse.. O zaman böyle şeyler var. Yani ilişkilerinde, yaşayış tarzında hep Avrupai olmayı seçiyor. Fakat köklerine de çok bağlı adamdı. Yani bize verdiği yönlendirme, çocuklarına verdiği yönlendirme, tamamen yani İslam ahlak değerleri üstüneydi. Öte yandan seviyordu, dansa gitmeyi, annemi dansa götürmeyi. O dönem için işte sazlı sözlü yerlere götürmeyi seven bir adamdı." Leyla Erbil

"All of them expected me to be an emancipated person, to gain my economic independence to work outside... in other words, they were not the kind of parents who wanted me to marry and to have children right away." Tomris Uyar³

"Attending a school to be emancipated, to be a doctor or an engineer etc..." Latife Tekin⁴

"My parents decided everything about me from the books that I would read to the dresses I would wear. I do not remember any time that they allowed me to make my own decisions. They arranged the future of my sister and I, such that we would be educated in Germany because my father had been so." Zeynep Oral⁵

"What was arranged for me was that, I will say something about my father once more, I would be a "temyiz azası", my father always said that which I did not understand what it was. I think it was a member of Counsel of State of today." Bilgesu Erenus.

³"Özgür bir insan olmamı bekliyorlardı hepsi, kendi iktisadi bağımsızlığımı kazanmamı, çalışmamı.." Tomris Uyar

⁴"Okusun kendini kurtarsın, doktor olsun, mühendis olsun filan." Latife Tekin

⁵"Hiç kimsenin sorduğunu hatırlamıyorum, giyeceğim elbiseden, okuyacağım kitaba kadar annem babam karar verirdi. Biz iki çocuk için yapılan plan şuydu, babam Almanya'da okumuştü, onun için biçim de Almanya'da okumamız gerekiyordu." Zeynep Oral

⁶"Benim üstüme kurulan şey, gene babamla ilgili bir şey söyleyeceğim... bir türlü anlamazdım ne demek olduğunu, benim kızım temyiz azası olacak derdi. Sanıyorum işte bugünün Danıştay Üyesi." Bilgesu Erenus

In general, almost all expectations are based upon the educational and occupational themes which are strictly interdependent. The fathers want to educate their daughters, which is the unique way to integrate them to the macro system. Formal education is almost the only institute to maintain this integration for female population. And education is the unique way, for the daughters of these official/bureaucrat families to become independent and gain economic freedom vis-a-vis men. This intention towards independent daughters is related with a superiority complex to some extent; superiority of the 'Kemalist' fathers with their products; daughters.

These expectations are on the one side, other side of the coin is the wish of control the way and the scope of this development by the fathers. They are very ambitious of control of this modernization as Westernization is under the control of bureaucracy. This ambition is satisfied very well, to some extent, they were successful.

"My father always said that Performing Arts were not everlasting professions. They always wanted me to be a writer, a person should write to be eternal. They made comparisons between Elizabeth Taylor and Shakespeare ... and then I began to write." Pınar Kür⁷

⁷"Ve babam şey derdi, kalıcı bir meslek değil tiyatro. Yazar olmamı isterlerdi her zaman için. Kalıcı olmak için insan yazmalı, etmeli.. Büyük yazarlardan Shakespeare olmak mı daha iyi yoksa Elizabeth Taylor olmak mı falan gibi birtakım karşılaştırmalar. Bunun üzerine yazmaya başladım." Pınar Kür

1.1.2. Mothers: "Enlightened" Housewives

Mothers of the women writers are from the elite families and although only 22% of them worked as a teacher, most of them were educated (See Table 4 and Table 5). Considering the average age of the writers 44, their mothers are expected to be 64 in 1985. So that they were born in the first years of the Republic or before. Among these women, 84% of them had education to some extent where 47% of these mothers had chance to finish secondary schools and 15% of them attended universities. Again, considering the first years of the Republic, these women are from the urban elite families who had chance to attend the schools rather than stay secluded in home.

Mothers' Role in the Family Life

"My mother was from Istanbul and the daughter of an elite family. She was well-educated and had the ability to play four or five musical instruments. She was very smart and elegant women." Füzûzan⁸

"I am from a rooted family living in Istanbul. Our home was a modern one so was my mother, for instance I never saw my mother with classical long hair. She was also well-educated." Peride Celal⁹

Most of the mothers are from the elite families and acquired qualified education.

These women used to read fiction, newspaper etc. in Turkish and also in foreign language which they acquired.

⁸"Annem eski Istanbulu bir aileden geliyor, çok iyi tahsil yapmış. dört beş müzik aleti çalabilen çok şık ve zarif bir kadındı." Füzûzan

⁹"Eski bir Istanbulu ailedendim. Bizim ev açık bir evdi. Annem de öyle. Meselâ ben annemi uzun saçlı görmedim. Kısa saçlıydı. Annemin eğitimi o zamana göre çok güzel, iyi bir eğitimdi." Peride Celal

"She was from Dame De Sion. She decided to learn English after she was 40 and she did." Nazlı Eray¹⁰

"My mother was a housewife but she was a very sensitive person, and she liked reading very much." Selçuk Baran¹¹

"My father was graduated from secondary school and my mother from primary school. My father did not have even read a newspaper, while my mother read a lot of books." Adalet Ağaoglu¹²

"My mother liked to read so much that I remember she burnt the meals many times when she fell deep in reading." Ayla Kutlu¹³

So while these mothers are willing to learn new things and try to adopt a new way of life, they used their domestic powers upon their daughters towards education. They want their daughters to be educated and to have profession; and they somehow managed this aspiration. All of the women writers have worked in various jobs at some time of their and got the necessary education for these jobs.

For these mothers, the female roles, being a housewife, being a spouse, being a mother were not appreciated very much rather the ignorance of these roles was the fact. For instance, "çeyiz" -trousseau- as the significant act with respect to traditional female roles, is not an important phenomenon in these families.

¹⁰"Annem Dame De Sion mezunu, 40 yaşından sonra İngilizce öğrenmeye karar verdi ve İngilizce öğrendi." Nazlı Eray

¹¹"Annem ev kadınıydı ama çok duyarlı bir insandı. Okumaya çok meraklıydı." Selçuk Baran

¹²"Babam Rüştüyeyi bitirmiş. Annem ilkokulu bitirmiş. Babam gazete bile okumazdı. Annem çok kitap okurdu ama." Adalet Ağaoglu

¹³"Annem çok okuyan bir kadındı. O kadar çok okuyan bir kadındı ki ben çok hatırlarım yemeklerin yandığını o okuduğu için." Ayla Kutlu

"My mother did not prepare any 'çeyiz' -trousseau-..."
Ayla Kutlu¹⁴

"No there is no 'çeyiz', marriage was not a subject that was emphasized so much. They expected me to continue my education." Erendiz Atasü¹⁵

"No not at all. Why do you ask? Is there any writer who has 'çeyiz'? No, I did not have any." Nazlı Eray

While the parents led their daughters towards outside jobs, public roles, these girls were not willing to perform traditional roles either. Examining their mothers' position in the family and in the society they did not want to be like their mothers. Even though the mothers behaved as if modern in style, the living conditions in the family were still very traditional vis-a-vis the father in the family. These girls did not want to suffer from the male dominance and power in their own future. They stated these intentions as follows;

"My father always attempted repress my mother. Indeed, she was a woman with self, respect and mostly made her voice heard. She was not economically independent. not even from her family. I observed troubles that my mother suffered. That was what I did not want. First, I had to have my economic freedom."
Adalet Ağaoğlu¹⁷

¹⁴"Yoo hayır annemin çeyiz falan yaptığı yoktu." Ayla Kutlu

¹⁵"Hayır öyle aman aman bir çeyiz yoktu. Evlilik konusu çok fazla üzerinde durulan bir konu değildi, benim okumam bekleniyordu."
Erendiz Atasü

¹⁶"Yok canım, hayır hayır...nerden aklınıza geldi..var mı öyle çeyizli falan olan..yok hiç çeyizim falan yoktu."Nazlı Eray

¹⁷"Babam annemi ezmeye uğraşırdı. Gerçi annem çok onurlu kadındı, sözünü dinletirdi. Annemin ekonomik özgürlüğü yoktu. Hiç yoktu. Aileden de yoktu. Ve annemin çektiği sıkıntıyı görüyordum. İşte istemediğim buydu. Önce ekonomik özgürlüğüm olsun istiyordum."
Adalet Ağaoğlu

Mostly, they are the only daughters of their families 11 out of 19 have not got any other sister and they were the first child of their families; these two facts together as a result influenced the expectations. The expectations of the parents basically were centralized and focused on these daughters in the way that we described above.

1.1.3. Urban Culture and "Taşra" Experience

When I asked to the woman writers in which city they spent most of their life, 100% of them stated the metropolitan areas, Istanbul and Ankara (See Table 6), besides 58% of them was born in the same metropol (See Table 7).

Urban society which the woman writers participated in had a rapid development from 1950's up to today. In other words rapid urbanization influenced these centers, bringing change in social norms, expectations, life styles. In other words change in social norms was much more rapid than rural areas. This changing and challenging cultural structure was the product of structural development of economy (Tekeli, 1982).

Although they were born in urban areas and spent most of their time there, in their childhood these woman writers lived in Anatolia with their families who were civil servants. 42% of the fathers were officials and 21% of the fathers were teachers. They were in Anatolia with the mission to enlighten the "dark Anatolia".

"My early childhood passed in several Anatolian towns. We are from Istanbul but both my father and mother were teachers. I started primary school in Ankara, I remember that period very little." Pınar Kür¹⁸

"Most of my childhood passed in Istanbul and the other part in Anatolia. Because my mother married another man who was a judge. He was appointed to Anatolia and I spent several years with them. But I lived mostly in Istanbul." Peride Celal

"In my opinion the place where a writer lived as a child shapes her writing adventure. Indeed childhood is a rather formative period of life. My childhood was a very lucky one. My family is a bureaucrat family. But we lived in a quarter of Antep where local notables lived. The owners of our house had strong loyalty in traditions. I had strong images about local customs." Işıl Özgentürk²⁰

18. İlk çocukluğum benim Anadolu'nun çeşitli kentlerinde geçmiş. İstanbulluyuz ama annem de babam da benim öğretmendi. Ama ilkokula Ankara'da başladım, onun için o dönemi işte hayal meyal biliyorum." Pınar Kür

19. "Çocukluğum İstanbul'da ve az bir kısmı Anadolu'da geçti. Çünkü annem bir başkasıyla evlenmişti. O da hakimdi. Anadolu'ya tayin edildiği için... Birkaç yıl kaldım onların yanında ama İstanbulluyum." Peride Celal

20. "Bir yazarın çocukluğunun geçtiği yer aslında onun bütün yazarlık hayatını biçimliyor bana göre. Yani zaten çocukluk hayatı çok fazla biçimleyen bir dönem. Bu nedenle ben kendi çocukluğumu çok şanslı bir çocukluk sayıyorum. Şimdi benim aile bir bürokrat ailesi. Fakat biz Antep'in öyle bir semtinde oturuyoruz ki eşraf dediğimiz ya da büyük toprak ağası dediğimiz bir ailenin yanında kiracıyız biz. Ve bu aile bütün geçmiş gelenekleri çok iyi taşıyan bir aile. Yani benim çocukluğumda bahçede çok büyük bakır kazanlarda üzümün köylerden gelip... ve onlardan sucuk yapıldığını, böyle bildiğiniz sucuk değil, tatlı sucuk, o gün dünyanın en neşeli çocukları olarak o kazanlardan kapıp..... bu arada kadınların türkü söylediğini falan hatırlıyorum." Işıl Özgentürk

In these "taşra" years the little girls had chance to live a colorful childhood. This colorful childhood, the cultural colors that these girls carry to their writing personality gave them chance to observe and visualize the possible contradictions with Kemalism and tradition. Their parents' mission of Kemalism on the one side, traditional life of Anatolia on the other side. In these early years of their life, they recognized this center-periphery contradiction in detail. Maybe their rebellious position in the later years can be interpreted with this insight. So where they were living in an atmosphere in Kemalist ideology very strictly at home, in the society they had chance to observe other types or styles of live.

1.1.4. An "Elite" Portrait: Well-Educated and Professional Career-Oriented Ladies

Education: The women writers are also well-educated people (See Table 8), 90% of them finished at least secondary school. 11 out of 19 attended private schools where the instruction is mostly in English or French (Kolej). And 84% of them had chance to attend universities, 2 out of 19 completed their Ph.D. in different branches. But interestingly enough 37% of them left the universities for various reasons. This break may be interpreted as the first step to protest the roles that were forced upon them. Because they were brought up with the "educated woman" model. It might be interpreted as a break from family expectations.

Foreign Language: Almost all of our women writers know at least one foreign language 92% (See Table 9). English is the most popular language. More than half of the women writers speak English and 21% speak French, 19% speak German 5% speak Italian. Only 2 of them has not acquired any foreign language up to this study (1985).

Profession/Occupation: (See Table 10) Although 95% of the woman writers once worked and held a professional job, only 47% of them are working at the moment. Others are writing and are housewives. But the average year of working is quite high: 13,3 years. Mostly they didn't work until being retired but gave up working outside and concentrated on writing more.

This withdrawal from occupational careers needs to be elaborated. It may be interpreted as the reevaluation of the "system", of "all the roles". Withdrawal from these forced established roles may be the result of dissappointments or limitations in occupational life. These limitations and disappoinments gave chance to evaluate the public hierarchy and gave way to return to themselves, here namely writing business.

"I had a motivation to write. But since I was journalist, I was not satisfied and started to write for myself. If I had been satisfied as a journalists, perhaps I would not have written these fictions." Zeynep Avcı²¹

1.2. Sex Roles Performed and Perceived

All the women writers studied here have been performing female roles; but my attempt is to investigate to what extent they feel bounded, limited or free from these obligations. Here this womanhood situation will be examined in three basic parts; as a housewife, as a spouse and as a mother.

²¹"Bir kere şöyle bir şey, yazma dinamiği bende oluşmuştu da, gazeteci olduğum için o yazma dinamiğinin doyumsuzluğundan kendim için yazmaya başladım. Yoksa eğer gazetecilik devam etseydi, gazetecilikte yazma eylemi düşündüğüm doğrultuda olsaydı, belki de yazmazdım hakikaten."
Zeynep Avcı

1.2.1. As a Housewife

More than half of the women writers are living alone (See Table 12). But 95% of them have got at least one child. Indeed the average children per writer is 1.3. And 17 out of 18 are living with their children at the moment whereas 42% of them married and living with their husbands and children. The women writers are caring for their children and performing the "housewife" role. In most cases they share this responsibility with domestic servants.

"In fact one who avoided most what we call housework, is responsible for the house. You have to think what will be done. You can never say "I am writing, don't disturb me" like a Western writer. And you are not really disturbed in the West." Adalet Ağaoğlu²¹

"Daily houseworks do not bother me much. What bothers me is the responsibilities I take about family life. Although I do not do housework personally I have to organize everything from the garbage to repairs." Erendiz Atasü²²

To carry the whole domestic responsibility sometimes bother them but instead of sharing this responsibility, the whole domestic business, with their husbands, they prefer to marginalize this work. So they still have the domestic power upon the other members of the family and they enjoy it in a sophisticated way.

²¹"Doğrusu ev işi denen şeyi en çok elinin tersiyle iten biri bile bu evden sorumlu tek başına. Yani ne yapılacak, ne edilecek, hepsini düşünmek size ait. Hiç bir zaman Batının herhangi bir yazarı gibi, efendim ben yazıyorum, odama kapandım, artık beni kimse rahatsız etmesin. Ve etmezler de orda, sahiden kahvesi önüne gelir." Adalet Ağaoğlu

²²"Gündelik ev işleri beni pek bunaltmıyor. Beni bunaltan aile yaşamının her şeyini yüklenme durumunda olma. Evin tamirinden bugün ne alınacak, çöp döküldümüye varıncaya kadar organize etmek durumunda olmak. O felaket derece yoruyor, ev işini fiilen yapmadığım halde." Erendiz Atasü

"Writing is over at 16.30. For instance, I have to do laundry when I write. In the past I reserved one day in a week for laundry. Now I got an automatic washing machine, two years ago. My husband hired a domestic servant what shall I expect more? Children also help me set the table. That's all." Gülten Dayıoğlu²³

"As I have stated, my case is an exception. I am married to a man who is the most progressive male I have ever met. He is against the male domination outwardly. So we shared all the housework. But of course he did not wash the clothes." Zeynep Oral²⁴

But sometimes, they are not happy for carrying all the domestic responsibilities for years, they are giving primary importance to the writing business at the moment.

"After years and years I am considering that, in the past I never gave up performing motherhood and housewifeness but I often gave up writing... But now I give priority to writing and I ignore all the other things." Leyla Erbil²⁵

²³"4.30'da yazarlık bitiyor. Bu arada yazarken çamaşır. Mesela geçmişte bir gün ayırırdım, o gün hiç yazar falan değilim. Şimdi otomatik makina edindim, daha iki yıl önce. Eşim zaten yardımcı tutuyor daha ne bekleyeyim, çocuklar da sofrayı kurup kaldırmada biraz yardım ederler o kadar." Gülten Dayıoğlu

²⁴"Dediğim gibi benim özel bir durumum var. Tanıdığım en ileride ve erkek şeyi içinde, egemenliğe karşı olan bir erkekle evliyim onun için bütün ev işlerini paylaştık. Yani tabii kocam çamaşır yıkamadı." Zeynep Oral

²⁵"Yani böyle düşündüğümde, seneler sonra, çocuğa bakmaktan ya da evin düzenini sağlamaktan hiç bir zaman fedakarlık etmedim de, yazarlıktan fedakarlık ettim. Ama severek yaptım, yani çocuk hikayesini severek baktım, ev işlerinde yemek yapmaktan falan zevk aldığım halde zamanla sevmeyi, şimdi nefret eder hale geldim. Yani dönüştü, değişti bazı şeyler... Artık yazarlığı öne koydum, ötekileri ihmal etmeye başladım." Leyla Erbil

The relationship between the women writers and the housework is also very interesting in the sense that they have not been socialized in the family as housewives but as career-oriented people. So that in the beginning of their marriages the ignored role became very important in their lives and then they realized that they are women regardless of their careers and intellectual capacities.

"Now, a domestic servant comes once a week and cleans the house. Children always helped me (daughters): I wanted them to help me especially because being a housewife was very difficult at the beginning for me, my mother did not let me do the housework anytime." Selçuk Baran²⁶

1.2.2. As a Spouse

All the woman writers at least married once (See Table 12). Although only 42% of them are married now, they have spent long years as a wife. The average age of marriage is 24.2. The decision towards marriage was taken by themselves. There is no arranged marriage -görücü usulü- in these modern families... The durability of these 'love marriages' is 16.7 years on the average. They mostly did not divorce or separate in the early years of their marriages rather reverse.

The impacts of marriage on the woman writers can be classified in two groups; one is 'positive'; which can be summarized as the husband's "supportive", "encouraging" position towards her writing business. The other is "negative" such as "limitation" or "control"

²⁶"Şimdi haftada bir kadın gelip temizliği yapar. Çocuklar varken bana hep yardım etmişlerdir. Onların bana yardımcı olmalarını şu bakımdan da istedim. Annem bana iş yaptırmadığı için, çok zor geldi bana ev kadınlığı, bir türlü alışamadım." Selçuk Baran

of the husband over her creativity.

"From my standpoint the impact of marriage on my writing is positive. The support, encouragement, criticism of my husband are very important for me. And I am happy of this situation." Gülten Dayıođlu²⁷

"Usually marriage is an end for a woman but for me it was a beginning. If I lived alone, I am not sure if I would be so self-disciplined and productive." Zeynep Oral²⁸

In the families where the husband performs his male role supportively but also powerfully, the form of domination is embedded in love and affection as seen in the previous examples. Later we will see more drastic examples of this domination, which is not covered with love and affection but nude.

"I spent so much labor for my marriage. We both spent, tried a lot to overcome these difficulties that you have listed. I tried a lot to make my husband regard me as a separate individual." Adalet Ađaođlu²⁹

²⁷"Benim ađımdan (evliliđin yazarlıđa etkisi) olumlu. ünkü biz eđimle yařama birlikte bařladık. ykülerimi ilk ona okumuřumdur. Ve bu alışkanlık sürmüřtür, mutlaka ona okumuřumdur yazdıđım bir řeyi. Benim iyi bir eleřtirmenimdir. Ve beni ok desteklemiřtir ve teřvik etmiřtir. Eđimin ilgi ve desteđi ve yönlendirmesi, yönlendirmesi diyorum bakın hi komplekse kapılmadan, bařlangıtan beri birlikte yođrulduđumuz iin yazarlıđımda bir avantaj. Bu da beni mutlu kılıyor." Gülten Dayıođlu

²⁸"Bizde genellikle evlilik kadın iin bir son olur. Bende tam aksine evlilik bařlangı oldu... Yalnız yařasaydım bilmiyorum bu kadar disiplinli olabilir miydim, bu kadar ok řey yazabilir miydim? Daha dađı-nık olurdum herhalde". Zeynep Oral

²⁹"Ben evliliđime hayli emek verdim. Karřılıklı emek verdik. Bütün söylediđiniz sakıncaları yemek iin aba gerekti. Pat diye olmadı. Kocamın benim tek bařıma bir birey olduđumu kabul edebilmesi, edebil-diđi kadar etmesi iin elbette aba gösterdim." Adalet Ađaođlu

"I was not writing when I was married. He was a little bit jealous. He was repressing a little but I did not care much. If I decide to marry once again, I will choose such a man that my writing personality does not bother him. And he does not interfere my work. But I do not know if I would be so liberated." Nazlı Eray³⁰

"In male society, all men however, they are educated and modern they don't recognize women's rights, in case of their wives. He is so oppressive from extra-marital affairs of women to writing an article." Füsün Erbulak³¹

"Being a wife is a terrible thing. What is expecting from you is to be an ordinary woman who doesn't think, talk work, seek for the reality, get jealous..." Afet Ilgaz Muhteremoğlu³²

Briefly, it is very clear that in the early years of their lives-
all of the women writers experienced marriage and performed the role of a wife. But now more than half of them are living apart from their husbands. Almost all of the mothers are living with their children even though they are divorced or separated or widow.

30."Evliyken hiç yazmıyordum. Biraz kıskanıyordu belki, hafif bir baskı uyguluyordu, yani evde erkeğin egemen olması falan, ama ben onları iplemiyordum. Yani ben bugün karar verip yeniden evlensem, öyle bir adam seçerim ki yazar kişiliğim o adamı tedirgin etmez, o adam da bana karışmaz. Ama bu kadar özgür olabilir miyim bilemiyorum." Nazlı Eray

31."Erkek toplumunda ne kadar medeni ve okumuş olursa olsun, kültürlü erkek kadın haklarını diğer kadınlara tanıyor, kendi karısına tanımıyor. Zamparalık konusunda da olsa, bağımsız makale yazma konusunda da erkek bir baskı üretir ki nitekim Altan da bana, bunu yazma, bunu yazmaya gerek yok, ne gerek var ki, paraya mı ihtiyacımız var şeklinde istemiyor." Füsün Erbulak

32."Eş olmak; işte o dehşet verici bir şey.. Alelade olmanız isteniyor sizden. Susacaksınız, çalışmayacaksınız, konuşmayacaksınız, kıskanmayacaksınız, bazı isabetli tesbitler yapmaya çalışmayacaksınız, düşünmeyeceksiniz. Hesap sormayacaksınız, gerçeği kurcalamayacaksınız. Yani her şeyi kadın dergilerinin, şimdiye kadar çıkan kadın dergilerinin istediği düzeyde yürüteceksiniz.." Afet Ilgaz Muhteremoğlu

1.2.3. As a Mother

The last and may be the most important female role is motherhood for these women writers. 18 out of 19 woman writers have got at least one child. Average age of giving birth is 25.6. Mostly, it is observed that they gave birth in the first year of their marriage. Almost all of the writers mentioned that the decision about birth was a conscious decision. They really wanted to have a baby. They are also very conscious about their fertility. Most of them had several abortions for unexpected babies. After birth, when they lived in a dilemma between their career and their child, they preferred their child. Motherhood is the most meaningful stage in their life cycles.

"I was against having a baby since I thought it would prevent me from writing. But my husband promised to hire a nurse and he did. But after the birth I spent a lot of time with my baby and I became very unproductive in these years, until she began primary school. I love being a mother. Child is more important than everything. Now I have a grandchild." Peride Celal³³

"Indeed, I wanted Mehmet very much. In the first years of our marriage I had several abortions and they influenced me emotionally. We were too young, we had financial difficulties in looking after our baby. I wanted to be a mother, and this was a very natural feeling. Then we got it. But I did not take into account several dimensions of having a baby." Latife Tekin³⁴

³³"Ben yazı yazmamı engeller düşüncesiyle karşıydım. O da o zaman öyle bir yardımcı bulucam ki sen rahatlıkla çalışabileceksin dedi (kocasını) ve sözünü tuttu. Onun için Zeynep'e razı oldum. Ama bunun yanında ben çocuğu görünce öyle bir deliye döndüm ki, anne olarak öyle bir sevdaya kapıldım ki.. Bakın o yıllar çocuk ilkokula başlayıncaya kadar, o yıllar hakikaten çok verimsiz oldum... Ama hiç önemi yok, çocuk daha önemli. Torunum da var şimdi." Peride Celal

³⁴"Aslında Mehmet'i çok isteyerek doğurdum. Onun arkasında evliliğimin ilk yıllarında birkaç kürtaj var. Onun bana getirdiği duygusal birikimler var. Çok genç olmamız, ekonomik olarak çocuğa bakamamak gibi onun getirdiği, biriktirdiği duygusal tepkiler var. Çocuk istemek, merak etmek çok kadınca bir şey çocuk. Duygusal kararlar bunlar. Asıl çocukla hayatı nasıl götüreceğim? Çocuk bütünüyle kadının emeğini isteyen bir yaratıktır, bir çocuğun sorumluluğunu üstlenebilir miyim gibi hesaplaşmaları pek fazla yapmadım." Latife Tekin

"I did not have my baby conciously. But after the pregnancy, I decided to have it. And now, I am very happy. Motherhood completes woman. It brings new feelings." Pınar Kür³⁵

Where motherhood is appreciated on the one hand, the influences and impacts of motherhood upon writing business has been emphasized very positively on the other. They themselves have some connections in their minds between their creativity as a mother and as a writer. Both 'occupations' have been interpreted as creative.

"Being a mother probably influenced my writing. I learned many things from my children. To give birth is such a phenomenon that you can think of it as a miracle. You learn yourself, your body, your mind, your heart. It is a flattering role for me. I mean you shape a creature, and this is very nice." Zeynep Oral³⁶

They also emphasized that they have very good relations with their kids. The communication and emotional relations with the child is very much important for them. To be a good/modern/kind/communicable

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"Bilinçli olarak hamile kalmadım fakat hamile kaldıktan sonra, şimdi ben bunu aldırayım mı doğurayım mı? Doğurmaya karar verdim. Ve çok da memnunum yaptığıma..Annelik birtakım duyguları ekliyor kadına bence tamamlıyor. Annelik olayı çok önemli bir olay. Ben onun hastalandı, düştü,mamasıydı..falan onları zorluk olarak herkes gibi yaşadım tabii, asıl anneliğin getirdiği bir duygu genişlemesi var ki, kadın olarak bu çok önemli."Pınar Kür

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"Anne olmak yazarlığımı herhalde çok etkiledi. Çocuklarımdan çok şey öğrendim, onlar sayesinde çok şey duydum. Onlar mutlaka yazılarıma yansıdı. Doğurabilmek bir mucize falan gibi.İnsan hem kendisini tanıyor;bedenini, kafasını, yüreğini.Yani bir varlığı, elinizle yoğuruyorsunuz,ortaya getiriyorsunuz.Bütün bunlar insana çok şey veriyor.Ondan mutlaka çok alıyorsunuz. Yani annelik rolü çok 'flatter' eden bir rol." Zeynep Oral

mother is a norm.

"My son grew up-so suddenly. We are very good friends.3 Bilgesu Erenus³⁷

"They are more mature than expected. I tried to teach them what life is. They read a lot. I do not restrict their behavior but I put barriers to special things. I am a friend rather than a mother. What I would like to teach them is self-respect. Freedom means not to judge others and not to have fears. They have already found out many things about life." Nazlı Eray³⁸

"I don't accept a category as children. I accept all children including my child as my equals. I do not have special do's and don'ts for children. I tell them whatever I believe myself. And I think they can find their own ways. I can't think of anything like to behave to live and to write in regard to the child. What is true is the discussion of the supposed alternatives."Tomris Uyar³⁹

³⁷"Gerçekten birden büyüdü oğlum, yani resimlerini görmesem bu ne biçim şey diyecek haldeyim. Oğlumla (17) korkunç iyi bir dostluğumuz var. Benim sanki liseden bu yana bir arkadaşım varmış gibi hissediyorum yanımda. Ama küçüklüğünde de böyleydi." Bilgesu Erenus

³⁸"Yaşlarından çok olgunlar. Yani onlara yaşamı öğretmeye çalıştım, çok okuyan çocuklar. Olayları iyi özümseyebiliyorlar. Kısıtlamıyorum. Belirli şeylerde barikatlar koyuyorum. Bir anneden ziyade bir dost gibiyim. Yalnız şunu öğretmeye çalışıyorum onlara, kendi kendine saygı. Özgürlük temelde, korkmamak. Başkalarını yargılamamak. Birtakım şeyleri onlar bulmuşlar bile, gençlik çok ileri." Nazlı Eray

³⁹"Ben çocuk diye ayrı bir kategori olduğuna inanmıyorum. Kendi çocuğum dahil, bütün çocuklara eşit şekilde bakıyorum. Onlar da bana öyle bakıyorlar. Kendimin çocuklara aktarılacak özel doğruları ve yanlışları yok. Kendim neye inanıyorsam, hatalarımla sevaplarımla neye inanıyorsam onu gösteririm. Ve çocuk bunlardan kendince bir yol çizebilir diye düşünürüm. Çocuğa göre davranmak çocuğa göre yaşamak hatta çocuğa göre yazmak diye bir şey düşünemiyorum. Hele şimdiki gibi karmakarışıklıkla karşı kaşıya olan çocuklara benim verebileceğim bilginin hayat konusunda çok kıt ve kısır olabileceği kanısındayım. Doğru: var sayılabilecek şeylerin tartışması." Tomris Uyar

Briefly, women writers have been performing female roles in modified ways. On the one hand, they have been trying to minimize or marginalize the stress of these roles, on the other hand these roles as a part of their identities cover a very significant in their lives. The value of these roles are worthwhile to stress on because their writing business is very much influenced and shaped, with these roles. Women writers perceive these roles especially motherhood, not as a burden, but try to enjoy them as a richness in their lives.

1.3. Writing Space: Women's Domain ..Home Sweet Home..

Where are these women writers writing their books? Where do they feel comfortable and productive enough to work? Writing business by its nature does not require any more conditions but a piece of paper and a pen or a typewriter (generally they use typewriter). So considering these very limited pre-requisites, one can easily write in any milieu. But these women writers mentioned their homes as their writing -working places.

"I can not write during a trip, neither in another house. I had a study room in Ankara." Adalet Aġaoġlu⁴⁰

"I am writing here (at home). Why shall I write outside? There is no such necessity. I can write in our summerhouse in holidays". Afet Ilfaz⁴¹

⁴⁰"Ben yolculuklarda yazamam, bařka birinin evinde de yazamam. Bir ġalıřma odam vardı Ankara'da ve o odada ġalıřırdım." Adalet Aġaoġlu

⁴¹"Burda (evinde) yazıyorum, niye yazayım dıřarda? Byle bir zorunluluġum yok. yle bir gereksinme duymadım. Tatilde yazarım, kirayla tuttuġumuz yazlık evde." Afet Ilgaz

"Here (in the kitchen). On the kitchen table. I write in a place that is not crowded." Füsün Erbulak⁴²

"I had study room only once in my life. It was not a forbidden room to come and go. I write at home. I wrote about this in my journal and they were surprized very much. Mikman comes, postman rings, child cries, someone wants food the other asks ice and I write in this jungle. Since I was a child, I have written side by side with the radio or TV, at home. I take lots of notes on tissues. But I have never attempted to write outside home." Tomris Uyar⁴³

This fact may be interpreted as follows; home, the domestic domain is the only place where only women have control. It is the unique place where she rules and regulates when compared to the other places where it is possible to work, like library, cafe, hotel room, etc.. Home is the most secure and free place for women (E.Olson, 1982). Although our woman writers are not traditional but 'modern', 'western minded people', I think they are consciously aware of the fact that they have not such a secure place in public like home. This is not the reproduction of the tradition, but the avoidance of public critically.

⁴²"Burda (mutfakda).. mutfak masasının üzerinde, yani kalabalık olmayan yerlerde yazarım." Füsün Erbulak

⁴³"Bir kere hayatımda çalışma odam oldu, o da kapısı kilitli bir yer değildi, isteyen girip çıkabiliyordu. Ben herkesin, yani evin, içinde yazan bir insanım, hatta bunu bir günlüğümde de yazmıştım, çok şaşırmışlardı. Sütçü gelir, postacı gelir, çocuk bir şey ister, birinin bir düğmesi kopar, biri yemek ister, biri buz çıkarmamı ister; ben o kargaşa içinde yazarım. Çocukluktan beri, ister televizyon ister radyo çalışıyor olsun sürekli yazabilirim...tabi evin içinde. Dışarda bol bol not alırım peçetelere. Ama hiç bir zaman orda yazmak gibi bir çabam olmadı." Tomris Uyar

II. IDEOLOGICAL SHIFTS CONCERNING WOMEN'S ROLES IN TURKISH SOCIETY

In the preceding chapter, I tried to draw a composite biographical portrait of the women authors, attempting to recreate their life experiences as they related it themselves. In this chapter, I will try to present a broader, macro perspective by discussing the ideological shifts in women's roles in Turkish society. I will thus focus upon the ideological definitions of women's roles in the sense of everyday practices, codes, expectations etc. These ideological definitions and the shifts in them are undoubtedly related to the broader economic-social structural transformations of Turkish society in general. But my own emphasis will be upon the shifts in formal ideology concerning women's roles; the expectations and promises held out to them and the contradictions and dilemmas that emerge when these expectations fail to be realized.

In the discussion of ideologies defining women's roles, my major emphasis will be on power structures and relations between the sexes. More specifically, I will focus upon power domains and female space which are embodied in different ideological definitions of women's roles in Turkish society.

In the existing literature, power structures of gender relations have been discussed in the theoretical framework of the patriarchy concept. I will begin with a brief review of this concept and my own interpretation of it.

2.1. On the Concept of Patriarchy

The patriarchy approaches have been developed by authors such as Simone De Beauvoir, Viola Klein, Kate Millett, Shulamith Firestone and Zillah Eisenstein. Despite significant differences in perspective they make the following basic argument;

"Patriarchy is a structure of power that endorses male supremacy, society is organized around this patriarchal principle whereby women are subordinate to men. The family, the society and the economy and the polity are interrelated patriarchal units where 'the relationship between the sexes is one of dominance and subordination'. Within this system women are disadvantaged in regards to participating in politics.⁴⁴

But it is really very misleading to unify all the societies and all the times in one power structure model and label them as patriarchal. Rather what here I want to do is to discuss different modes of power structures in different periods of Turkish history. As Pirandello stated,

"You can't buy concepts in wholesale lots. You have to work them out for yourself, one to suit every occasion. And they have to be good ones or when fate takes you violently unawares, they'll blow up in your face."⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Arat, Y. "Women in Turkish Politics", Princeton University Dissertation, 1983 p.25.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p.11.

"Defined as 'structure of domination', patriarchy is a fixed power relation. This definition recognizes power more as a form of subjugation rather than as a creative ability or capability to do something. Accordingly, the power of the subjugated is underplayed while the power of the subjugator is emphasized, even though the "master" clearly needs "slave" (thereby becoming dependent on her) to exercise his power. The power of the "weak" is best recognized if power is defined as a shared and ongoing process. The patriarchal approach which points out why women do not have power in politics, does not consider alternative forms of feminine power."⁴⁶

Arat's criticism is very meaningful at least in the emergence of women writers in such a patriarchal society; Turkish society experiences this fact very clearly. There has to be an approach to cover these alternative forms of feminine power.

On the other side, it is also very clear that although any shift or change in political power structure influence both men and women, as Chodorow stated,

"Women are located first in the sex-gender system, men first in the organization of production."⁴⁷

So that any change that women experience in this primary aspect of their life influence their identity definitions very much. And where men live these challenges from a distance, women live it directly in their identity, because men build their self-definition first in public world in political/economic hierarchy whereas women's identities are constructed first in the private/domestic sphere.

⁴⁶Ibid, p.28.

⁴⁷Chodorow, N., The Reproduction of Mothering Psychoanalyses and the Sociology of Gender, Un. of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, 1978, p.178.

I here would like to picture patriarchal power structure in three different periods with respect to the formal ideology. What kind of shifts did the women live in these three periods in terms of power domains and female space. To illuminate the shifts that I have mentioned before I shall try to summarize these periods and 'everyday-life ideologies' from the standpoint of elite women. What is proposed for women, what is expected from them, and to what extent, in which forms women fulfilled these expectations will be my concern here.

There will be three historically successive and ideologically different periods; The Ottoman Background: Elite Women in Traditional Society; Kemalist Ideology: A Promised Paradise; The Shift in Ruling Elites and Ideologies: The Narrowing of Women's Space.

2.1.1. The Ottoman Background: Elite Women in Traditional Society

"Western Feminist Theory has often been castigated for its ethnocentrism but has rarely been subjected to explicit examination from the point of view of its relevance and applicability to non-Western contexts."⁴⁸

Considering the pre-Republican traditional society's power structure of male and female relations with such concepts as "duo-focal", "segregated", may provide us with a broader perspective to evade "Western Ethnocentrism" that Kandiyoti mentioned above, in defining the nature of patriarchy in Turkish society (E.Olson, 1982, Fallers and Fallers, 1979, Kandiyoti, 1979).

"In the majority of Turkish families, there is no single center of intra-familial relationships. Instead each adult tends to be the focus of his/her own rather separate social networks. Thus, there are two "foci"; the husband and the wife... as duo-focal."⁴⁹

⁴⁸Kandiyoti D., "Emancipated but Unliberated Reflections on the "Turkish Case", forthcoming in Feminist Studies p.1.

⁴⁹Olson, E., p.36.37.

In this duo-focal family structure, the domains of the spouses are segregated, in which there is no level of competition in the same domain rather they live -socially aparted- in their own milieus.

"One of the most conspicuous dimensions of separateness of male and female spheres is the spatial and territorial one. In Ottoman times the ideal was to keep women from having contact with men other than their fathers, brothers sons and husbands. This was actually accomplished among the elite by the use of several practices including veiling, shrouding of women in the public separation of women's and children's quarters/the harem/from the public part of the house where men would be entertained, the shuttering or latticing of those windows of hare which opened to street... reveal that elite women enjoyed many amenities in their lives because of their spacious harem apartments, gardens, tutors, curtailed coaches, summer houses, libraries etc..."⁵⁰

In this territorial separateness women live and behave rather independently relative to Western sisters. In this duo-focal family structure, the woman has her own domain, she has got the means of tradition to perform power according to her status. This status is not a static-given fact but rather is defined according to her age, marital status and fertility (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1981). Women are not in a very close contact with men and not defined firstly dependent on men. But within the domestic limits she has got a social life. There is another hierarchy among the women in women's community.

Despite the fact that she is only living in the private domain with the domestic tasks in veiled secluded and sometimes polygamous situations, she has got her own relations social contacts with the female kinmembers or female neighbors in an independent mode. This

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.42.

independency is called "relative autonomy" by Fallers and Papanek (Kandiyoti, 1977).

Although we have underlined the independence that the women enjoyed in traditional elite families it is necessary to note that this independence may be evaluated in two ways; first, although she is living apart from male society and away from public hierarchy, the nature of the relations is also hierarchical. Second, although they have their own network of relations with other females, it is the male that everything turns around in the last instance. Actually the hierarchy in these relations is also defined or organized by kinship relations which are basically patriarchal and patrilocal. So that women exercise patriarchy upon women in some levels.

But I want to emphasize that in this traditional Ottoman society, women have a relative autonomy as a peculiar aspect of the sex-gender system different from West.

This traditional life style of the segregated order was challenged by "Westernization" and "modernization" attempts. These attempts began in 1908 and embodied themselves in an entire form in Republican Reforms. With the decay of the Ottoman regime in the late 19th and early 20th century, there came a demand by reformists for the emancipation of women (Olson, 1982).

2.1.2. The Kemalist Ideology: A Promised Paradise

"The emancipation of Turkish women was achieved through a series of legal reforms following the war of national independency (1908-1923) and the establishment by M.Kemal Atatürk of a Secular Republic of the remain of the Ottoman state. The adoption of Turkish Civil Code in 1925, inspired by the Swiss Code outlawed polygamy, gave equal rights of divorce to both partners and rights of child custody to both parents. Women enfranchisement took place in two steps: they were first granted to vote at local elections in 1930 and at the national level in 1936. These

rights were not obtained through the activities of women's movements as in the case of Western women's struggle for suffrage but were granted by an enlightened governing elite committed to the goals of modernization and 'Westernization'."51

With all the rules and regulations that Kandiyoti summarized above, women were encouraged to participate in public life. They were invited to public sphere in the name of "modernization". The males encouraged, indeed forced them to participate and supported them in all spheres of life; this "quota" situation was very popular and prestigious in those times.

With the rise of One-Party Period (1923-50) a popular ideology which offered a "promised paradise" was fostered by the new state. Everybody worked for the development of the Republic. And the civil servants, prominent bureaucrats representing the state got the mission to enlighten the 'dark', 'primitive' Anatolia with Western images.

The Kemalist Reforms have directly favored the women of the Bureaucratic Elite, who established the new system on the macro level was also eager to apply it in the micro level; namely at home. The cultural and ideological side of this process embodied itself basically on fathers who are still the 'head' of the families. The daughters of these fathers, in the name of progress, maybe in the first time in Turkish history, became very important investment objects to actualize the 'Kemalist paradise'. There was a growing attempt to actualize this new way of life. The most important mediator of this ideology was formal education, especially the education in the Western secondary schools (Kolej). Formal education and new rituals of the new/modern life were completing each other.

51Kandiyoti, Ibid., 49 p.4.

The mothers who were born in the beginning of the century are also to some extent 'modern' wives of the ruling bureaucrats. Although they are not as educated as their daughters, they are aware of the value of "modernity" and value of their daughters. The traditional female roles which are related with domestic tasks have been forced to be devalued by these mothers. And these girls have been brought up like other males in the family (sons). The goal of their life is oriented towards public roles rather than towards domestic tasks which their mothers suffer from. Certainly, from this point of view the relative autonomy, the segregated spheres of lives have been degraded in comparison with Western style of life. But is that really so? (balloos, concerts, fashion exhibitions..).

Let me summarize this new ideology presented to women who have been largely domestic in the past century. What is happening to the power structure is a very significant question which can be seen in duo-focal/uni-focal, dependency/independency, patriarchy/Kemalist Reforms dilemmas.

In the family structure it is observed that (Serim Timur, 1979) traditional extended household structure is not as popular as anticipated but rather the common mode is the nuclear family structure where extended family relations are still not broken (A.Duben, 1984). In this nuclear family which is composed of mother, father and children there is a trend towards uni-focality. The power in the domestic domain is shared only by father and mother. The hidden power of the husband in the past relations now became an observable phenomenon. The relative independency of the women in the household is not the fact now. Reverse, she is under the two power structures very severely. On the one side she is subordinate to her husband directly at home, on the other side she still belongs to and is defined by the patriarchal

and patrilocal kinship relations. Both female hierarchy; 'kaynana' (mother in-law), 'görümce' (sister in-law), 'anne' (mother)... and also 'koca (husband). Now she suffers from 'traditional' and 'modern' forms of domination together. With Kemalism, we can easily talk about the tragedy of 'spaceless' women.

In this context the wives of the Kemalist bureaucrats encourage their daughters towards "modern" woman image who will be "bread-winner", who will not suffer from traditional expectations. Here it's worthwhile to note that the paradise proposed by Kemalism is promising career and prestige in public life. Interestingly enough there is not much about private life of the woman, who has defined herself in the private domain for centuries.

2.1.3. The Shift in Ruling Elites and Ideologies: The Narrowing of Women's Space

There are two very important developments which need to be elaborated in this period. The rise of the new bourgeois class in economy and in social life corresponded to a new life-style.

Domestication of women again is in the agenda. What I would like to underline for this period from the standpoint of elite women can be classified in two hypotheses.

First of all the 'promised paradise' is lost. The daughters of the bureaucratic elite were grown up for and participated in public life. But now women are not regarded as in the first years of Republic, "quata." The rules in the public life is very much patriarchal, not egalitarian. It is not as rational and modern as it was promised. Although there are still some patterns for their entry to public life, the expectations are not fulfilled in the social hierarchy. What happened to private sphere? What happened to the traditional female

roles that were they have been forced to ignored in the previous period? We shall return to this point later.

Up to now we have discussed the utopian nature of Kemalism. But historically there occurred a new social class and a new ideology of a new socio-economic order: capitalism. There are a competitive environment and political conflicts; women in this historical period are located in their homes. Re-Domestication of women are on the agenda now. Now, woman is fully dependent on man, not only in terms of economic ties but also in terms of emotional ties. Because the style of life they have chosen did not let for traditional linkages. They are modern western now.

Historically, women writers are from a falling class having official background. They suffered from being the children of a falling class in economical and prestigious sphere. Individually they are still suffering from economic and social fall of their strata. They are also suffering from the loss of the position that Kemalist ideology granted to them and the fall of 'promised paradise'.

In addition so to the periods of loss, they tried to create a new dimension in their life. Or they tried to investigate the everyday conflicts and positions rather than to believe in the promised future. They began to create tomorrow from today. What they did is, to re-evaluate the womanhood. They investigated the hidden dimensions and freedom of their life. So they began to return to their mothers in this re-evaluation process. These were the mothers who were degraded by their husbands and daughters and who also thought they deserved it. Also they began to re-evaluate the motherhood as a new creative dimension in their lives. And almost all of them gave birth. These traditional relations, mother-child relation and its importance/significance for them are not surprizing; this might be interpreted as a return to

"traditional" roles after a while with a new insight. After Kemalist or Leftist ideals, this is the most grounded dimension in their life where they can shape them in modified ways and enjoy it. It is not an ideal but a grounded reality.

Both the fall of Kemalist ideology and the rise of capitalist period with the rapid urbanization and the polarization of the masses gave way on the ideological level to the rise of new ideologies: Leftist movement and its ideology. Now there is a new 'promised paradise' for the new generations. It is not the formal ideology but rather the opposing ideology. Nilüfer Göle elaborates these ideological shifts and developments in detail. And she evaluates these ideologies within the 'modernization' attempts (1986). Nevertheless, the 'awareness' process of these woman writers live gave them chance to defend these ideologies with a strong 'muhalefet' (opposition) notion. Once they realized that these are the utopias which do not offer anything for everyday life but 'tomorrow', they became very critical of these Leftist paradigmas. Interestingly enough, although they mostly are in the Leftist tradition, they did not take fully responsible roles in political activities, rather they preferred to transfer their voice into another area, i.e fiction.

III. A SYMBOLIC CONFLICT AND ITS RESOLUTION: THE MOTHER-DAUGHTER
INTERACTION IN FICTION BY WOMEN

The basic problematic of this chapter is to illuminate the most common features and structures in the fiction of the women writers. In the previous chapter I tried to situate these woman writers in Turkish social history vis-a-vis the ideological shifts concerning women roles. Here my attempt is to investigate the basic characteristics of their books which were published in 1970-1985 period. In other words, the subject of this chapter is only the books of these writers.

These woman authors published more than a hundred of books in this period (see Appendix). Besides, a lot of them were published more than once.⁵² A lot of critiques were written about them and most of the books became very important and popular among the readers. In addition, some of them were published abroad especially the ones which are on migration problem.

In this part my point is not an attempt to classify these books according to their periods that they related (like '12 Mart Romanı' (March 12th Novels), '12 Eylül Romanı' (Sept. 12th Novels) etc.). Such kind of classification is not sufficient from my point of view, because I am interested in the overall trends in women's position in these periods vis-a-vis men and society and herself in the fiction.

⁵²Because of the lack of data, it is not possible to list the number of editions. The publishers tends to show the least number of edition to the writer in order to pay the least amount of money to her. That's why, it is too hard to figure out the number of editions as well as the number of the books on the market.

Also my effort is not to classify these books according to their themes such as done before like "Modernization Novel", "Köy Romanı" (Rural Literature), "Kent Romanı" (Urban Literature) etc.

Briefly, my point is not to make a picture of the fiction of this period but to look at these fictions in other dimensions that is with gender insight vis-a-vis social development. I shall evaluate these books from the point of women characters' dilemmas and their resolutions. The most common characteristics of the women will be described. This type of analysis is in between macro and micro level of understanding society and individual. I shall work on the individuals and their conflicts which give us the connotations or denotations of social dilemmas.

As I have stated before, there are more than a hundred of books at this period. But here I shall only take quotations and examples from the following novels. I think these novels are representative enough of the historical period when they were published and also they have a literary value. Also their authors are the ones who have published several books and are known as respectable names in literary world by the critics and the readers. These books are listed below;

Yarın Yarın	: Pınar Kür
Bir Düğün Gecesi	: Adalet Ağaoğlu
Bir Göçmen Kuştu O	: Ayla Kutlu
Gece Dersleri	: Latife Tekin
Alnında Mavi Kuşlar	: Aysel Özakin
Karanlığın Günü	: Leyla Erbil

3.1. Some Basic Characteristics of 1970-85 Period Fiction by Women

1. In this period the number of the published books by woman authors is 117, where only one third of them are written in novel form, the others are basically in short stories and only very few of them are plays and poems. This trend towards short stories can be evaluated as follows; The most modern fiction form of 20th century and the unique form of fiction which necessitates intense and detailed vision is short-story form. Besides woman is the one who deals with the tiny details of life naturally, can transform her insight into literature in such an episodic way; short stories. It is the woman who is full of disruptions with distorted concentration in daily life. This situation makes her possible to write short stories in a perfect way.

2. These fictions are basically written about urban cultural milieu. The short stories and novels are mostly the stories of the people who live in urban/metropolitan areas or provinces, towns. The space is basically an urbanized space, not rural.

3. The women characters of these fictions can be classified as follows;

Educated Urban Women Characters

Bir Göçmen Kuştu O	: Nevnihal, Leyla, Hüstra
Yarın Yarın	: Seyda, Melahat Hanım
Bir Düğün Gecesi	: Ayşen, Tezel, Alsel
Gece Dersleri	: Gülfidan, Sekreter Rüzgâr
Karanlığın Günü	: Anne, Azade, Bilge
Alnında Mavi Kuşlar	: Armağan

Traditional Housewives of the Elite/Bourgeois Men

Bir Göçmen Kuştu O	: Cevahir, Gülhayat
Yarın Yarın	: Aysel
Bir Düğün Gecesi	: Nuriye, Ayten, Gönül, Müjgan
Gece Dersleri	: Mother
Karanlığın Günü	: Grandmother
Alnında Mavi Kuşlar	: Armağan's mother

4. These fictions are basically built upon the dilemmas that these women's interaction produces. This interaction is generally put as mother-daughter relationship, which will be elaborated in the following novels;

Bir Göçmen Kuştu O	: Hüsra-Nevnihal, Leyla-Nevnihal
Yarın Yarın	: Melahat Hanım-Seyda
Bir Düğün Gecesi	: Müjgan Hanım-Ayşen
Karanlığın Günü	: Mother-Grandmother, Mother-Bilge
Alnında Mavi Kuşlar	: Mother-Armağan
Gece Dersleri	: Gülfidan-Anne, Sekreter Rüzgar-Anne

5. In these fictions these mother-daughter conflicts or questioning processes are held mainly by the daughters who are educated with the principles of Kemalist ideology and are now questioning all the system from their socialization to the social-political macro system. In other words the daughters are the basic characters in these fictions.

6. The sexuality of the women has been discussed in this literature in detail. It is the first time in Turkish literature female sexuality is taken as the natural part of women's life, has been written so outwardly. The issues varies from extra-marital affairs of women up to incest. Indeed there are several trials held against the

the books about their outwardly sexual parts such as Yarın Yarın (P.Kür), 60 Günlük Bir Şey (F.Erbulak), Burgu (F.Erbulak). Besides these juridical trials, most of the books had reputations because of their sexual content but mostly these reputations did not cause an artistic inferiority rather they were supported by the critics very sincerely.

7. Another significant dilemma in these fictions is the identity crises of the woman characters. They were mostly in between shifting value systems and re-evaluating themselves and the others in different ways. While the male characters did not live through such identity crises, the male characters were only forced to deal with the problems that the women in their lives caused. The woman is the trouble maker and the man is the one who suffers from it indirectly.

8. Mostly, the milieu of these books is the leftist milieu. In this leftist environment the characters are living through the dilemmas that this new ideology brought to their lives. The 'do'es and 'don't's are prone to question in these fictions. Mostly, the position in which the women are located by the 'leftist' brothers make them angry and rebellious. On the one side, the sincerity and affection of these brothers promise love affairs but on the other side the women suffer from this inferior interpretation of themselves. This crisis is between their identities and the ideology of this new movement.

9. Motherhood in these books is the most important and unquestionable sacred role and value in the characters' minds. Mostly at the end of the book, as a solution, motherhood is shown as the unique tie either with the children or with the mothers of the women characters.

10. The resolution of these stories is mostly the 'illumination', 'awareness' of the women characters. The women characters question all the social roles and individual conflicts that were forced upon them in the story. This awareness is promoted and valued by the authors themselves.

3.2. The Symbolic Significance of the Mother-Daughter Relationship

After a glance at the fiction of 1970-85 period, I think the most significant structural element is the focused attention on the mother-daughter relationships of the characters. First of all I shall try to elaborate the significance of mother-daughter relationship in general and in Turkish society in particular. Then in the second part, I shall bring these mothers and daughters into the discussion of the novels that I have chosen as the most crucial and representative examples.

In psychological theories, mother-child relation has been mentioned as the most intimate and significant relation. Nancy Chodorow in "The Reproduction of Mothering; Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender" emphasizes the significance of mothers' mothering. In this book she argues that mother in all societies is the first love object for the child and has a very important impact on her daughter and her son in different aspects.

"The relationship to the mother differs in systematic ways for boys and girls, beginning in the earliest period. The development of mothering in girls- and not in boys- result from differential object-relational experience, and the ways these are internalized and organized."⁵³

⁵³Chodorow, Nancy, The Reproduction of Mothering and the Sociology of Gender, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles California, 1978.p. 91.

"Girls' identification processes, they are more continuously embedded in and mediated by their ongoing relationship with their mother. They develop through and stress particularistic and affective relationship to others. A boy's identification processes are not likely to be so embedded in or mediated by a real affective relation to his father. At the same time, he tends to deny identification with and relationship to his mother and reject what he takes to be the feminine world; masculinity is defined as much negatively as positively."⁵⁴

This relational process between girl and mother results in a very deep and intimate tie which can only be broken with the girls becoming mother. Being both love object and identification object for the little girls makes mother very significant in her life and in her identity development, the roles and ambitions that she chooses or rejects.

"Finally, the girl herself has not received the same kind of love from her mother as a boy has. Mother experience daughters as one with themselves; their relationships to daughters are 'narcistic' while those with their sons are more 'analitic'".⁵⁵

This narcistic relation between mother and daughter that Chodorow stated, resulted in several problems in differentiating oneself from the mother and constructing the self as an independent person for daughters in Western societies. I want to study the mother-daughter relationship in Turkish society within the same analitical framework. What did Kemalism bring to the mothers and daughters; to their relations with each other and with the social order in general?

3.2.1. The Role of the Father in Kemalist Bureaucratic Family

Father, as the representative of the state as an official, also has got the same role in the family. This role can be summarized as the 'Kemalist authority' which is responsible for the modernization attempts and which pushes every member in the family, especially wife and daughter towards a new/modern life style which is basicly secular and rational.

⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 176.

⁵⁵ ... 105

3.2.2. The Role of the Mother in Kemalist Bureaucratic Family

Mother in Turkish family structure has got very important role to manipulate the power structure as the mediator (Kiray, 1976) between the father and the children. She is the mediator between tradition and modernity; she actualizes the husband's Western ideal in the household. She is the informal voice of the father; in relation to her children, in general. She makes the order by balancing the Western ideal and traditional morality and manners. Especially she has got the very significant role in the socialization and training of the children. Maybe in the first time in Turkish social history women brought up their daughters with the values of the new system whereas at the same time they lived in a degraded, despised position vis-a-vis their husbands. Because they were brought up in traditional norms they perceived themselves as 'backward' compared to ideal Western women. In these families, this nullification process; the nullification of the traditional female roles made mothers ignorant to these roles in bringing up their daughters, so that the daughters were brought up in a world where only public life/educational and occupational goals are valued and graded.

The empathetic relationship between mother and daughter suffered from this Kemalist rupture in the beginning. But nonetheless, the Kemalist ideology did not offer much about private life, rather public life. And these daughters faced with the lack of domestic skills on the one side and faced with the traditional demands of husbands on the other side. The daughters in this circle have to find out some resolutions to this dilemma.

One solution and most common way is to live a compartmentalized life. Feride Acar in "Turkish Women in Academia: Roles and Careers" (1985) argues that this dilemma is the case among professional women.

In her research which was carried out among the women academicians, she found that either "she is unable to tolerate failure in either role" or "perform these two sides of life: professional and domestic, public and private, in a divided compartmentalized way. The questioning of these roles and conflicts that arised generally was not the common case."

The mother's role in this respect needs to be pointed out very carefully. While in the beginning, the mothers performed the traditional roles with a degraded psychology and kept their daughters from these skills related to traditional roles which would inevitably become very significant in daughters' adult life, later on, they enjoyed the superiority due to their natural position vis-a-vis their daughters.

While these mothers enjoyed this 'superiority' for the first time in their life upon their daughters, the demands of the actual material life influenced the daughters. These processes embodied themselves in the re-evaluation and questioning of all the roles and authorities that they were obliged to. Once they started to question then all the forms of authority got its turn; traditional female roles, Kemalist female roles, leftist 'bacı' (sister) roles were subject to question.

In the books that we shall review and discuss below, this mother-daughter relationship with respect to these connotations and denotations will be shown in detail. Here I am focusing on the mother-daughter relationship as the key and beginning point in evaluating all the authority structures; and questioning and re-evaluating motherhood and their own mothers, brought an insight both to the writers and also to the characters. They began to create a new intimate relation with their mothers and also with their children. They emphasized

that the value of children may be understood in this context, where their relationship with their children is the most intimate and important tie.

This return to their past is an attempt to question not only their own individual history but also the social-historical background. The questioning between mother and daughter is to some extent a symbol of questioning all the authority forms and styles that shaped their identities. This symbolic significance also needs to be shown in the books in detail.

3.3.1. Bir Düğün Gecesi: Adalet Ağaoğlu, 1979

"Sedat Simavi Vakfı Ödülü"(Sedat Simavi Prize)

"Madaralı Roman Ödülü" (Madaralı Novel Prize)

"Orhan Kemal Roman Ödülü" (Orhan Kemal Novel Prize)

This novel is the story of a wedding of Ayşen and Ercan in Anadolu Kulübü, whose fathers are from the same social milieu and have got good relations with each other (businessmen and general). Although this marriage is not an arranged marriage in the traditional sense, Ayşen and Ercan are seen as a suitable couple in their parents' eye Ercan is very much willing to "get" Ayşen. But Ayşen is living in a dilemma in her identity and there is a fight in her mind. Ayşen is a University student of social sciences in Ankara and Ercan is a graduate of Administration of an American University.

In this urban, educated, bourgeois wedding, Ayşen and Ömer are feeling the conflict (Ömer is the husband of Ayşen's (aunt) teyze: (aunt's husband) enişte of 'forbidden love' in a very deep sense. A few days before the wedding, Ayşen talked to Ömer and she stated that she loves him not only as a brother but more. But

he did not respond her. However, his responselessness carried her to this wedding as a very 'nice' bride.

In 'Bir Düğün Gecesi' there are lots of questioning processes in the characters' minds. But here what is relevant from the point of our discussion is to work on Ayşen's dilemmas with all the facts in her life; her parents; Müjgan and İlhan Dereli, friends; Yıldız, Tuncer; ... her aunt (teyzes) Aysel and Tezel. .. In these questioning processes, the dilemmas about the value systems' led Ayşen to marry Ercan.

She rushed towards the open window. She could be quiet until she closes the windows. You see, she shouted as soon as she closed... She fell on to an armchair. She began to cry, İlhan, come on, come and see what your daughter did to her mother. Listen to her. Bad daughter. Your father will return and I promise to tell everything to him. I will ask him to take you and do whatever he wants. They had done whatever they can against me. What else they can do... Oh my God, is this my own daughter? You were so nice when you were at the 'KOLEJ'. How nice we were. God damn this faculty... I really wondered about her.. I was about to bring water and Diazem, indeed about to cry calling "Oh Mam". But then I realized that she had been looking at her broken nail. Everything, indeed her death was not significant at this moment, she was looking at her broken polished nail. p.240⁵⁶

⁵⁶"Dantel sabahlığının eteklerini uçuşturarak açık pencereye koştı. İlk işi camları kapamak oldu. Camları kapayana dek susabilmişti, biliyor musunuz? Kapar kapamaz haykırdı; "sus kız, sus kahrolasınca. Nedir bu senden çektiğimiz?" "Fakülte'nin önüne bir daha gelirsen vururum anlaşıldı mı?" "Nasıl söyledim bilmiyorum ama aynen böyle söyledim Ömer Abi" Kendini bir koltuğun üstüne attı. Küçük küçük hıçkırıkları başladı. İlhan yetiş gör şu kızın bana yaptıklarını Bana dediklerini bir duy. Nankör evlat... baban seyahatten dönsün, vallaha billaha söyleyeceğim, kızın beni öldürmeyi düşünüyor diyeceğim. Al bunu başımdan ne yaparsan yap diyeceğim. Gülmüştüm, öyle ya bana yapacaklarını yapmışlar,daha ne yapabilirler." p.279

"Şimdi size anlatırken şey oluyorum... utanıyorum Ömer Abi. Delirmiştim böyle dedim. Sonra da onu dinledim. İşte: Ölüyorum. Galiba bu sefer temelli gidiyorum. Su... ilaç... Allahım, allahım öz kızım mı bu benim? Kolejdeyken sen ne iyiydin. Ne iyiydik. Girmez olaydın bu Fakülteye, bu bozguncu yuvasına. Azıta azıta şu halimize bak... su... bir ilaç... bir bir ve durdum Ömer Abi, ben de korktum biliyor musunuz? Su getirecektim. Diazeminden getirecektim. Neredeyse "Anneciğim, anneciğim" diyecektim... ANNemin sanıyorum camı kaparken kırılan tırnağına bakmakta olduğunu görüverdim. Her şey, ölmesi bile çoktan önemini yitirmiş, inanmayacaksınız ama kırılan uzun cilalı tırnağına bakıyordu. Geber" p. 240

"Müjgan Dereli içerde,kırılan tırnağına baka baka inliyor. Ne tuhaf, koşup boynuna sarılıp 'anne' demek istedim. Kendimden en çok o zaman utandım. p. 271 "Böyle bölüm pörçük utanıp durmaktansa bir kez utanırsın olur biter Ayşen. Ercan'la evlenirsin, olur biter." p.272

This evening conversation is repeated in the novel several times. And this conversation is picturing the mother-daughter relation as well. Ayşen is hating from their life style as bourgeois. But still she is trying to find some resolutions in it. Müjgan as traditional and demanding mother has waited for her accomplishment of western education in the 'kolej', but now she wants her to marry a respectable family son and then to settle. Although there are several types of life styles and possibilities; she suffers from being excluded from each of them to some extent. There is a 'leftist' style of life which in the beginning she would like to attempt but they want her as a tool and do not really want her to become a member of their community; indeed it is the time where in the social context 12th March coup occurred and the movement itself was in dissolution.

A place to go, a kind person. I went to the Faculty. Some of my friends were still in the jail. Nobody knows where the others are. When I attempted to talk with them, they treat me as a spy. Lastly, Uğur also quited his letters. In the last letter, "saying" go your way, let us go our way". What does he mean? He believed in me once, but now.. p.242
"Can you ask money from your father, Ayşen? The group needs "something". Is that a kind of revenge on my father? Or does that mean you are only necessary for your father for us? Which one?
p.249⁵⁷

⁵⁷"Gidecek bir yer, yakın biri, Fakülteye uğradım. Arkadaşlarımla kimi daha içerde. Kiminin nerde olduğu belli değil. Dışardakiler, yanlarına yaklaştım mı bir hain bir casus girmiş gibi aralarına, benden uzaklaşıyorlar. Uğur da mektuplarını kesti. Son mektubunda "hadi kızım hadi, bizim işimiz bize, senin işin sana" diye yazıyordu. Ne demek istiyor. Uğur bana inanırdı. Beni anlardı. Şimdi o da... p.242
"Babandan para isteyebilir misin Ayşen? Çocuklara bazı ihtiyaçlar alınacak" Bu babandan bir çeşit öğ alma mı olacak, yoksa "sen ancak babanın parası nedeniyle sıkışık zamanlarımızda işe yararsın" anlamına mı gelecek? Hangisi?" p.249.

Is there anybody who love one another in this city?
It is O.K. if he does not scream as "No more Faschism".
Well no, it is the time to scream it. I screamed
but nobody arrested me. p.253... Darkness, darkness...
I won't go home. I won't commit suicide. I don't
want them to laugh after my death. I am not afraid
of death but their teasing. Only my mother will
suffer, I know. p.255⁵⁷

In the most depressed conditions, when she loses her interest in life, her confidence, her belief in her friends, her ideals, she does not lose her love for her mother, indeed recognizes her as an intimate and affective person regardless of her personality, her values, her intentions, her ambition, her interest-oriented nature.

"Bir Düşün Gecesi" contains the other mother-daughter relations between Tezel/Fitnat Hanım, Aysel/Fitnat Hanım. But Ayşen is the most important character in our novel so I focused on her. Ayşen's resolution in the novel can be interpreted as follows: She lived an identity crisis; both her 'forbidden love' to enişte (aunt's husband) and also her attempts to sacrifice herself for an ideal did not work in the novel. so her marriage may be interpreted as a return to her mother and traditional roles. But of course she is in a situation where may be labelled as conscious. Now she is conscious about her decision very well. And the most strong tie with reality is her awareness about her situation even though she chose the marriage.

57 "Birbirini seven var mı acaba bu kentte? "Kahrolsun Faşizm" diye bağırmasa da. Sözümü geri aldım. En çok şimdi böyle bağırarak gerek. Bağırardım. Kimse tutuklamadı beni...." p.253.

"Karanlık. İyice karanlık şimdi. Eve gitmeyeceğim. İntihar etmeyeceğim. Arkamdan gülmelerini istemiyorum. Ölmekten değil en çok arkadaşlarımın arkamdan gülmelerinden korkuyorum. Ağlayan yine annem olacak bunu istemiyorum." p.255

3.2.2. Yarın Yarın: Pınar Kür, 1976

"Yarın Yarın" is the story of Seyda who is married with Oktay. In the fifth year of their marriage she began to question her marriage and her relations. This questioning process mainly began with her acquaintance with Selim who had been educated in France and now was in an illegal leftist movement in Turkey. Selim was the son of a friend of Oktay's. This forbidden love led Seyda to question all spheres of her life. From her education to her marriage, from her son to her friends she began to reevaluate all the relations she has got involved in.

Seyda was the only daughter of Melahat Hanım and Mehmet Bey who were teachers in the first years of Republic and brought up their daughters with Kemalist ideals. She was the most intelligent, rational girl among her friends. She was educated in Robert College. Then she attended Atomic Engineering School in Istanbul in 60's. But only one failure in the math. exam led her to decide to marry Oktay who was her boyfriend at the moment.

The fault is not falling in love with Oktay, the fault is not to differentiate love and sex... Oh Melahat Hanım, Mehmet Bey, what a good education you gave me, but how you forgot my sexual education? Who passed? Who did not think of the sexual instincts of an intelligent girl? The first time in my life, when 18, when Faruk kissed me, when classmates tried it many times. First kiss and 18 years, Funny. It is always really funny in history. No the fault is not falling in love with Oktay, rather not to love him. Only dreaming him led me to fail in math exam. All of them. I wis I had loved him but the reality is the hate of him when I went to learn the result of math exam. p.108⁵⁸

⁵⁸"Kötü olan Oktay'ı sevmiş olmak değil sevgiyle cinsel isteği ayırt edememek... Ah Melahat Hanım, Mehmet Bey ne büyük bir özenle yetiştirdiniz beni, ama bu arada, nasıl olduysa oldu, cinsel eğitim unutuldu değil mi? Kim atladı orda? Deha üstü kızın da cinsel istekleri olabileceğini kim düşünmedi? Ben, ilk kez on sekiz yaşında Faruk'la öpüştüğüm zaman sınıf arkadaşlarımdan her biri kaçır erkeği deneyden geçirmişlerdi, dersiniz? İlk öpücük ve onsekiz yaş. Gülünç. Hangi çağda olursa olsun gülünç. Suç Oktay'ı sevmek değil. Sevmemek. Şu duyduğum istekten, sabırsızlıktan, açlıktan öte, daha büyük ne olabilir diyecek kadar bilgisiz olmak. Sırf aklım Oktay'da olduğu için matematik sınavını başaramadım diye, Oktay'ı matematikten önemli sayacak kadar şaşkın olmak. Suç bu işte, bu, bu. Bunların hepsi... Keşke sevmiş olsaydım Oktay'ı. Hiç değilse... Ama sınav sonucunu aldığım gün delice nefret etmişim ondan." p.108

These broken expectations about educational success made her give up and marry Oktay and become a housewife. This return from Kemalist career-oriented woman image towards traditional housewife and mother role did not satisfy her in the sense that it did not provide her with a wholistic meaning system. Because she was brought up with the 'rational' mind.

She realized, what was important for her mother is not to break the vase but to break it in an meaningless way. They stared at each other for a while. The mother's cold and unaffectionate face, expecting reason from the little girl, expecting a reasonable lie from her. She was afraid of being unable to find such a lie at the moment. She wanted her to beat her... then the mother asked once again "There must be a reason, you know, why did you do it? Why?" p.95⁵⁹

Within these conflicts Seyda married Oktay and then realized, with Selim's coming, that she is still looking for another way of life.

59 "Anlamıştı çünkü, anasının gözünde vazunun kırılmasından daha çok bunun anlamsızca yapılmış olabileceği önemliydi, korkunçtu. Bir süre sessizce bakiştılar. Annesinin soğuk, soluk; coşkunsuz, minicik bir kızdaki mantık bekleyen, akıllıca bir yalan bekleyen yüzü... Ve bu akıllıca yalanı becerememe korkusu. Anne bağırır, çağırır, tartaklasa onu; dövse karanlık bir banyoya kapasa... Bütün bu ceza biçimlerinden haberi yoktu küçük Seyda'nın ama olsaydı, kimbilir ne büyük bir hevesle isterdi yaptığı kötülüğün bedelini en ağır biçimde ödeyip suçluluktan kurtulmayı. ... "söyle bakalım" diye yinelemişti annesi "neden!" Bir nedeni olmalı değil mi? Bilirsin her şeyin bir nedeni vardır." p.95

In the beginning Selim's love brought her a new confidence and hope towards 'tomorrow'. She helped her leftist lover in his activities. Now the role that she chose was the 'supportive spouse' role. She was ready to devote her life to him and to his revolutionary activities. But the leftist milieu did not admit such a bourgeois lady into their groups.

During this affair, she translated lots of Marxist classics to Turkish in another name. Selim escaped from their love and from the movement (because he realized that there was a 'police' in their group), then he was shot by the police. Seyda again fell in 'meaninglessness' after his death. After an important breakdown, she returned to everyday life for her child; Gil.

In *Yarın Yarın*; the most significant mother-daughter relationship is Seyda and Melahat Hanım's relationship. When Seyda began to question her own education and training and mother's role in the beginning, this questioning process led her to question herself being Oktay's wife, Selim's lover, Gil's mother.

The last stop in this novel, again, from the Seyda's point of view is her illumination about her situation and motherhood. She only manages all the problems in her life with her consciousness, with an analytical mind to understand life and the others. This position is somehow a superior position which gives chance to observe life and enjoy being one of the 'players' on the stage.

3.3.3. *Bir Göçmen Kuştu O*: Ayla Kutlu, 1985

"Madaralı Roman Ödülü" (Madaralı Novel Prize)

"*Bir Göçmen Kuştu O*" is the novel of three generations of women characters in a family. The first generation is Cevahir and Batu who had lived in Kafkasya in tribal settings. The great love between Cevahir and Batu were broken by the war. And Cevahir, the mother of

Emir Bey, came to Anatolia-Urfa, gave birth from a rape in the war, and lived as a servant and brought up her son and daughter. Emir Bey, who is the most important male character in the novel is the husband of Gülhayat and Nevnihal.

Emir Bey met Nevnihal in the wartime -War of Independence- in Istanbul. He married her and lived in the same house of Yahya Efendi and Yeşil Hanım as 'iç güveysi'.⁶⁰ After the War of Independence he brought his wife to Ankara where he was a member of "Meclis-i Mebusan" (parliament). After some political conflicts with the center of the Republican Parliament, he resigned and wanted to return to Urfa where part of the family lived. They were his first wife Gülhayat Hanım and his three children (Mahmut, Batu, Hüsrâ). Gülhayat's and Emir Bey's marriage was an arranged marriage and broken. But when they returned to Urfa, to 'family land', Nevnihal Hanım let Gülhayat to stay with them but after a while treated her very badly. In the morning of Leyla's birth (from Nevnihal) Gülhayat left the household to Nevnihal. The children stayed in the household with 'Nevnihal Abla' for years. Leyla is the narrator of the novel; and in an attempt to discuss with her mother both as her mother and as a woman. This book-long conversation is the product of Eastern tenderness in woman and in mother. 38-years-old Leyla is questioning her mother and the other mothers' position in Emir Bey family in a tender way. Finding herself in a Western town (Bergen-Oslo/Norway), she is turning her eyes to the past of her family.

⁶⁰ man who lives with his wife's parents.

In this novel the most significant mother-daughter relationship is Nevnihal's and Leyla's intimate relation of the women in the book. She is in a position where she can understand the intimate tie between Gülhayat and Nevnihal. It is a return to her own culture/traditional household and womanhood, not in a critical and rude position but with a human insight.

3.3.4. Alnında Mavi Kuşlar: Aysel Özakın, 1978

Alnında Mavi Kuşlar is the story of Armağan who is the staff of the state library in "taşra". She wanted to come to Istanbul and Bâb-ı âli and be a poet to earn her life very much. And she did. The novel begins with her arrival to Istanbul and her visits to Cağaloğlu as an unknown poet (she published several poems in the magazines before). When she came to Istanbul, she was at her thirties. In the small town, she lived with her family and her brother. After the secondary school they did not let her go to University and obliged her to get engaged with one of her brother's friends. After her insistence on her working outside home, the family arranged a job at the library. It was the most suitable place for her. After a while she had an love affair as the first time in her life, on her own. It was concluded with a scandal, because the guy was married and did not want to get divorced because of financial problems. Then she resigned and came to Istanbul. One of her brothers, Tahir, was living in Istanbul. He was married with Sevim, and involved in a very severe political activity as a 'unionist'. They only could survive with their salaries. And they had more important problems than Armağan's identity crisis and her search for a milieu for herself as a poet.

The mother was very tired of the life that she suffered. Ömer was married. Her brother Tahir was finishing secondary school and had to go to the big city. The men have to go to far a way to gain their masculinity, the women have to stay at home to gain their femininity.p.51⁶¹

The symbolic meaning of 'big city Istanbul' is very important, she wants to find a lot of new and meaningful ties and her freedom. There she formulates these feelings in the following paragraph;

Armağan's dream, to be a student of University in the big city not occur. She believed that her life will begin from then on. She would enjoy love affairs and male-female relationships, she would be away from her mother's old feelings. She would cut her ties with the tradition and be a new tree with other young trees. p.50⁶²

But she faced with a lot of emotional and financial difficulties here. She met Sinan who was at his forties and working for an advertising agency and an 'old' leftist, and a father. In this dilemmas and diversities, she insisted on living in Istanbul. It is the novel of Armağan who is basically searching for a new millieu; she is stranger to all milieus she is stranger to and critical of her parents, traditional life style. She almost hates of this style. She is stranger to Tahir's rigid leftist milieu, stranger to Ömer's middle

61"Annesi yaşadığı sıkıntı ve korku dolu hayatından çok yorulmuştu artık. Ömer evlenmişti. Kardeşi Tahir de liseyi bitirecekti ve büyük şehre onun gitmesi gerekiyordu. Erkekler erkekliklerini kazanabilmek için uzaklara gidebilmeliydiler. Oysa kızlar kadınlıklarını kazanabilmek için eve bağlanmalıydılar." p.51

62"Armağan'ın büyük şehirde üniversiteli bir kız olma özlemi gerçekleşmedi. Oysa hayatının orda başlayacağına inanıyordu. Orada kız-erkek arkadaşlığının duygularını korkmadan tanıyabilecek, annesinin yıkılmış, çökmüş duygularından uzak kalabilecekti. Geleneklerin eski köhne ağacından kopacak ve yeni bir ağaç gibi kendi başına yeşerebilecekti. Öteki genç ağaçlar arasında." p.50

class settled life, stranger to Sinan's intellectual bourgeois style.

The novel begins and ends in Taksim square, after the bloody 1st May. This catastrophic sight makes Armağan to re-evaluate her own life. She remembers her family, her brothers, her lover. But finally she decides to call Sinan as a return.

The most significant mother-daughter relation in this novel is Armağan-her mother relation. She is very traditional and conservative woman who wants her daughter to marry and stay in 'taşra' (the province). But in this rupture there occurs a new tie between Armağan and the mother.

Armağan looked through the window elightly. A few minutes before the departure the mother with tiny fingers called her and gave her "sürmedenlik-small bow in which kohl is found kept". Perhaps after long years it is the first time that their eyes each other. They were as if asking each other 'try to understand me'.⁶³

3.3.5. Karanlığın Günü: Leyla Erbil, 1985

Karanlığın Günü develops in mainly three axes in structure. First is the story of a night lived in the house of a friend of the narrator. The friends are the artists, intellectuals, journalists and poets... They are talking, discussing about Turkey and political matters. They are from the 'old' leftist milieu.

⁶³"Armağan gözlerini hafifçe cama doğru çevirdi. Otobüsün kalkmasından birkaç dakika önce zayıf çekingen parmaklarıyla camı tıklatmıştı annesi. Bir şey tutuyordu parmaklarının arasında. Son anda onu kızına vermek istiyordu. Ayğa kalkıp camı açmıştı Armağan. Annesinin sürmedenliğiydi bu. O anda bakışları yıllardır belki ilk olarak bir çizgide buluştu. Birbirlerine: "Anla beni" der gibiydiler."

The other axis is the relationship between mother and the narrator. The on-going visits to hospital are made. The mother of the narrator, the grandmother of Bilge is mentally ill now. And these parts are composed of her schizophrenic callings. She is talking and talking about her past years...

The third part can be interpreted as the most symbolic part of the novel; the actor of this part is the birds in the hole of the apartment (apartman boşluğu). They are singing, flying, humping to the walls of the apartment and sometimes dying.

There are several dimensions in *Karanlığın Günü*, but from our point of view there are two very important points that needs to be elaborated; first is the significant mother-daughter relations, both the mother and the narrator and also the narrator as a mother. In this first relation there is an ongoing questioning process of the past tradition in the memory of the grandmother. The second relation, narrator as a mother, is the questioning process of the narrator herself on several grounds of life; ideology, family, love, sexuality etc.....

The last important point is 'leftist milieu'. She/the narrator is telling the night's story in a very critical way (indeed, after the first edition there occurred a rumour on this book as it is the picturing of critique of the actual intellectuals...). The personal relations of these intellectuals are told in a very detailed and analytical way.

3.3.6. Gece Dersleri: Latife Tekin, 1986

(Here she uses a very poetic language so that I shall here summarize her words). She (Gülfidan) is telling her impressions about her 'revolutionary experience'. She is telling the relationship between the masses and

herself. She is 19.⁶⁴

Gece Dersleri is the story of Gülfidan who is telling her past 10 years in a leftist political movement in "Sekreter Rüzgâr" code name. She is from the shanty town. This novel is written in a poetic and schizophrenic language. It is really very difficult to follow up her linkages and understand her style.

It is the story of 10 years of a girl in a political movement and her conflicts with the movement and with her family; mother and sister. The story is developing in these basic three axes.

Sister and Gülfidan: The relations between Gülfidan and her sister Mukoşka are told by Sekreter Rüzgâr. Mukoşka is working as a secretary in an office and is not related with political activities like Gülfidan. In the inner conversations of Gülfidan it seems that there are some lesbian callings. But I have to state that such lesbian and incest relations are not seen very easily in the fiction written by women authors.

Mother and Gülfidan: The mother in her mind is an image of grounded reality and beauty with love and affection.

⁶⁴"Parkamın cebinde devletle devrim, gözlerimde alve gibi iki bebek, en son çıkan ideolojik marşları söylemeye gidiyordum. Bir yılını daha başımdan aşağıya devirmiş olaraktan hayatımın. burjuvazi domuz. Yaşım da zaten ondokuz. Saçım başım ıslak. Kırılmaz kemikten taraklarla tarıyordum sabah ve akşam, kabarmış bir yün yumağı gibi yumuşuyordu kalbim aşktan. Halkımız için inim inim inliyordum. Kendimi usulca güneşe tuttum, kirpiklerimi süzüp baktım, kırık bir cama benziyordum. Dağıldı parmaklarım havaya, kısa bir müddet bayrak direkleri gibi çakılı kaldı kollarım omuzlarımda kısa bir müddetten sonraysa yollarına düştü cehennem cam." p.79

Again Gülfidan is telling her mother. Her impressions about her mother. Her beauty and her disinterested attitudes towards her daughters have been told in a very deep/sensitive poetic way. Her mother's hate of father, her hate of husband also mentioned.⁶⁵

Movement and Gülfidan: As an activist of the movement after 10 years she finds herself distorted and broken. The fear of police, the authority of the political elite, the 'do's and 'do't's of the political movement led her into identity crisis.

Gülfidan is in illusion. She can't remember even her name and feel forced to sleep, in an unconscious way.⁶⁶

Gece Dersleri is also a very deep rooted questioning process of the political women. She is not only angry at the people personally but also questioning such a process objectively. She is looking at her diverse reflections in the mirror. As Gülfidan for her sister Mukoşka and her mother, as Sekreter Rüzgâr in the political movement; these two 'roles' are mostly in conflict. But as a resolution Gülfidan is telling the story. Gülfidan's face is seen as the most real face when compared to Sekreter Rüzgâr.

⁶⁵"Annem, kar kuyularından dipsiz uçurumlardan açılan düşsel mekanlarda yaşadı. Zamansız ve sonsuz bir kadının gurur yüklü uçarılığıyla... Annemin gözlerimin almadığı dünyalara savrulan saçlarından, büyücü rüzgârlarını tutan eteklerinden bağırarak kadar korktum. Ne var ki onun yeşil atları ve yeşil vakitli geceleri, benim gerçekliğime ilgisiz kaldı ve sınırları belirsiz bir gökyüzü, ağır bir rüya gibi üstüme kapandı. Kader tüm ahlak ölçülerini zorladı, annemin babama ve gerçek dünyaya duyduğu öfke yüzünden beni kurban seçti." p.65

⁶⁶"adımı ve kim olduğumu aklıma getirmekte güçlük çekmekteyim ve deliksiz bir uykuya zorlanmaktayım." p.17

Besides, there are loves, hates, sexuality and lesbian orientations in her dreams.

3.4. Recurring Dilemmas in Fiction

There are some very significant recurring dilemmas in the fiction of 1970-85 by woman authors. These can be listed as follows;

The Leftist Milieu and Critical Position of Women Characters:

In all these novels that we have examined, there is a leftist milieu which is rigid and orthodox in the sense of living style. The questioning processes are not the questioning of the future ideal but everyday life problems. The women characters are suffering from the 'delayed good days'. They are not discussing the 'political' problems related to strategy and theory but rather the everyday life problems.

The Old Kemalist Parents and Young Women Characters: Another most common feature is the dilemma between the generations. Women characters are mostly in conflict or once lived such a conflict with their Kemalist parents' ideals. Now, women are also critical of the 'Kemalist ideals'. Once faced with the utopian nature of Kemalism, then they investigate the grounded reality of their own life.

The Young Women Characters and the Young Men in the Fiction:

Women are questioning every tiny relationship in their life, and marriage or love affairs are also prone to question. Mostly these women characters want to be independent and free in a relationship where male characters are 'patriarchal'. There is a communication gap between the couples. Mostly women lives such a crisis and leads man to suffer from it, although he does not understand her well.

The People are Coming from the Urban-Middle Class and from

Shanty Towns: Mostly it is easily observable the cultural conflicts in the fiction. The bourgeois culture and rural/taşra culture are mostly embedded in the love-affairs. And one of the most important dilemma in these affairs. And one of the most important dilemma in these affairs is this cultural background difference.

In Political Oppression Periods: These fictions are mostly

the stories of political and military oppression periods. The atmosphere of the coups is seen very clearly and dramatically. Remembering the characters who are from the leftist movements, it is not difficult to imagine the drastic mood of the stories.

Discussion and Conclusions

This is a study of women authors, novelists and short story writers who have burst upon the Turkish Literary scene in the decade of 1970's. That remarkable fact has been studied in two different but related axes. First, the biographical background of the women writers were examined. That composite portrait of the women writers made it possible to situate the women writers in the Turkish Social History. Within this Social History the socio-psychological dynamics which might give rise to their creativity were investigated. The ideals, expectations and actual empirical experiences of these women writers has been reviewed as a mother, as a wife and as a housewife. The main point in first chapter is to locate the women writers within Turkish Social history and to treat them as a social strata not as an individual unit. This strata was found as the Kemalist Bureucratic Elite. Women writers are mostly coming from Kemalist Bureucratic Elite families where the father was mostly the state official, the mother was a housewife who accompanied to her husband properly.

Second chapter is a kind of theoreticall linkage in between first and third chapters. In the first and third chapters, the empirical facts have been summarized about women writers and their books. But the second, intermediary chapter was devoted to the theoreticall inquiry upon which the ideological shifts concerning women's roles in Turkish society. The main issue that shaped our discussion was patriarchy; we reviewed the Elite Women in the Traditional Ottoman Society and the Bureucratic Elite Women in the Kemalist Period from the point of patriarchy. How patriarchy operated in these two different and somehow contradictory ideologies, the forms and the limits were the points of discussion. And we found that, in time

where the Muslim and Western traditions overlapped. The space of women narrowed down. Women in the 1970's became spaceless. This spacelessness procedure gave her self motivation towards creative writing. That theoretical statement found its substance in the evidence of 41 w.w.s, more than a hundred of books. Fiction is the area for that spaceless women to live in, to breath in. It is a kind of new dimension in order to survive with all of these dilemmas. In this respect, this is not only an artistic inquiry but also an identity search. New intellectual, modern women in 70's neither belong to the traditional life nor Kemalist modernity. She is aware enough to understand none of the ideologies could offer emancipation to her in everyday life. Also, the leftist revolutionary ideologies with which they experimented to certain extent do not offer anything better for today.

These two chapters basically attempted to portrait the historical-social reality within which women writers of 70'ies can be situated. The third chapter as a second axes of our research concentrated on the books. The products of these women writers. After the brief review of some basic characteristics of these books we examined 6 novels as representative of the literature. But the most significant relationship has been underlined in this chapter is the mother-daughter relationship.

Within this bureaucratic elite family structure; the mother-daughter relationship is very close, problematic and dynamic. This relationship is almost the most durable and on-going relationship comparing to others; lover, father, sister...etc. Mostly the mother is a representative of tradition whereas father is a representative of 'modernity', 'western life style'. The daughter is a modern/western girl who questions both modernity and tradition.

In the beginning she degrades the tradition embodied in the mother, who also degrades herself with western measures. But later on the daughter when she faces the empirical reality, understands the mother and loves her again.

They meet once again as equal adults in the resolution of the novels. But this does not mean that they return to the traditional life socially, rather they to a certain extent get free from the ideologies which limit themselves. Emancipation is the point of resolution. In this respect they understand and learn how to tolerate and how to love their mothers.

Consequently, although there are some factual communalities between the episodes in these novels and the women writers own lives. But our concern is not with the extent to which they are writing about their own experiences. What is relevant for us is to see the kinds of dilemmas they pose and the solutions they offer. And what I suggest in this work is to read both the biographies of these women writers and their books side by side not with a comparative eye rather as a complementary. Reading both the biographies and the books side by side do promise some answers for women writers existence in the 70ies Turkish Literature.

Number of books



TABLE I in graphics

Books Published in Years

TABLE I Books Published in Years

1960	-
1961	Hallaç (Leyla Erbil) Korsan Çıkmazı (Nezihe Meriç)
1962	Tutkulu Perçem (Sevgi Soysal)
1963	-
1964	Evcilik Oyunu (Adalet Ağaoğlu)
1965	Yanık Saraylar (Sevim Burak) Gurbet Yavrum (Aysel Özakın) Menekşeli Bilne (Nezihe Meriç)
1966	-
1967	Tombala (Adalet Ağaoğlu)
1968	Tante Rosa (Revgi Soysal) Gecede (Leyla Erbil) Toprak (Afet Muhteremoğlu)
1969	-
1970	Yürümek (Sevgi Soysal) Sular Aydınlanıyordu (Nezihe Meriç) Çatıdaki Çatlak (Adalet Ağaoğlu) Sınırlarda Aşk Kış Barış (Adalet Ağaoğlu)
1971	Parasız Yatılı (Füruzan) Tuhaf Bir Kadın (Leyla Erbil) İpek ve Bakır (Tomris Uyar)
1972	Ağaçlar (Sevinç Çokum) Kuşatma (Füruzan) Haziran (Selçuk Baran)
1973	Yenişehirde Bir Öğle Vakti (Sevgi Soysal) Ölmeye Yatmak (Adalet Ağaoğlu) Benim Sinemalarım (Füruzan) Ödesmeler ve Şahmeran Hikayesi (Tomris Uyar) Yüksek Gerilim (Adalet Ağaoğlu)
1974	Niçin Geç Kaldım (Fusun Erbulak) Kırkyedililer (Füruzan) Yüksek Gerilim (Adalet Ağaoğlu)

TABLE I continue

- 1975 Şafak (Sevgi Soysal)
Dizboyu Papatyalar (Tomris Uyar)
Tutsak (Emine Işınsu)
Bir Solgun Adam (Selçuk Baran)
- 1976 Yapma Çiçek Ustaları (Ayşe Kilimci)
Yarın Yarın (Pınar Kür)
Ah Bayım Ah (Nazlı Eray)
Barış Adlı Çocuk (Nazlı Eray)
Sessiz Bir Dayanışma (Aysel Özakın)
Makine (Sevinç Çokum)
Zor (Sevinç Çokum)
Fikrimin İnce Gülü (Adalet Ağaoğlu)
- 1977 Yeni Konuklar (Füruzan)
Sancı (Emine Işınsu)
Eski Sevgili (Leyla Erbil)
Gündükümü'75 (Tomris Uyar)
Bakmak (Sevgi Soysal)
Anaların Hakkı (Selçuk Baran)
Kendini Yazan Şarkı (Adalet Ağaoğlu)
- 1978 Alnında Mavi Kuşlar (Aysel Özakın)
Sessizliğin Sesi (Adalet Ağaoğlu)
Hop Eden Şey (Şiir Erkök)
- 1979 Asılacak Kadın (Pınar Kür)
Geceyi Tanıdım (Nazlı Eray)
Bir Düşün Gecesi (Adalet Ağaoğlu)
Ağda Zamanı (İnci Aral Gür)
Dumanaltı (Nezihe Meriç)
Jaguar (Peride Celal)
Yürekte Bukağı (Tomris Uyar)
Kaçış (Ayla Kutlu)
- 1980 Yazsonu (Adalet Ağaoğlu)
Zamane (Sabahat Emir)
Hoşgeldin Ölüm (Sevgi Soysal)
Genç Kız ve Ölüm (Aysel Özakın)
Islak Güneş (Ayla Kutlu)
- 1981 Bir Deli Ağaç (Pınar Kür)
Sabah Yolcuları (Feyza Hepçilingirler)
Pasifik Günleri (Nazlı Eray)
Gelincikler Sürgünde (Günseli İnal)
Sık Dişini (Gülten Dayıoğlu)
Ev Sahipleri (Füruzan)
- 1982 Kız Öpme Kuyruğu (Nazlı Eray)
Hadi Gidelim (Adalet Ağaoğlu)
Geyikler, Annem ve Almanya (Nursel Duruel)
Sahibinin Sesi (Sevim Burak)
Berdel (Esmâ Ocak)
Ağrı (Sevda Kaynar)

TABLE I continue

- 1983 Sevgili Arsız Ölüm (Latife Tekin)
Cadı Ağacı (Ayla Kutlu)
Yazgı (Oya Erben)
Akışı Olmayan Sular (Pınar Kür)
Orphee (Nazlı Eray)
Kıran Resimleri (İnci Aral Gür)
Tutsaklar (Ayla Kutlu)
Esintiler 82 (Zeynep Oral)
Konuşa Konuşa (Zeynep Oral)
Kötü Bir Yaratık (Zeynep Avcı Karabey)
Sevdadır Her İşin Başı (Ayşe Kilimci)
- 1984 Deniz Kenarında Pazartesi (Nazlı Eray)
Hazır Dünya (Nazlı Eray)
Üç Beş Kişi (Adalet Ağaoğlu)
Uykusuzlar (İnci Aral Gür)
Yokuşu Tırmanır Hayat (Işıl Özgentürk)
Everest My Lord (Sevim Burak)
Yine Bir Gülnihal (Zeynep Balcılar)
Berci Kristin Çöp Masalları (Latife Tekin)
- 1985 Lanetliler (Erendiz Atasü)
60 Günlük Bir Şey (Fusun Erbulak)
Sinek Olmak Zor Şey (Tulay Feray)
Günlerin Tortusu (Tomris Uyar)
Yaşamın Ucuna Yolculuk (Tezer Özlü Kıral)
Yaz Düşüm Yaz (Zeynep Oral)
Karanlığın Günü (Leyla Erbil)
Bir Göçmen Kuştı O (Ayla Kutlu)
Burgu (Fusun Erbulak)
Gül Mevsimidir (Füruzan)
Göç Temizliği (Adalet Ağaoğlu)
- 1986 Katmandudan Meksikaya (Zeynep Oral)
Kadın Olmak (Zeynep Oral)
Bitmeyen Aşk (Pınar Kür)
Yaza Yolculuk (Tomris Uyar)
Gece Dersleri (Latife Tekin)
Anılar... (Işıl Özgentürk)

TABLE II Women Writers' Fathers Education

	N	%
not educated	3	16
primary school	3	16
secondary school	6	32
university	7	36
<hr/>		
TOTAL	19	100

TABLE III Women Writers' Fathers Occupation

	N	%
Official	8	42
Businessman	6	32
Teacher	4	21
Worker	1	5
<hr/>		
TOTAL	19	100

TABLE IV Women Writers' Mothers Education

	N	%
not educated	3	15
primary school	7	38
secondary school	6	32
university	3	15
<hr/>		
TOTAL	19	100

TABLE V Women Writers' Mothers Occupation

	N	%
Housewife	15	78
Teacher	4	22
<hr/>		
TOTAL	19	100

TABLE VI The Longest Residence

	N	%
Ankara	6	32
Istanbul	13	68
<hr/>		
TOTAL	19	100

TABLE VII Place of Birth

	N	%
Istanbul	8	42
Ankara	3	16
Province	3	16
Country	5	26
<hr/>		
TOTAL	19	100

TABLE VIII Education of Women Writers

	N	%
Private	1	5
Primary S.	1	5
Secondary S.	1	5
University (left)	7	37
University	7	37
Ph.D.	2	11
<hr/>		
TOTAL	19	100

TABLE IX Spoken Foreign Lan.

	N	%
English	12	53
French	5	21
German	3	13
Italian	1	5
None	2	8
<hr/>		
TOTAL	23	100

TABLE X Occupation

	N	%
TRT/Producer	2	11
Teacher	4	22
Translator	2	11
Journalist	4	22
Other (official)	6	30
Unemployed	1	5
<hr/>		
TOTAL	19	100

TABLE XI Current job

	N	%
Working	9	47
Not working	10	52
<hr/>		
TOTAL	19	100

TABLE XII The Types of Books

	N	%
Novel	39	33
Short Story	60	51
Memory	10	8
Journal Essays	2	2
Long Story	3	3
Play	3	3
<hr/>		
TOTAL	117	100

APPENDIX - A

LIST OF THE WOMEN WRITERS (who have more than two books published)

Interviewed with (19)

Adalet Ağaoğlu

İnci Aral

Leyla Erbil

Füruzan

Zeynep Avcı

Fusun Erbulak

Bilgesu Erenus

Nazlı Eray

Işıl Özgentürk

Tomris Uyar

Latife Tekin

Zeynep Oral

Pınar Kür

Gülten Dayıoğlu

Peride Celal

Afet Ilgaz

Selçuk Baran

Ayla Kutlu

Erendiz Atasü

Rejected or else (7)

Nimet Arzık

Günseli İnal

Sabahat Emir

Esmâ Ocak

Aysel Özakin

Sevinç Çokum

Emine Işınsu

Who have one book (12)

Nursel Duruel

Oya Erben

Zeynep Balcılar

Sevda Kaynar

Gülriiz Sururi

Feyza Hepçilingirler

Ayşe Kilimci

Alev Alatlı

Ayşe Kulin

Güner Kuban

Şiir Erkök

Tülay Ferah

Death Authors (3)

Sevim Burak

Tezer Özlü

Sevgi Soysal

APPENDIX B

Prices/Rewards

Sait Faik Ödülü/Ağaoğlu Adalet, Yüksek Gerilim

TDK Oyun Ödülü/Ağaoğlu Adalet, Oyunlar Toplu Basım

Sedat Simavi Vakfı Ödülü, Madaralı Roman Ödülü, Orhan Kemal Roman

Ödülü/Ağaoğlu Adalet, Bir Düşün Gecesi, Remzi Kitabevi, Ist., 1979

Nevzat Üstün Öykü Ödülü/Aral İnci, Kıran Resimleri Kaynak Yayınları
Ist. 1984

Akademi Kitabevi 82 Öykü Birincisi/Atasü Erendiz, Kadınlar da Vardır,
Varlık Yayınları, 1983 first ed., 1984 sec. ed.

Nevzat Üstün Öykü Birincisi/Balcılar Zeynep, Yine Bir Gölün,
Yaba Yayınları, Ank., 1984

Akademi Kitabevi 80 Öykü Birincilik Ödülü/Duruel Nursel, Geyikler,
Annem ve Almanya, Adam Yayınları (first ed. 1982, second ed. 1984

81 Gösteri Dergisi Öykü Birincilik Ödülü/Kaynar Sevda, Ağrı, Ödül
Alan Kitaplar Yayınevi, Ist., 1982

Abdi İpekçi Barış Ödülü/Kalemci Ayşe, Sevdadır Her İşin Baş,
Kaynak Yayınları, Ist., 1983

85 Madaralı Roman Ödülü/Kutlu Ayla, Bir Göçmen Kuştı O, Bilgi
Yayınları, Ank., 1985

Akademi Kitabevi Öykü Birincilik, 1981/Hepçilingirler Feyza, Sabah
Yolcuları, Ödül Alan Kitaplar Yayınevi, Ist., 1981

Enka Sanat Ödülü, "3"/Hepçilingirler Feyza, Eski Bir Balerin, Cem
Yayınları, Ist., 1985

TDK Öykü Ödülü 1965/Muhteremoğlu Afet, Başörtülüler, 1964

1979 Madaralı Roman Ödülü/Özakın Aysel, Alnında Mavi Kuşlar, Yazko,
Ist., 1978 first ed., 1982 second ed.

1983 Marburg Yazın Ödülü/Özlu Tezer, Yaşamın Ucuna Yolculuk , Ada Yayınları, İstanbul. 1984

Sait Faik 1980 Öykü Ödülü/Uyar Tomris, Yürekte Bukığı

APPENDIX-C

BOOKS

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- Ağaoğlu, Adalet, Yazsonu, Remzi Kitabevi, İst., 1980
- Ağaoğlu, Adalet, Hadi Gidelim, Remzi Kitabevi, İst., 1982
- Ağaoğlu, Adalet, Üç Beş Kişi, Remzi Kitabevi, İst., 1984
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(Second ed.)
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- Eray, Nazlı, Örpheé, Kaynak Yay., Ist., 1983
- Eray, Nazlı, Hazır Dünya, Kaynak Yay., (1984 first ed.)
- Eray, Nazlı, Deniz Kenarında Pazartesi, Kaynak Yay., Ist., 1984
- Eray, Nazlı, Eski Gece Parçaları, Adam Yay., Ist., 1986
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